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"Signum authenticum" of women: Herstories in Turkey's Public Relations

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Women had major roles and significant influences on the establishment and the development of public relations field in Turkey. Starting from mid- 1950's, several women from academia, private and public sector have shaped this new profession and discipline through their knowledge, skills and practices. The women pioneers established the first PR agency, run the first in-house PR departments both in private and public institutions. The first president and several board members were women when Public Relations Association of Turkey was established in 1972. Besides the field in Turkey was entitled by a pioneer woman academic who also translated first academic texts and took part in the development of PR education.

During the institutionalization years of Turkish public relations (1960-1980), there were influential women practitioners who work as editors of employee publications, as account supervisors, as event managers and as media spokespeople. Although female contributions to the field were remarkable, the stories of these women were mostly unheard, unseen and under-researched in Turkey.

Based on an oral history research, this paper aims to present stories of women pioneers through highlighting their contributions to the development of the field. In-depth interviews were conducted with Nermin Abadan Unat, Canan Usman Reeves, Ayşegül Dora, Betul Mardin, Birten Gökyay, Birkan Uysal and their experiences, achievements, difficulties, frustrations were collected. Women pioneers' commonalities in terms of social networks, social origin and cultural/economic capital are also discussed in order to uncover the pattern of professional development of public relations in Turkey.

Dewaniya as public opinion maker

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Public opinion is an important concept for the public relations scholars and discipline. One of the most important goals of public relations is to understand public opinion. Edward L. Bernays book *Crystallizing Public Opinion*, an early clear example on such aim. Yes we are beyond the idea of managing and manipulating public opinion but we still need to understand the concept for the maturity of public relations discipline.

The purpose of this paper is to bring attention to an important cultural institution that influenced the public opining formation throughout the history of Kuwait. This cultural institution is called *dewaniya*, a large reception room, a section of the house, used for social gatherings and mostly used by close male family members (Al-Kandari, 2002). The *dewaniya* constitutes the roots of Kuwait's consensual political and social system (Al-Kandari, 2002). It takes the role of a political forum where the people of the country can discuss their concerns, and throughout the history of Kuwait they have proven to be of great political influence on numerous occasions (Al-Kandari, 2002).

Through Kuwait's history, *dewaniya* played an influential role in public opinion formation and most cited events are three including: 1) the election of Sabah I (first ruler of Alsabah dynasty), the first national assembly 1938, and Monday *dewaniya* (protesting movement against the government dissolving of the parliament). All these important events in Kuwait history happened in *dewaniya*. In all these three events public opinion was formed at the dewaniya beyond the intervention or influence of the public authority.

As part of the house, *Dewaniya* is protected by the law which provided the *dewaniya* with the immunity that needed to make it a crucial institution capable of influencing public opinion. Moreover, when a law of gathering (assembly) was issued (Law Number 65 of 1979) preventing any form of gathering without a prior permeation (consent?), *Dewaniya* was excluded. Many Kuwaiti citizens describe the *dewaniya* as a "mini parliament" where the "country's affairs may be addressed and discussed" (Redman, 2014, p. 5). Moreover, "it is well understood that no candidate could win election if he did not visit most, if not all, of the *diwaniyat* of his district" (al-Najjar, 1992, p. 12).

Therefore, *Dewaniya*, as a civil society (platform) provides Kuwaiti society with the vital public sphere, a concept proposed by Habermas, which defines as "a discursive space in which individuals and groups associate to discuss matters of mutual interest and, where possible, to reach a common judgment about them" (Hauser, 1999, p. 61).

In this public sphere the state is subject to "to greater collective choice and guidance" (Calhoun, 2011, p. 311). *Dewaniya* is a unique Kuwaiti cultural civil society (sphere) which played an important role in shaping public opinion detached from the state intervention. Although the Kuwaiti *Dewaniya* is not a democratic institution since it belongs to its host, the owner of the house, however, it's been culturally structured to provide a great space of freedom and immunity to the participants to speak out their opinion with no consequences. Calhoun (2011) shares the same belief, saying that "Certainly civil society organizations are not always constituted in democratic ways. They are usually more accountable to those who pay for them and work in them than to the general public." (p. 324).

This paper will be analysing the three historical events previously mentioned which happened in the *dewaniya* to understand the dynamic of public opinion formation. The case study as qualitative method is applied. This method is defined as 'a method of research ... by which accumulated case histories are analysed with a view toward formulating general principles.' The process of public opinion formation will be the focus of the analysis and a cross examination between the three events will be undertaken.

Dewaniya is a distinguishable feature of Kuwaiti culture and society. Moreover, History showed that the *dewaniya* plays *a* major role *in* shaping public opinion. Understanding the dynamic of such influence is the aim of this paper as it is the researcher's view that such understanding will contribute to the maturity of the public relations discipline.

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Persuasion or Propaganda: An Ethical Approach to Determining the Difference

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"It is my belief that propaganda serves a useful purpose. It increases general knowledge. It tends to keep open an arena in public life in which the battle of truth may be fairly fought." —Edward Bernays

When Edward Bernays offered this defense of propaganda in 1929, the term, and by extension every facet of its practice, had been widely discredited. World War One had seen the rise of massive, national propaganda machines churning out millions of messages ranging from the basically benign to the outrageously malignant. By the 1920s, many of the communication intellectuals of that period had already decried both the practice and the practitioners (Lippmann, Lasswell, etc.). Nonetheless, Bernays continued to cite what he saw as the difference between propaganda and "Impropaganda" (1928). His contemporary, Ivy Lee also viewed propaganda as potentially beneficial.

[L]eadership offered through propaganda directed 'great movements of the people along lines of health and greatness' that would insure democracy would not fall into decadence (Lee, p. 55). Reflecting a disdain for the purely emotional appeal, Lee's early concept of propaganda was that it served to move crowds toward a beneficial end through the dissemination of facts. Since the majority of the public had a limited education, information was the key to the constructive directing of citizens toward effective decision making (St. John III, p. 224).

St. John suggests that Lee's understanding of the "proper" use of propaganda—that it informed and directed crowds toward sound decisions—was, in fact, an ethical claim. Likewise, Bivins (2009) notes that "the ideal persuasive act is one in which both the ends sought and the means employed by the persuader are ethical, and those being persuaded are allowed the opportunity to reflect critically on the available options and to make an informed and free choice" (p.144). If this is so, the question then becomes whether it is possible to distinguish between the ethical and unethical uses of persuasion, and, if so, can we then determine whether propaganda, in at least some manifestations, can be refurbished as a potentially positive term regardless of its historical or contemporary appearances and uses. The aim of this discussion is to apply various but related ethical theories to historical propaganda campaigns with an eye to determining differences in ethicality. The focus will be on graphic rather than written or verbal communication with the understanding that nonverbal communication, especially in the first half of the 20th century, was extremely effective as a propaganda technique. If this approach proves fruitful, however, it may be applied to other forms of written and spoken propaganda. The goal of this analysis is to create a taxonomy ranging from the ethical to the unethical that would allow for propaganda to be discussed within the same framework as persuasion, including that used in public relations, without automatically biasing the term.

Cunningham (1992) suggests several propositions from which the ethics of propaganda might be studied. Among these is that it is possible, even desirable, to establish, *a posteiori*, some degree of ethical reference in our general conception and our definition of propaganda.

Despite the fact that Cunningham (2001) later determined that propaganda is "very much an unethical phenomenon" (p. 138), this paper will attempt to do as he suggested in his earlier work. It will establish an ethical reference (or set of references) that may help us better define propaganda not as a single, inherently unethical practice, but rather as a complex spectrum of persuasive goals and techniques ranging from the morally repugnant to the ethically justifiable.

This will be accomplished, first, by narrowing the range of the multitude of definitions of propaganda and comparing those to the equally myriad definitions of persuasion in order to arrive at the definitional intersections at which they either agree or disagree. Next, two chronologically proximate information campaigns will be investigated: The campaign by the U.S. Office of War Information (OWI) and its affiliates during World War II, and the Work Projects Administration (WPA) campaign. These two campaigns, which ran roughly simultaneously, had very different aims, yet used many similar and easily recognizable propaganda approaches.

The questions that will be asked are based on a means-end paradigm originally suggested by Danner and Kiousis (2006) and modified as a tool to examine morally offensive content in advertising (Bivins, 2009). The expectation is that although it is certainly possible to determine the ethicality of a propaganda campaign (or any portion of it), it will be more difficult to distinguish between what we may rightly call propaganda in its traditionally recognized sense and that which we may not, both historically and currently.

In addition to referencing a number of ethical theories—classical and modern—this study will also rely on the wealth of work on the subject of propaganda (specifically in the 20th century) ranging from Lippmann and Lasswell to Ellul and Sproule. Other existing research on WWII U.S. propaganda and the campaigns of the WPA will also be used, as well as the excellent holdings of the Library of Congress, whose collections includes hundreds of examples of both the OWI and WPA propaganda images.

In the 1920s, and for a short while thereafter, there were those who believed that propaganda was not the evil villain it had been made out to be. They saw something that perhaps we today do not, being more proximate to the reality of it. They may have, in some ways, tried to clarify the issue. They may also have helped, intentionally or otherwise, to muddy the issue. More recent research has shown that most people still cannot distinguish between public relations and propaganda (Elull, 1973). The question addressed here is whether that distinction can be clarified or if, ultimately, it simply will never matter.

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Public relations historiophoty: New challenge for public relations historians?

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In 1988, historian and literary critic Hayden White published an article in *The American Historical Review* entitled "Historiography and Historiophoty". In this essay, he coined the term historiophoty to describe the "representation of history and our thought about it in visual images and filmic discourse" (White, 1988, p. 1193).

White originally coined the term as a rhetorical device in response to an essay by Robert A. Rosenstone (1988) in the same issue of *AHR* entitled "History in images/History in words: Reflections on the possibility of really putting history onto film". White, for the sake of exploring Rosenstone's premise (that history can be portrayed on film), considered that the term historiophoty described well the study of history through film as well as other non-verbal images and non-written discourse (e.g. photography, videogames).

As White (1988) pointed out, "the historical evidence produced by our epoch is often as much visual as it is oral and written in nature. Also, the communicative conventions of the human sciences are increasingly as much pictorial as verbal in their predominant modes of representation" (p. 1193). Therefore, the growth of visual records and historiophoty is due to the development of new media.

Thus, historiophoty of public relations means the body of public relations historical work reordered in (audio)visual supports. Regardless the representations of PR practitioners in fiction films, the role of new media in producing and recording those visual documents of public relations history is crucial. Accordingly, the primary aim of this paper is to analyze the main videos on history of public relations found in YouTube. To achieve this aim, we will use the content analysis methodology. Through this first step of the research, we will describe the nature of public relations historiophoty. Secondly, the paper surveys the theoretical and technical problems of digital records: for public relations history, what is a digital record and is it different from a paper record? Moreover, how these differences (if any) shape the idea of public relations historiophoty? And, finally, how historiophoty can contribute to improve the knowledge of public relations historians?

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The Norwegian anti-tuberculosis campaign of 1889 - the first public information campaign in Europe

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This article covers the emergence of what may be regarded as the first public information campaign in Europe, namely the anti-tuberculosis campaign in Norway from 1889. The article gives an account of the campaign, and attempts to establish some understanding regarding the importance of this campaign in the historical formation of PR and strategic communication as we know today.

A major focus in this study is the interplay between this campaign and its possible impact on the society as a whole. In so doing the article will give an account of the campaign in a societal context. The study also provides an analysis of major actors in the campaign, and their various positions, their manifest and underlying goals and purposes, within the campaign, as well as possible outcomes of the campaign in a larger socio-cultural context.

The study then contains a historical analysis based on the assumption that PR and strategic communication "is a product of modernity" (Raaz and Wehmeier 2011, p. 256-257). The study also claims that PR and strategic communication is a part of *the development* of modernity by its dissemination of (true) knowledge and a belief in progress through enlightenment and widespread participation in the public sphere.

The many demise of tuberculosis was a great concern for researchers and doctors all over Europe at the end of the nineteenth century. The discovery of the tubercle bacillus, by Robert Koch in 1882, led then to a world-wide anti-tuberculosis campaign at the end of the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century (Bryder 1988, p. 17). The discovery led to an understanding that the disease was both preventable and curable and marked a "new era in public health" (Teller 1988, p. 15). Public education and dissemination of knowledge on diseases was therefore an important part of this new era (Teller 1988, p. 122). Better hygiene and drastic changes in people's habits was demanded to fight tuberculosis. This understanding triggered public information campaigns (Nielsen, 2011, p. 26), or "propaganda" (*The Lancet* 01.10.1905) or "enlightenment campaigns" (Holmboe and Hansen 1895), as it was called at the time.

The first information campaign on preventable measures against tuberculosis was launched in Norway in 1889, being the country in Europe with most deaths per citizen (Smith 1988, p. 219), with more than three per cent of the population during one year (Blom 2002, p. 73). A public information campaign in the US was launched in New York at the same year as the Norwegian campaign (Teller 1988, p. 21, Holmboe & Hansen 1895, p. 5). And many other European countries followed with their anti-tuberculosis information campaigns in the years to come (Smith 1988, Bryder 1988).

The Norwegian campaign started with a *tuberculosis-poster* which advocated ten measures against the disease (Blom, 1998, p. 14); the main points were the isolation of those infected and disinfection (Harbitz, 2014, p. 134). 10,000 copies of the poster were printed and hung in public places and schools around the country (*National Archives of Norway*, 2003). Information was also provided regarding the importance of hygiene with clear messages on plaques such as, "Wash your hands!" and "Do not spit on the floor!" Much of the preventive work targeted children and young people, and systematic information was given to the pupils concerning diseases and infection risks (Nielsen, 2011, p. 26).

The ongoing communication in the tuberculosis campaign involved a range of senders and receivers, and therefore stood as a public information campaign, in the modern understanding of the term, in the sense that a purposive attempt to influence behaviours in large audiences using a "set of communication activities and featuring an array of mediated messages in multiple channels generally to produce non-commercial benefits to individuals and society" (Rice & Atkin, 2013, p. 3).

Looking into the campaign one may identify two major organisations involved, namely the Norwegian Medical Association, and the Norwegian Women's Public Health Association (Norske kvinners sanitetsforening). It is claimed that both these organizations had their own strategic purposes within their engagement in the fight against tuberculosis. The doctors wanted to strengthen an academic scientific inspired modernization of the medical profession to increase its influence and recognition in society, and to assert itself in line with tuberculosis specialists abroad.

However, the main focus of the article is to investigate The *Norwegian Women's Public Health Association*. For the organisation, the tuberculosis work was a way to demonstrate women's philanthropic intentions and to underpin the requirement for full citizen rights (Blom 1999, p. 236). The establishment of the association in 1896 was based on the struggle for national independence, but still in a gender-specific form: "Traditional female functions – caring for the sick and the wounded – were to be women's contribution to defence" (Blom 2004:11). By making work of caring nature a public matter, they turned this female aspect to a public concern. The work against tuberculosis was also a part of the work to transform the society's view of what a woman could be.

This dimension which is the dynamic between the campaign and the ongoing struggle for female rights and position in the Norwegian society stands at the core of the study. By participating in the public arena, it was created a new image of these women. And when a discourse denotes a group as existing in the public sphere, people also start to think and behave accordingly, with the consequence that the group actually begins to exist in the minds of the people as a group belonging to the public sphere (Aakvaag 2008, p. 311). The Norwegian government gave women the right to vote in 1913, as the first sovereign state.

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The History of the Adoption and Diffusion of New Media—With a Public Relations Emphasis—and a Congressional Focus

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This paper describes the changes impacting the art, science, and business of public relations brought to us throughout the history of the adoption and diffusion of social/emerging/digital media (hereafter "new media").

The paper's introduction points out that the blog search engine Technorati tracks over 1.4 million blogs ... iPhones do what cameras did ... iPods do what radios did ... and "Google" is the name of one of the world's leading corporations as well as a verb. Even the long-standardized PR professionals' business cards have not been spared new media's influence. Today, along with displaying a PR manager's name, organization, phone and fax number, some cards might also display the manager's contact information for LinkedIn, Facebook, Twitter, and personal and workplace blogs.... The introduction concludes reminding readers many of the PR field's traditional foci have been altered dramatically during new media's short and powerful history.

Next, the paper argues that in "the old days" (i.e., a few years ago) most PR practitioners had two choices for sharing their messages: paid vs. earned media. Now, concurrent with the spread of new media, there are now four: paid (e.g., advertisements), earned (e.g., articles generated), owned (e.g., websites, newsletters, annual reports), and shared (i.e., activity in social media).

As this move from "two to four" evolved, significant changes occurred. Among them, an historical shift among PR practitioners and scholars from a primary (and often sole) focus on "the audience" (i.e., the group we "talk at") to a new focus on "the [virtual] community" (i.e., the group with whom we "share an interest"). This shift has evolved into a new message-sharing paradigm with less focus on sending messages to publics and greater focus on monitoring and listening to those publics. The paper argues this change (from "talking to" to "monitoring and listening to" publics) is supportive of Grunig's seminal work on the importance of/preference for the two-way symmetrical model of public relations.

To both broaden and specify its assertions, the paper next focuses on a distinctive group of professional communicators and their use of new media: namely, press secretaries serving individual Members of the United States Congress. This section begins by pointing out that few of us realize virtually every Member employs his or her own "PR person" (i.e., press secretary)—an individual dedicated to meticulously crafting and delivering a politician's image. Next it provides a substantive overview of "historical firsts" orchestrated by Congress' roughly 550 press secretaries via their use of new media. Among them are the press secretaries' new ability to bypass traditional news outlets and instead use new media to reach publics directly (ignoring established reporters all together), and the press secretaries' increased use of sophisticated computer-based analytical tools to tailor and segment their messages.

The paper concludes pointing out these "new" communication conduits—which have profoundly altered the history of Congressional communications while assisting the press secretaries—also make the press secretaries' work more difficult. Constituent-generated messages sent through social networks, for instance, now serve a "watchdog function" over a Member of Congress' political choices and behaviors that historically was once the

domain of the Fourth Estate. Blogs, for instance, allow constituents to talk immediately and easily about Congress in general and individual Members specifically.

The paper draws its findings from three sources: (1) Nine peer-reviewed studies on Congress' press secretaries, which the author wrote, presented/published between 1998 and 2015; (2) over 20 articles/studies describing the steady evolution of new media across Capitol Hill over the last two decades; and (3) the author's dozens of on-going phone and inperson semi-structured interviews (conducted between 2012 and the present) with practicing/recent press secretaries providing first-person accounts about the spread of new media across Capitol Hill.

(Final note: The history of the "nexus of public relations and new media in the U.S. Congress"—while unfolding significantly over the last two decades—continues to evolve rapidly. If the author has the privilege of having this paper accepted for presentation, relevant information from interviews in the months ahead [preceding the conference] will also appear in the conference presentation.)

The Expansion of Proactive Public Relations Efforts and Relationship Management in Government Agencies

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Purpose: The purpose of this study is to explore and describe the history of government agency communication efforts. As the field of communications and public relations have advanced throughout the twentieth century to provide a proactive engagement between private sector companies and their publics, the public sector has been slow to react to this type of communication strategy. This study examines the lack of public sector agencies, particularly government agencies to work proactively with their publics to create and maintain proactive public relations efforts that engage their publics in a proactive relationship with the agency. By doing so, this form of public relations leadership in public agencies Rubin (2002) concludes, "collaborative leaders are distinguished by the bridges they build; bridges that individuals willingly cross, connecting their personal needs and motives with a shared public purpose, and the work that they do with others whose coordinated alliance can help them do it better, faster, more easily, more enduringly, more efficiently, with bigger impact, with broader ownership, or with higher meaning" (p. 14).

Methodology: The methodology for this study uses a literature review to describe how government agencies moved from using reactive communication strategies to more proactive communication strategies through their public relations efforts to allow for long-term relationship management.

Findings: The findings of this study provide a path for government agencies to take theory to best practices to enable their communications to proactively engage their publics in a collaborative relationship with the agency.

Implications/Limitations: The limitations of this study is the limited time that government agencies have been actively using two-way symmetrical communications (Dozier, Grunig, & Grunig, 1995) and focusing on proactive relationship management instead of relying only on a traditional model of dissemination of information. By moving beyond a traditional dissemination model of information, public agencies build a coalition with their publics. According to Hoy and Miskel (2008), "coalition building is the process of individuals banding together to achieve a common goal" (p. 241).

Originality of the study: This originality of this study is in the use of two-way communications in government agencies to move beyond simple collaboration to a more advanced proactive public relations model creating better long-term relationships with their publics.

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The Place of Woman in the Field of Public Relations in Turkey from 1980 to Today

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Globalization has brought about the rapid spread of public relations throughout the world and Turkey has received its share. While in 1970s major and especially foreign companies had public relations departments, at the end of 1980s and especially during 1990s, most private organizations and official organizations started to have public relations departments as well. Although the development of public relations started with delay, today it is observed that applications of public relations stopped being unique in both public and private sectors. Development of public relations as an occupational and academic field in Turkey concurs in 1980s.

When the fact that the service sector has also started to develop since 1980s brought up the need of qualified employees who have standardized communication skills and who have appropriate qualifications for the new market structure brought by the globalization to be employed in this field. Thus, the number of Communication Faculties have increased rapidly in Turkey. This situation is related to the fact that both in private and public sectors the significance of the public relations practices was comprehended. In 1990s, there was an inclination towards the courses regarding the public relations practices in academic society and the public relations started to be researched and its practices started to be adopted.

Besides it is mentioned that development of public relations in Turkey is realized with the common effort of male and female public relations experts, it is also emphasized that more women take place in the field of public relations than men today. One of these women, Betül Mardin, the first public relations expert who has had a major role in the development of public relations 1970s, undertook the chairpersonship of Turkish Public Relations Association besides being the founder head of Turkey Society of Public Relations Consultants. She played an active role in IPRA for years and before she was elected as the President in 1995, she worked as an accountant in IPRA Board of Management. Therefore, it is seen that women cannot be ignored in the development of public relations in Turkey. The purpose of this study is to put the role and place of women in the field of public relations with a historical perspective together with the development of public relations in Turkey. Public relations is an occupation that is frequently preferred by women. A lot of research states that the percentage of women is bigger than the percentage of men in the field of public relations. It is seen that in Turkey the number of women who work in practical and academic fields in public relations are bigger than that of men. Within the direction of the study, half structured face to face interviews were made with female public relations practitioners working in agencies, private and public organizations and with female academicians working in state and private universities. And the development, place and the role of female practitioners and academicians of Turkey in the field of public relations were discussed within the scope of the study.

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Women in Australian public relations, 1940s–1950s

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Existing histories of public relations in Australia narrate primarily its post-World War II establishment of the professional association and the achievements of the association's (mostly male) senior members. As such, the history of public relations in Australia is primarily confined to a narrow conceptualisation of public relations that emerges from the drive to establish its professional status and relies primarily on uncritical and subjective accounts of senior practitioners (Macnamara & Crawford, 2010; Sheehan, 2007). The lack of critical perspectives marginalises both the role of women and the technical activity (such as publicity and promotional work) that does not fall into the understanding of public relations as a strategic management profession and primarily a corporate function.

Professionalisation marginalises women's work in many industries and these processes are not unique to public relations (Davies, 1996; Witz, 1992). Only a few scholars have recognised individual women who have contributed to the historical development of public relations, or more broadly, the role of women in the industry. These mainly US scholars lament the lack of recognition of women's contributions to US public relations history (see Gower, 2001; Lamme, 2001, 2007; Miller, 1997; Horsley, 2007). I have previously researched the links between feminisation and professionalisation in Australian public relations history in the latter decades of the twentieth century and the significance for the constitution of public relations knowledge and expertise (see Fitch & Third, 2010, 2014). However, women remain noticeably absent from Australian public relations history, particularly prior to the 1980s.

This paper reports the early findings of a study aimed at rediscovering the role of women in Australian public relations in the mid-twentieth century through an analysis of newspaper archives, made available through the Australian Newspaper Digitisation Program, and newsletters produced by the established, state-based professional associations in the post-war years. The analysis considers the representation of public relations activity and female practitioners. The findings reveal women practised public relations across various sectors from the mid-twentieth century and were employed as public relations officers far earlier than is generally acknowledged. In addition to military roles during the war, women worked in public relations roles in post-war reconstruction efforts. Women entered public relations through voluntary work or work in other media industries (backgrounds in radio and advertising were common); global mobility, in terms of experience of working overseas, was also a significant factor in their employment. Female practitioners worked across agricultural, manufacturing, service and retail sectors. The growth in post-war consumerism and a corresponding increase in travel for leisure opened up significant opportunities for women in the industry; for example, women worked in public relations for airlines and cruise lines, and increasingly linked travel and fashion in their targeting of female audiences.

This paper recognises the ways in which women have contributed to public relations in Australia and the significance of particular – and highly gendered – conceptualisations of public relations and its historical development. It therefore contributes to a stronger understanding of the development of an exclusionary occupational identity for public relations along gendered lines (Edwards, 2014) and highlights the need for more critical histories of public relations. The findings offer evidence of the shifts in understanding of

public relations in the Australian context and the significance of gender. Women's historical contributions to public relations are seldom recognised and the findings reported in this paper offer a unique Australian perspective to global scholarship on public relations history and on public relations and gender.

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Helena Lumbreras and PR film discourse: film activism in the end of Franco regime

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Helena Lumbreras (deceased in 1995) represents one of the major players in the anti-Franco militant cinema in the 60s and 70s. He began his career in Italy, as a director and scriptwriter of documentaries for RAI. Afterwards, he assumed the role as assistant director of Fellini, Rosi, Pontecorbo and Pasolini. He signed an agreement with *Unicité* (a production company closer to the Italian Communist Party) for filming in Spain a medium length film about anti-Franco movement. Returning to Spain in 1968, she made political and activist documentaries. All those films were made from the secrecy.

She co-founded Colectivo de Cine de Clase (Film of Class Group), whose main objective was "to film dreams of people who were struggling to get improve their living conditions." Later, she contacted in Barcelona with filmmaker Llorenç Soler and in 1970 she shot the documentary *El Cuarto Poder* (*The Fourth Power*), a lucid analysis of the main Spanish newspapers (both legal and illegal) at that time.

In August 1971, Lumbreras was arrested by the police and consequently dismissed from work. Furthermore, he was expelled from the Communist Party. Under this context emerged the first film of Colectivo de Cine de Clase, *El campo para el hombre* (*The field for men*, 1975), which was filmed in various rural areas of Galicia and Andalusia, leaving the peasants and laborers openly express their wishes and claims.

After the death of Franco, the news coming from Spain were highly valued by the international TV channels and a minute could be sold for a thousand dollars. Thanks to that, Colectivo de Cine de Clase had enough fund for its next two projects: *O todos o ninguno (Or all or none*, 1976), a documentary about the struggle of workers in a metalworking firm in Cornellá ("an Andalusian town in Catalonia" Lumbreras said); *A la vuelta del grito (After the cry*, 1978), a film made with more funds and directed with formal experimentation. In 1978, coinciding with the start of the dismantling of basic labor movement that occurred in the early years of the transition, the group disbanded.

The case of Lumbreras is a good example of activism from the margins. Using de documentary discourse, Lumbreras claimed for the social change. The case of Helena Lumbreras is an example of the inter-relationships of public relations and social change. From this perspective, Lumbreras played an important role in the Spanish hidden history of public relations.

An Historical Analysis of Gender Distribution of PR Practitioners by Areas of Practice: Considering Specialists and Managers

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The feminization of Public Relations has been a popular topic among scholars and professional trade publications since the publication of the *The velvet ghetto: The impact of the increasing percentage of women in public relations and business communication* in 1986. Recently, Hazleton and Dodd (2015) showed that both the scholarly literature and the trade literature have overestimated the extent to which the number of females exceeds males in Public Relations. Moreover they found that the ratio of females to males has been relatively stable over a significant period of time for both PR specialists and PR Managers. They also noted that the ratio is different for Managers indicating different rates in the transition between Specialist and Managerial roles. However, the Hazleton & Dodd research does not consider the possibility that the ratio of females to males may be different for specific areas of Public Relations practice.

This study uses archival data from the US Census Bureau to examine the distribution of female and male Public Relations Specialists and female and male Public Relations managers in seven different employment categories. The categories are Federal Government, State Government, Local Government, Private-Profit, Private-Nonprofit, Self Employed-Incorporated, and Self Employed-Unincorporated. Data for public relations specialists is reported for the years 1994-2014 and data for public relations managers is reported for the years 2003-2014.

Significant differences are reported for both Public Relations Specialists and Public Relations Managers. Significant differences in in the distribution of male and female Public Relations Specialists are reported for the Private-Nonprofit sector and the Self Employed-Incorporated sector. A significant difference for Public Relations Managers in the Private-Nonprofit sector is reported.

Theoretical and methodological issues related to these findings are discussed. Future research on the feminization of public relations is necessary to confirm and explore the observed differences. Issues related to impact of gender on practice (Grunig, Toth, & Hon 2001; Pomper & Jung, 2013; Farmer & Waugh, 1999) are discussed. Finally, limitations of the data for Public Relations Managers are identified and indicate additional need for research.

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Three Women, Three Decades in IPRA: How Did Turkish Women Presidents of IPRA Influence the PR Profession?

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In the public relations literature, there has been a number of research that aim to analyze the role and impact of women in the public relations profession (Broom, 1980; Toth & Grunig, 1993; Krider & Ross, 1997; Wrigley, 2002; Siler, 2009; Creedon, 2011; Tsetsura, 2011; Place, 2012; Grunig, Hon & Toth, 2013; Yaxley, 2013; Bıçakçı & Hürmeriç, 2013; Öksüz & Görpe, 2014). However, those studies often focus on the gender roles and challenges that women PR practitioners face all around the World. Regarding the associations' point of view, although there are two studies related with the women in the IABC (International Association of Business Communicators, 1986 and updated in 2003) there is only one study (Mc Donald, 2009) that focuses on women in a PR association (PRSA- Public Relations Society of America).

One of the most reputable associations regarding the public relations profession is IPRA (International Public Relations Association) which was founded in London, 1955 (https://microsites.bournemouth.ac.uk/historyofpr/files/2011/11/IPRA-ARCHIVE-May-2015.pdf) with the aim of raising the standards of PR practice worldwide. The association had a number of woman presidents in its history of 60 years.

In 1995, Betûl Mardin, already the first woman public relations practitioner in Turkey, became the first Turkish and Muslim president of IPRA, raising Turkey's profile within the public relations profession, and increasing international co-operation in various PR projects (Bıçakçı & Hürmeriç, 2014, p.263). Ceyda Aydede who was the president of a PR agency named 'Global PR Agency' became the second Turkish IPRA President in 2003 (Bıçakçı & Hürmeriç, 2013, p.98). And in 2014, the founder and president of the 'Stage PR Agency', Zehra Güngör became the third Turkish and 50th IPRA President.

The main aim of this study is to shed light on the role of three women presidents of IPRA in terms of the development of the public relations profession. The study will contribute to the body of knowledge in the PR profession by examining the three decades of the IPRA (1990s, 2000s and 2010s) that were managed by the three Turkish women presidents. In order to reveal their professional stories ("her" story), the primary research will be based on the indepth interviews conducted with Betûl Mardin, Ceyda Aydede and Zehra Güngör. IPRA archives (presidents' personal archives and IPRA archive in Bournemouth University) will also be analyzed in order to reveal the related data.

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Public Relations, Drug Addiction, and Public Policy: Anti-Drug and Harm Reduction Campaigns from the 1950s through the Present

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This study explores the history of public relations campaigns to raise awareness of and to combat drug abuse, particularly that which involves exponentially-expanding opiate abuse. The study will trace anti-drug campaigns from approximately the second half of the 20th century through the present surge in heroin addiction and heroin-related overdoses. It will review the literature, theories, and strategies of health communication, particularly as regards addictions. Public relations' vital role in highlighting health-related issues has been documented (see rhetorical approaches [Heath, Toth, &Waymer, 2009] and media advocacy [Wallack, Dorfman, Jernigan, & Themba, 1993]). Scholars have underscored the positive impact of effectively framing public health and other public interest issues so as to contribute to policy change. This review will also explore how allied disciplines, for instance sociology and social psychology, among others, have raised public awareness of drug addiction, its treatment, and its larger impact on society. The focus will be on salient anti-drug messages created between the 1950s and 2016.

The study will consider the effectiveness of these messages in reducing drug addiction and/or increasing harm reduction. The latter strategy implies an acceptance that a drug user does not intend to give up his or her habit. Instead, historically, harm reduction programs have attempted to minimize some of the negative outcomes of drug abuse, which include AIDS and hepatitis C. When AIDS exploded in the 1980s, harm reduction campaigns stressed how sharing dirty needles among addicts contributed to spreading the disease but the emphasis was more on stopping the AIDS epidemic than on the addiction itself. Current harm reduction programs have been introduced in areas of heavy addiction and involve needle exchange, counseling/education, methadone disbursement, and regular testing for HIV and hepatitis C. The growth in these two illnesses and others, due to heroin abuse, has spurred programs to minimize harm when there is little or no chance that an addict will change his or her behavior.

By way of illustration, select cases will underscore how public relations theories and strategies and the "accrued wisdom" of public relations, health, and government and non-profit professionals have managed to make this critical public policy issue accessible to diverse publics and put it on the agenda for discourse and debate. The technologies and the vehicles for message delivery may have changed dramatically over more than half a century, but ultimately, the goal remains the same—that of changing behaviors that lead to drug abuse and providing assistance to those who have already been snared in the grip of addiction. As family involvement has been an essential part of identifying and treating addictions, the study will also look at the extent to which anti-drug campaigns have reached out to family members and attempted to catalyze their engagement in their loved ones' abstinence from drugs or alternatively, their recovery process.

Historically, students have also researched and planned initiatives to increase awareness of health policy issues that have a profound effect on them, those closest to them, and their communities. Thus, this retrospective will also examine changes in how school and university campus-based campaigns have raised awareness of drug abuse and treatment. The author will contrast a past campus-centered program with contemporary efforts to frame drug addiction

and provide information and practical resources that can then be disseminated by students for students and other stakeholders. There has been a dramatic change in the vehicles by which this has been done, especially in the technologies used. Yet although the means by which they engage may have changed, such campaigns have brought and still bring critical issues to the fore.

When public relations theories are operationalized through careful research and planning, and implemented via both traditional channels and new media, message dissemination and alternative solutions to such a major health crisis--specifically, the spike in deaths from heroin and prescriptions pills--can be addressed, if not reduced. Thus, this study may be of interest not only to scholars but also to health communicators and their respective agencies and institutions.

Anti-German Propaganda and German Reactions during World War I

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In a comparative study of literature and an analysis of documents some aspects of anti-German propaganda during World War I and the resulting German reactions are analyzed. It is asked whether anti-German propaganda was partly responsible for the slithering of nations "over the brink into the boiling cauldron of war without any sign of apprehension and dismay" (Lloyd George; Fürst von Bülow) resulting in the carnage of the "great seminal catastrophe" of 20th century. It is also inquired whether propaganda was "as much a weapon of war as a gun" (Sir Arthur Ponsonby, General Ludendorff; Hitler characterized propaganda as "Waffe ersten Ranges", i.e. "weapon of first importance")?

It is demonstrated that. British war propagandists understood propaganda like modern public relations; i.e. the concepts are used as synonyms. Two dimensions of anti-German propaganda (atrocity propaganda; activities of intellectuals) are emphasized. Attention is drawn to the structural prerequisites for successful international propaganda (control of international news flow). The focus is on propaganda by states. Private anti-German propaganda is not taken into consideration (e.g. advertisements like those of *Perrier* or ENO'S FRUIT SALT). The main actors of propaganda and their relevant organizations are examined (e.g. Maison de la Presse; U.S. Secret Service (in 1915); Creel-Committee; Wellington House etc.). The relevance of key-events instrumentalized for anti-German propaganda is underscored (e.g. occupation of "Poor Little Belgium"; Bryce-Report; Dumba-Archibald affair; sinking of the Lusitania, execution of Edith Cavell, Zimmermann-telegram; the battle of Verdun etc.). Attention is drawn to the influence of British and French intellectuals on propaganda (e.g. Wells, Kipling, Henri Bergson, president of the *Académie des sciences morales et politiques*, etc.). Intellectual propaganda successfully established the image of German *Kultur* as being the antithesis of Western (esp. French) culture.

British, French and American endeavours to control war reporting - e.g. by means of press conferences or `embedding' - are described. Nearly all Allied propaganda statements have been economical with the truth in order to build up a German enemy image according to which Germany was as an aggressive country being solely responsible for the outbreak of the Great War, inhabited by Prussian Junkers and other non-human monsters (beasts). There was a new plague called *Pestio Teutonicus*. President Wilson who in order not to estrange the German minority in U.S. championed a split image of Germany ("We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling to them but one of sympathy and friendship") argued in *The Flag We Follow* "The war was begun by the military masters of Germany […]".

The Allied attempts to build up an image of Germany as being a country inhabited by immoral monsters caused reactions in Germany by politicians, intellectuals and scientists. On the one side there were scientific analyses (Bücher, Simmel, Tönnies) on the other side scientists and intellectuals became propagandists. Their activities (e.g. *Aufruf an die Kulturwelt*) are described and evaluated. Germany at the beginning of the Great War also tried to instrumentalize U.S. journalists whilst they were invading Belgium in order to counteract the image of committing atrocities.

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¹ There will be no overlapping with research results on World War I propaganda already published in 2014.

In a separate paragraph the main actors of German counter-propaganda are introduced. Unique German activities in Bulgaria to hinder the building up of an anti-German public opinion are emphasized. The results of an analysis of documents referring to the activities of Roselius – a well known pr-practitioner and advertising manager – are presented.

All together anti-German propaganda had no influence on the outbreak of the Great War but was able to mobilize the `domestic front' and the own troops. Also in neutral countries the propaganda was partly successful (attempts to win over the US are not discussed). A demoralization of the German military and of the German population did not take place.

One long-term consequence of anti-German propaganda was the British propaganda policy of "No Propaganda" before the outbreak of World War II as a consequence of the disclosure of propaganda lies. There was a high American fear of foreign propaganda (cf. the Foreign Agents Registration Act). In Germany the idea became popular (esp. in the military) that Germany's military defeat in 1918 was caused by Allied propaganda. The Dolchstoß-Legende (legend of the stab in the back) became a central part of German national identity. The notion of an effective, nearly almighty anti-German propaganda had a decisive effect on Hitler's communications policy (cf. *Mein Kampf*).

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Israeli Military Spokesperson's Unit: Six Wars over Public Opinion, 1948-2010

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For many years the IDF Spokesperson's Unit has served as a central component of Israel's public diplomacy (Limor & Nossek, 2006; Yehezkeli, 2009). During the past three decades, it has been subjected to ever increasing criticism from the international media and pro-Palestinian activists (Shai, 2013). The study provides an historical overview of the IDF Spokesperson's Unit, from the early years of the State of Israel until 2010. This unit, which is responsible for the relations between Israel's military and the public, both in Israel and abroad, must frequently cope with complicated situations due to the complex geopolitical reality of the Middle East (Shai, 1998). The confrontations between Israel and neighboring Arab countries and non-state actors, including Palestinians in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank and Hezbollah in Lebanon, have created many ongoing challenges for the Spokesperson's Unit (Catignani, 2009; Limor, Leshem & Mandelzis, 2014). In contrast to more traditional public relations organizations, the IDF's Spokesperson's Unit commonly deals with critical circumstances in which the lives of many people are in stake.

The study offers for the first time an historical analysis of six periods during which the Spokesperson's Unit played an essential advocacy role for the State of Israel. Since there are numerous historical and contemporary situations from which to choose for analysis, six significant cases of war were selected as case studies. The six cases are the War of Independence (1948), the Six Day War (1967), the Yom Kippur War (1973) the first Intifada or Palestinian uprising (1987), the Second Lebanon War (2006) and Operation Cast Lead in Gaza (2010). Historically, until the 1980s, the majority of Israel's confrontations were with sovereign states, such as Egypt or Syria. The 1980s witnessed a gradual change, as contending with non-state organizations, such as Hezbollah, the PLO and later Hamas became a central task of the IDF. The research is based on qualitative content analysis of many historical documents, drawn from public and private archives, national security journals, biographies and autobiographies, annual journalists' publications and interviews with relevant figures (Balint, 2000; Ben-Gur, 1990; Elovitch, 2013; Halperin, 2011; Lapid, 2007).

The study sheds light on the compelling dilemmas the Spokesperson's Unit faced in different periods and circumstances and demonstrates how the Spokesperson's Unit has modified its methods and actions throughout its existence in response to changes in the challenges posed mainly, though not merely, by the shifting nature of the country's enemies. Dealing with issues in which armies are involved is significantly different than dealing with civilian uprisings and their entanglements. This work discusses how the relationship between the IDF Spokesperson's Unit and the foreign media became difficult and problematic as the reality in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip evolved. The study also refers to the interface of the Spokesperson's Unit with the political arena, decision makers in defense and government authorities and other entities of public diplomacy in Israel (Mann, 2012).

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Sen. Bob La Follette's "Publicists" and the Modern Origin of U.S. Public Relations

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As it may fairly be said that war is the father of technological invention, it is also true that in the liberal democracies of the Western world, politics fathers public relations. The rhetorical arms race of political PR vitalizes the entire spectrum of persuasive communication. My presentation takes account of the political philosophy of the first modern theorist, Abraham Lincoln, which he succinctly expressed in his statement, "He who moulds public sentiment, goes deeper than he who enacts statutes or pronounces decisions. He makes statutes and decisions possible or impossible to be executed." The new birth of freedom he prophesized at Gettysburg depended in no small part upon the role of the media as an indispensable fourth estate -- a conviction that resonated with the role of a free press foreseen by the Founders.

It did not, however, anticipate the collateral consequences of mass audiences for mass media over the following decades. The opposite end of Abraham's arc bends toward the "manufactured consent" that Walter Lippmann warned of in *Liberty and the News* (1920): "[M]en are conscious that somehow they must deal with questions more intricate than any that church or school had prepared them to understand. Increasingly they know that they cannot understand them if the facts are not quickly and steadily available. Increasingly they are baffled because the facts are not available; and they are wondering whether government by consent can survive in a time when the manufacture of consent is an unregulated private enterprise."

Traveling along that arc (looking for a wrong turn?) we find the Progressive reformer, Governor Bob La Follette of Wisconsin, who recognized at the turn of the century that the challenge of reforming the financial, industrial and commercial realms required an informed citizenry who could trust the experts to provide meaningful options for democratic deliberation. La Follette's "Wisconsin idea" deployed the state university system in the training of a generation of what he called "publicists," who could translate the complexities of banking, land speculation, railroads, oil and steel -- the entire repertoire of the robber barons -- into manageable, voteable political choices in which all (men) could participate.

As the historian Katherine H. Adams has written, "The vision of a Progressive society posited a more powerful and active citizenry who would need information to pursue reform. To chart the future wisely, the populace would need guidance from trained communicators.... By 1910, Progressive universities would be providing these mind-molders, taste-formers, and idea-suggesters through specialized courses and majors in journalism, public relations, advertising, public speaking, creative writing, film, and business and technical writing."

The original "publicists" -- the muckrakers -- came first. Lee and Bernays were the response, and Lippmann's concerns were ultimately justified. Adams cites Eric Goldman: "The muckrakers used publicity as an anti-business weapon ... industry, in direct reply to the muckrakers, began to feel that if publicity could be used against them, it could be used for them. Hence the birth of the whole public relations industry."

This genealogy of public relations provides a fresh perspective that bridges the evolution of "public sentiment" in an industrial democracy, and helps to illuminate current dilemmas of an ill-informed body politic.

Client as hero: Thomas Carlyle's lectures, and their legacy for public relations.

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One of the most influential intellectual events of the nineteenth century was the public lectures on "The Hero" given in 1840 by the prominent journalist, essayist and philosopher Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881), and published a year later as *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and The Heroic in History*.

The lectures left a mark on civic and particularly political life in Europe and North America. Their legacy continues to be discussed, perpetually renewed by the churn of public events and scholarship. One consequence that is well-recorded, however, is the effect on governments, and especially – but not only - on twentieth-century totalitarian regimes, in part because of what one critic, writing in 1945, described as Carlyle's "exaltation of power as a moral force in the universe" (Schapiro, 1945, p.110-111). In the Third Reich, for instance, *On Heroes* became compulsory reading in German schools.

For this reason and others explored in this paper, Carlyle could hardly fail to collide with managed public communication as it was evolving into professional public relations, with new mass-produced media for presenting organizations to the concentrated populations of urban societies. It was a connection that raised new possibilities for publicity, for managing communities, and new dangers for social stability. The intensified connections between publicity and society drew attention from Carlyle and other prominent nineteenth-century observers including John Stuart Mill, Karl Marx and Gustav Le Bon.

Carlyle's legacy to public relations comprises style as well as ideas. He was conscious of style: as journalist, public intellectual and as a voice for Romantic anti-rationalism raised in opposition to industrialism. Carlyle grasped the importance of mass publicity and his vivid style was well suited to contemporary tastes and media. His style was "that of a prophet who leads us heavenward and of a wizard who leads us hellward" wrote the eminent philosopher Ernst Cassirer a century later. As a refugee from wartime Germany, Cassirer was at the receiving end of *On Heroes*' legacy to states and their public communication (Cassirer, 1946, p. 194). My paper suggests that public relations and target audiences alike were, for a long period, in thrall to Carlyle's style, widely popularized through his lectures on heroes. Even today, his stylistic descendants are apparent.

Above all, though, *On Heroes* was a platform for ideas. The main agents for fusing power to heroism were distilled and expressed in Carlyle's lectures. They were a highly successful and highly public amplification of his earlier work. I investigate their impact on the nascent public relations activities of civic and business organizations. I ask why this controversial intellectual impact remains as visible today as his stylistic influence. Certainly, Information Age public relations continues to work with Carlyle's powerful notions of heroes, and to manage "their reception and performance" (Carlyle, 1948, p. 239) among target audiences.

On Heroes, it is proposed here, invigorated the intellectual content and the style of emerging public relations, including its activities in one increasingly important arena: competitive contention for the entire minds of individuals, rather than for specific decisions or actions. My presentation relates the principles guiding Carlyle's treatment of heroes to the public relations treatment given to organizations, beliefs, products, leaders, audiences and finally to our individuality.

I examine the links between mass participation in digital PR and Carlyle, who distrusted the mass in a world "governed by the Unheroic". It was to him a "Valet-World" inhabited by "paralytic man" (Carlyle, 1948, p. 401) who does "not know the Hero when we see him" and so "has to be governed by the Sham-Hero" (Carlyle, 1948, p. 442).

Carlyle, at root, wished to substitute the "dead mechanical steam-engine" of industrial society with a vigorous, heroic society clothed in a heroic nimbus. *On Heroes* summoned the aid of mainly pagan divinity, of prophecy, poets, priests, letters and kingship. Later leaders and organizations folded his approaches into their public communication, an eventuality that ironically justified Carlyle's fears about "sham-heroes" exploiting his passionate calls for heroic liberation, and for a renewal of human autonomy and willpower, but used them for their own false purposes. My paper concludes that it is ethically and historically important for public relations to understand Carlyle's place in its inheritance.

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Media materialities and communication rituals in Swedish mail order retailing in the early 1900s

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Purpose, methodology and theoretical framework: The study, with the working title *Media materialities and communication rituals in Swedish mail order retailing in the early 1900s*, investigates media perspectives of mail order retailing on the Swedish countryside during the first decades of the 20th century. In the intersection between communication and consumption, the mail order catalogue emerges as a new medium around the turn of the century. Examining the media aspects of the catalogue as well as the communication products and practices surrounding it, provides insights into how mail order retailing became a part of everyday life and in what ways the social and cultural world was defined and modified by the introduction of mail order retailing in early 20th century.

A primary empirical limitation has been set to one of the most successful and omnipresent Swedish mail order companies at the time – Åhlén & Holm, founded in 1899. But activities of other companies, Swedish and foreign, might be included if relevant. Catalogues, flyers, press material, newsreels, marketing networks of local sales agents, and commercial activities are among material categories that are thematically analyzed, together with contemporary ethnological chronicles discussing experiences of mail-order retailing.

A media approach with materiality and ritual as its main theoretical framework, places the study in the center of the contemporary cultural-historical media research (Gitelman, 2006) or 'material, non-media centric media studies' (Morley, 2009). Drawing on Harold R Innis's concept of space- and time-biased communication (1951), as well as James Carey's transmission and ritual view on communication (1989), the study aims to explore the cultural dynamics between continuity and change, connection and differentiation, the global (or national) and the local.

Findings and implications for the field of PR history: PR and advertising history is a surprisingly unstudied field in the Swedish context, even though commercial messages have been a part of Swedes' everyday lives for centuries through almanacs, newspapers, pedlars, rural shops etc. When the mail order catalogue appeared in Sweden, and with it a vast amount of other marketing material and commercial activities, it built on previous communication forms and understandings (cf. the concept of remediation as described by McLuhan, 1964, and more recently by Grusin & Bolter, 1999, and Gitelman, 2006). But Åhlén & Holm was also strikingly diverse and innovative company when it came to their many commercial campaigns and activities in the first decades of the 20th century. The conducted commercial activities clearly had a pure commercial dimension (attract more customers), as well as a more symbolic and long-term aim striving to achieve a desirable company image in line with contemporary values and aspirations (PR).

A range of interesting activities and campaigns are examined. Already in 1911 Åhlén & Holm made a 25 000 km tour around Sweden in a modern automobile, stopping in most towns of the country so that people could see and touch the modern vehicle (most for the first time in their lives). Of course, the car was branded with the company logo and filled with Åhlén & Holm flyers and catalogues. The company arranged a nationwide movie-theatre tour in 1914 and their newsreels appeared in Swedish cinemas as from that same year. Åhlén &

Holm arranged spectacular airshows as early as 1913, and in 1916 the company donated 8000 Swedish national flags to be raised on flag poles of private homes. During the 1920s couples could win a "typical Swedish wedding" as the Åhlén & Holm couple of the year and in 1939 the company donated 1000 drainage systems to "rural homes in need". Furthermore, the company owned their own record company as well as a successful publishing house, issuing both magazines and books (which of course were sold through the mail-order catalogue). The publishing house opened a branch in Chicago in 1912, catering primarily for emigrated Swedish-Americans in North America, and also had plans on establishing a branch in the UK.

From a media systems perspective as described by Marshall McLuhan (1964) among others, meaning is given to a new medium, or communication form, in interplay with other media. By being materially present in many spheres and events connected to modernity (transport, cinema, records etc.) and through this presence also have conceptual power of representations, ideas and values, there are reasons to believe that the position both on the commercial market and as an agent for cultural definition (and change) was created and reinforced. In the center of the marketing system was, naturally, the mail-order catalogue received by hundreds of thousands of Swedish households. Apart from merely using it for searching and ordering sought-after products, it seems the catalogue was browsed for new trends and inventions, played with by children and put in the bookshelf or in the outhouse for later diversion reading and, not least, conversation starting (cf. Keller, 1995, for an American example). When it comes to the marketing and PR activities, they were directed towards the public as a "mass", which echoes with the public relations ideas of the time (cf Bernays, 1928). But also here the findings of the study points towards a high degree of participation and interpretation, which gave the marketing products and practices local, everyday meanings for ordinary people in a country that was still rural, poor and not very industrialized or modernized in the early 20th century.

As discernable above, commercial messages and activities generally moved from preoccupation with speed, machines and progress in the 1910s, through family and national values, to more socially aware campaigns in the 1930s. But it also seems that throughout the studied period Åhlén & Holm gave financial and material support to individuals and organizations. In the progress oriented marketing communication, however, it was never mentioned. This can be viewed in the light of today's demands on businesses to engage in societal issues (CSR) and how such engagements frequently are lifted in external communication. A reasonable interpretation is that in the early 20th century it was desirable to have an image associated with industry and modernity, not least for a company concerned with fast, effective transports and modern, fashionable consumption. Donating to the less fortunate individuals of society was morally right, but at the same time something that connected to "the old, poor and backwards Sweden".

Layers of past, present and future, as well as dimensions of here (the local) and there (the national/global) are at play in the commercial events. As a successful mail order firm with several supporting business branches, as well as being a diverse, modern and innovative company when it comes to marketing and PR, the case of Åhlén & Holm provides many interesting aspects that can give insights not only to PR and advertising historiography, but also to a refined understanding of how meaning is produced in commercial communication in the junction between the material and the conceptual.

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Untold Story of Public Relation in Turkey between 1920-1923: Gaining Support for Turkish Independence War

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Institutionalized public relations efforts were started at the end of 1950s and start of 1960s in Turkey. However persuasive communication efforts of the Turkish Government might date back to the early years of the Turkish Republic even to Turkish Independence War which took place between 1919 to 1923. From the start of the War of Independence publicizing the struggle abroad was also highly valued. The Anadolu Agency (Anadolu Ajansı), which was established on 6 April 1920, was a press agency that announced the success of the resistance movement and the failures of its enemies, and in particular combed the foreign press for encouraging reports (Mango, 1999, p. 275). Soon after, on 7 June 1920, the General Directorate of the Press (Matbuat ve İstihbarat Müdüriyeti Umumiyesi) was founded with the aim of producing publications to defend the national cause and to constantly scrutinize the foreign press in order to understand the flow of ideas. At the same time, it also produced publications for national consumption to unite ideas and uphold spirits. The Guidance Committee (Irşad Encümen), formed as a propaganda organization, was founded in 1920 with the aim of persuading people in Anatolia to join and support the War of Independence, although its target audience also included soldiers who needed information about what was happening on the other war fronts (Aslan, 2004). This paper is going to discuss the uninvestigated roots of Turkish public relations during Turkish Independence war via minutes of council, biogrophies, otobiogrophies and newspaper archives.

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The use of anecdotes and other rhetorical means in Italian political leaders' discourse: the application of the Rhetorical Political Analysis method to investigate the rise of populism within political communication from 1990 to 2014

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The purpose of this research is to examine the type and use of quotations adopted by Italian main party leaders as a form of proof to legitimise their argumentations during annual conferences over the period 1990-2014. Furthermore, it aims at investigating whether the rhetorical use of anecdotes in political discourses is becoming an emerging regular practice, arguing that politicians' preference for the use of ordinary people stories over specialist knowledge supporting a political point are a reflection of a more general rise of a populist ideology in Italy.

The project builds on the research conducted by Atkins and Finlayson (2013) on the adoption of anecdotes by some of the UK's most prominent politicians in their speeches during the period 1990-2010. It also takes inspiration from the study conducted by the scholars in 2014 (Atkins and Finlayson, 2014) on the use of quotations by British politicians over the last 50 years. Thus, the aim of this research is to discover whether the analysis of the use of quotations during political party leaders' conference within the Italian context generates the same results. Specifically, the researcher looks at whether Italian political leaders are adapting the way they communicate to the changing circumstances, in order to keep their legitimacy, and to be identified with the constituency's preferred political choice, or else whether they are maintaining an obsolete linguistic register which causes an increase in the distance between political representatives and common citizens.

The literature review focuses on three main areas of interest. Firstly, it examines the function of rhetoric, as the art of the use of language to persuade, and the evolution of its perception from classical to modern times. Hence, it explores the role of political oratory in democratic systems and the concept of rhetorical situation, in order to illustrate how deliberative rhetoric has evolved due to the changing context of political communication. Finally, it examines the theory of argumentation, which applies to any speech which attempts at persuading, and how the rhetorical strategy of reasoning relates to the study of political ideologies.

By using the RPA method, this study aims to investigate the populist effect on political communication, which is an emerging trend observed in institutional speeches of other Western countries like the UK, and whether it applies in Italy in the context of discourses at political party conferences. Hence, this research attempts to respond to a simple question: is Italian political communication truly adapting to the changing environment? More specifically, research objectives are described as follows:

- To identify the type and use of quotations a form of proof to legitimate rhetorical argumentations used in leaders' discourses during party conferences over the period 1990-2014.
- To determine whether the citation of anecdotes as a type of quotation represents an emerging regular practice among political leaders during party conferences over the period 1990-2014.
- To identify the relationship between the use of quotations and the circumstances in

which political leaders deliver their speech.

The study adopts a qualitative approach to conduct the research. Specifically, it uses the Rhetorical Political Analysis (RPA) as the investigative method to conduct a discourse analysis of a sample of twenty leaders' speeches at party conferences. The RPA method has been chosen because, among the others, is expressly designed for the study of the essence and peculiarities of rhetoric (Glynos et al., 2009) as well as its role in political discourse. Furthermore, this method aims to rehabilitate rhetoric as instrumental for communicating the truth, after having been largely criticized for being manipulative. RPA allows the researcher to study the role of rhetoric within political language, in particular to examine political argumentation and the evidence that speakers adopt to support a political claim.

Evidential proof of the speakers' addresses used in political argumentation to persuade their audience are classified into four main categories: evidential, cultural, party political, and anecdotal quotations. Findings examine the main themes tackled by each of the citations, outline a trend of their usage by Italian political actors over the period 1990-2014, and compare results among left and right-wing party leaders. Particularly, they show that the use of the first three types of citations has gradually declined, compensated by the recent rise of the use of anecdotes. Anecdotal quotations observed are of two kinds: stories about ordinary people, and stories about the leaders' personal experiences. While the former are indicative of an increasing importance within the political debate of the voiced opinions of common citizens, the latter illustrate the rise of a personalisation process in Italian politics. Conclusions relate the outcomes of the research to the study aim and objectives. Specifically, it is argued that political language is adapting to the changing context, whereby individuals ascribe to the common opinion the importance of issues of public concern instead of to the authorities or to those who have the specialist knowledge on such matters. Hence, the conclusion is that there is a populist trend within Italian political communication. However, the reaction of political communication to the changing context seems to be slow, considering the fact that the rise of anecdotal quotations occurred later compared to the rise of populism within other aspects of the public sphere.

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A "herstory" of Public Relations: Teresa Dorn, from Scott Cutlip to Burson-Marsteller Europe (1974-1995)

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"I am not sure there is much to be said", wrote Teresa when she first knew about the author of this paper's interest to write about her life in public relations (PR). This witty, intelligent and hard working PR consultant started in the business 40 years ago. She studied with Scott Cutlip, worked for two Spanish PR pioneers and helped Burson-Marsteller to open its first office in Spain in 1980, becoming the first multinational firm to establish in a country with a fledgling democracy. She was appointed President of Burson-Marsteller Europe in 1992.

This paper will concentrate on Teresa Dorn's contributions to the history/herstory of PR in Spain through the analysis of her first 20 professional years, of which 15 were devoted to the making of Burson-Marsteller a prominent multinational company in the country.

Documenting her life has not been an easy task, since she has not kept any private correspondence nor archive. The methodology for this research thus combines two approaches. First, a literature review on the history of PR in the United States (where Burson-Marsteller originated), Spain and Europe, as well as on the history of Spain in the transition to democracy sets a basic timeline and context. Included in this literature review are feminist perspectives and vindications for "herstories" that go beyond technical roles (Toth, 1988; Creedon, 1989; Kern-Foxworth, 1989; Toth and Grunig, 1993; Lamme and Russell, 2010; St. John et als, 2015; L'Etang et als, 2016). Secondly, archival research of the first Spanish PR agency has been used to document Dorn's arrival in Spain. This documentation will finally be complemented with personal and e-mail interviews to Teresa Dorn, and people who have worked alongside her such as: Claude Marshall, Christopher Fisher, Carlos Lareau, Juan Astorqui and Carmen Varela. There will also be an attempt (on explicit request from Teresa Dorn) to contact Harold Burson for his perspective.

The young American Teresa Dorn (born 1951) studied at the University of Wisconsin-Madison for a Bachelor of Business Administration (B.B.A.) with a minor in journalism and PR between 1970-1974, with Scott M. Cutlip as one of his lecturers. Following a personal recommendation from Scott Cutlip and an exchange of letters with Joaquín Maestre in the summer of 1974, the Spanish PR pioneer recruited her as an independent consultant. Maestre had opened S.A.E. de RP, his Spanish pioneer PR consultancy, in November 1960 in Barcelona. Teresa's objective was to open an office of his firm in Madrid. She worked for Maestre between November 1974 and April 1975. When the agreement ended, Bernard Jennings, another North American who had been working on PR business in Madrid for ten years, hired Teresa. The year of 1975 was a pivotal for Spain, since the death of dictator Franco, who had been in power for almost 40 years, opened the path for democracy. When Jennings died from cancer, Teresa's potential was unleashed by Burson-Marsteller that was interested in opening a Spanish office in Madrid. Between 1980 and 1992, Teresa worked for the multinational agency opening a second office in Barcelona in 1985. In 1992 she was appointed Director for Burson Marsteller Europe, just when the PR business was booming in Spain. After an intense three-year term she tried to retire in 1995 and start a new business, a rural touristic hotel not far from Madrid. However, Burson-Marsteller did not let her fully retire and she has been combining both jobs ever since.

Her biographical account will be placed within the context of two major turning points: the rise of democracy in the late 1970s after a long dictatorship, and the booming Spanish PR

industry of the 1990s. Thus, the paper will follow Lamme's (2015) argument for more attention to biography as a way of understanding who pioneers were and what influenced them as a way to inform "our critical appraisals of their historical significance and that of their contributions" (Lamme, 2015: 49). The results will not only "record the interplays of people and their effects on their place and time" (Lamme, 2015: 53), but also open the possibility of comparison with other PR female practitioners' experiences.

This paper represents the first attempt to research the role of women in Spanish PR profession and history by focusing on a single high-profile practitioner. In addition, it is the first approach to the history of the establishment of multinational PR agencies in Spain. This research tries to shed some more light on the influences of political and societal contexts for the development of public relations and, therefore contribute to a national and international historiography as it might unveil alternative accounts for future developments (L'Etang, 2008; 2015).

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Reputation: An alternative lens to make sense of history

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The need felt by individuals and organisations to build, protect and restore reputation as acknowledged in the practice of PR is a driving force that is critical in political and corporate contexts and shapes personal as well as institutional behaviour and relationships. This premise calls for a new or revised perspective in historical analysis – even in cases where communication management, PR or proto PR are not ostensibly the theme or episode under consideration. Reasons for and causes of decisions that lead to a shift in national politics and corporate strategy may be rooted in an appreciation of the need to seek and manage personal or organisational prestige or standing (assumption 1). Likewise, stakeholders' responses to organisational or individual behaviour is reflective of guidance informed by reputational patterns (assumption 2). As a result, historians are called upon to adopt a new interpretative lens to supplement the distinct perspectives currently deployed to make sense of the past, account for what happened and fathom what failed to occur.

This understanding of strategic priorities may add to and broaden the scaffolding that would conventionally shape historical interpretation. The resulting shift of angle and emphasis moulds the direction of enquiry and focus deployed by the historian. At the same time this requires inferences arrived at in the past to be reappraised. Papers published by the author as well as work in progress are drawn on as a starting point for what may at a later stage be a somewhat more comprehensive re-evaluation of historical narrative and may eventually lead to the development of reputation as an indispensable instrument of historical investigation.

The paper will draw on historical cases to explore how decisions engaged in by political leaders may have been taken in direct response to concerns about the public persona voiced among internal and external stakeholders. Based on historical precedent the author proffers a first assumption by suggesting that political reforms or the lack of them, declaration of wars and the strenuous efforts to forge a peace accord, pacifist demeanour as well as aggressive grandstanding may not be so much linked to personality or circumstance, but rather a strategic manoeuvre intended to gain recognition and trust instrumental in generating and building reputation and shoring up the individual's position at the helm of the hierarchy. The case to dissect here in more detail is Emperor Claudius' decision for the Roman Empire to invade and occupy Britannia. While the debate about his motivation for long centred on natural resources, military strategy and a culturally innate drive to expand, the perspective of reputation and reputation management shifts not only the attention but provides a highly plausible account of causality. It will be shown how Claudius as a result of diverse ailments and physical shortcomings was by many seen as unfit to govern from the outset of his term. His reputation teetering on the brink of collapse was an open invitation to challengers of this authority. A decision to invade Britannia – a province not even conquered by the great Julius Caesar – would have strengthened Claudius' relationship with critical stakeholders who may have taken this bold decision as a cue to allay fears the emperor may not be up to the job. In other words, a thus strengthened reputation may be strategically the most desirable windfall from the campaign in Britannia.

The concept of reputation entails an inbuilt dichotomy as it serves to anticipate behaviour while it is also deployed as interpretative tool in an analysis of the past. In other words our

understanding of reputation management's function in guiding behaviour of protagonists and conditioning responses among stakeholder mirrors both its predictive as well as its interpretative dimension. Both the former and latter are of use not just in an executive context and invaluable for activities related to auditing with a view to discern problems and best practice. Both dimensions assist in drilling to the core of what historians need to do when ascertaining what really happened: A review of causes, triggers and consequences. The case principally investigated in this paper to discuss this second assumption is the fall of the western Roman Empire, which ever since 476 has stirred intense debate among historians. It is being argued that one potential cause for the demise of Rome can be found by reviewing the developments in the 5th century which led to a deterioration of the perception hostile tribes across the border had of the Empire. In response to negligent reputation management the images circulating among tribal leaders suggested Rome was - in contrast to previous centuries – neither willing nor capable of retaliating forcefully threats to its authority and territorial integrity. This unleashed a vicious cycle that encouraged growing confidence among tribes hostile to the empire. Their coalescing brought about an onslaught the Roman forces in the end found themselves overwhelmed by. It is suggested that during the heyday of the Empire adept communications - through pageant and action - secured a reputation of robust border defences, ruthless military policy and unheard of organisational skill which on aggregate did not go unnoticed beyond the border and in total substantially decreased the likelihood of actual physical attacks and raids that in turn allowed the Roman army to prevail over those limited numbers of raiders that otherwise could not be deterred.

The conclusion leads to the suggestion of how we should deal with this newly acquired reputational prism in historical analysis: Historians need to recast the net of analysis, widen the range of analytical criteria and question the premise, perspective, process and outcome of historical developments wherever the interpretative angle reflected in reputation management has so far not been given full consideration. This absence does not only impair the fair and balanced reflection of personal and organisational stakeholder behaviour, but also hinders the appreciation of the motivation individual protagonists and institutional agents are driven by, whose decisions are central to historical processes and outcomes.

The historical development of public relations in Turkey from women's perspective

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In Turkey, public relations studies were first seen in public institutions. The acknowledgement of public relations by the private sector, the development of relevant educational institutions and the establishment of non-governmental organizations coincide with the late 1960s. In the historical process until today, many women have played active roles in the development of this discipline. The general characteristic of these people is that they have realized the importance of public relations at an early period and conducted versatile studies with this discipline. In this study, through in-depth interviews made with female specialists who have served in the academia, private sector-public sector and non-governmental organizations, series of analysis were made regarding the historical development, applications, shortcomings, errors, problems of public relations in Turkey and the perception and future of the public relations profession within society and the Public Relations Profession was brought into question from the perspective of women. With this study it was determined that women have a catalytic influence and provide an important basis on the development of public relations.

The History of PR-Job Advertisements: From Advertising to PR and Marketing. A Content Analysis of PR-Job Advertisements in Austrian Daily Newspapers from 1955 to 2014

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This contribution primarily aims at reconstructing the evolution of PR-job advertisements outlined by companies and organisations in daily newspapers. The research on the history of PR-job descriptions sheds light into the tasks, designations and the diverging relationships with neighbouring disciplines during the past 50 years.

Competences and qualifications have become an on-going topic in PR-literature. However, little is known about the development of job descriptions in view of staff search. Given to the fact that no uniform understanding and professional image exist to date, the evolution of the published ideas from companies and organisations is of interest. Although there are several studies concerning designations and occupational roles in PR-job advertisements, such as Szyszka (1990), Altmeppen & Roters (1992), and Röttger (1997), to name some examples, little is known about the development.

Against this, the following contribution gives answers to questions such as: To what extent did companies search for PR-practitioners in the different decades? What were the tasks and roles? Which tasks and qualifications cited companies in order to find employees for public relations in the different periods? Which relations to neighbouring disciplines could be noted?

The symbolic interaction paradigm can give some conceptual framework. The symbolic interaction explains the formation of meanings based on communication (Cooley 1964). Following that, the published job profiles express the assignment of meanings by companies and organisations in view of public relations. Starting with the definition of PR as "the management of communication" by Grunig/Hunt (1984); Röttger, Preusse & Schmitt (2014) the findings highlight the various kinds of interpretations by companies and organisations during different periods. The analysis is based on a quantitative content analysis. For the purpose of the research all editions of the Austrian daily newspaper 'Die Presse' from January 1955 to December 2014 were identified (N=21500). The selection shows that most of the career opportunities were published in the weekend editions. Against this, all published job profiles in 3120 weekend editions were analysed. The analysis examines 189 job advertisements concerning public relations during the past fifty years. The content analysis refers to categories such as; number of job advertisements, denomination, functions and roles, tasks, required job experiences, education, individual qualifications.

The outline of the contribution follows a four-step-sequence; first, the theoretical considerations explain the formation of meanings. The second part presents the method followed by the main part highlighting the results. Last but not least, the concluding part indicates not only a summary, but rather provides some discussion points.

The research findings demonstrate that the *quantitative development* increased from 8 job postings during the period from 1955 to 1964 up to 70 opportunities during 2005 and 2014. In view of the *denomination* it is of interest that in the first decade most of the job descriptions refer to advertising and only 10% were under the umbrella of public relations. In contrast, in the latest decade public relations dominated the denominations.

In the first ten years only 12.5% of the opportunities were advertised as leadership or management *function*. In contrast, 87.5% are identified as usual employee-positions. From 1965 to 1974 the leadership function was almost invisible. During that period only one job posting can be

identified with a leadership and management function. However, from the mid-1970s a continuous increase in PR-leadership and in the direction of management is recognisable. In the last period mainly management positions were advertised.

Concerning the *tasks* it can be noted that from 1955 to 1964 only two postings cited concrete tasks, on the one hand internal communication and on the other external communication. Interestingly, also in the following period the internal communication was a very important field. Beside the internal communication and the presswork, the strategic planning can be added as third main task in the mid-1970s, which decreased in the mid-1980s and disappeared completely in the mid-1990s. From 2005 to 2014 four task areas are conspicuously; presswork as single task (31%), external corporate communication (30%) internal corporate communication (26%), and single external communication tasks (21%). Although the options for the management function increased, the task of strategic planning decreased. *This result indicates that companies did not connect the management of communication with strategic planning* in their attributed meanings.

Regarding *job experiences* it can be noted that 62.5% of the descriptions pointed out experiences in advertising in the first period from 1955 to 1964. From 1965 to 1974 only 23,1% required any job experiences. Between 1975 and 1984 50% of the descriptions sketched out experiences in public relations, journalism and marketing. Compared, in the last period 34% of the profiles indicated marketing experiences. In contrast, required job experiences in journalism and advertising decreased enormously in the latest decade.

In view of *education* the results show that mainly in the mid-1960s specific PR-education was issued, which decreased in the mid-1980s and increased in the latest period. The overall looking at individual qualifications demonstrates the important role of communication ability, team-orientation, and creativity in all periods.

The history of job description demonstrates the attributed meanings to public relations by companies and organisations during the past fifty years. In summary, the results point out that internal communication was a very important task for companies and organisations since 1955. This is quite surprising because of the fact that in general, public relations was very reduced to presswork in former periods. In addition, the results highlight the connection between public relations and advertising in the first period and an in-depth-relation with marketing experiences in the latest one. Furthermore, the research sketch out the indirect proportionality of management and strategic planning. Against this, it can be assumed that companies and organisations defined management differently to some theoretical approaches. Last but not least, the overall looking presents that PR-specific education played a crucial role during the 1960s. Following that, it can be assumed that those requirements might be a starting point for the further development of specific PR-education.

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The Historical Story of "Ms. Noppamas" from the "Loi Krathong" Festival: Applying the current "PR" Approach to Identify the First Female PR Person from Thailand

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The "Loi Krathong" Festival is one of the most-celebrated events in Thailand. In every year, all rivers, cannels, and ponds in Thailand are illuminated with millions of candle-lit "Krathongs" in the night time. The word "Krathong" means a small floating vessel with the lotus style. These vessels are made from natural Banana leaves, decorating with incenses, candles, and flowers.

At the international level, Thai Government and the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) have joined hands with the private and public partners to highlight the "Loi Krathog" Festival worldwide as a part of promoting Travel Industry in Thailand for decades. Especially, this special event are recognized in all kind of Thai Public Relations tools of Thai Tourism Promotion. The major focus of the event is an image of a beautiful Thai woman with a friendly smile. She always dresses up in a local Thai traditional style with a "Krathong" in her hand. Otherwise, they show her action of taking a lotus style Krathong to the river and let it go (—or being called as "Loi" in Thai). The local Thai citizen --from all ages and all walk of lives --- have highly recognized this woman as "Ms. Noppamas". The objective of this article is to focus on "Ms. Noppamas" from the perspective of Public Relations. Based on the documentary analysis of her life in Thai history, this paper claims that she was the first "Thai" woman who played a role of what we are currently recognized as a PR person.

Back to the history of Thailand, this paper seeks to find out evidences to claim that Ms Noppamas dedicated herself for the ancient Thai PR activities. By looking back to the past, Ms. Noppamas was claimed as one of the Thai women in history when the first Thai kingdom was found. She was an ordinary woman who play a significant role due to the fact that people believed she "created" Krathong from Banana leaves in a unique lotus-shaped style and use it as a floating vessel to pay respect to the mother of the rivers. According to the Thai's oral history, the King appreciated her creativity and decided to make a formal announcement to use Noppamas' original version of vessels as the symbol of the "Loi Krathong" festival. Some stories claimed that the king promoted her as the most "favorite" consort during the old days. Some document mentioned that she was later promoted to have a higher rank as a senior official called "Tao Sri Chulalak" since she was a first lady who wrote a book to promote woman on what to behave officially, if they want to compete with men to be selected to as a civil servant.

However, her story is currently arguable. On one hand, the contemporary historians tried to discredit "her story" and claimed that she didn't excite in our old history, and it was less possible to celebrate "Loi Kratong" Festival since our water was insufficient in that old capital city. They tried to show that our King wrote up her story as a propaganda tool for visualizing the "ideal" picture of the old day and "ideal" woman from the male perspectives. On the other hand, the others sought to defense that she was in the "real" oral history. But the local people failed to save the old hand written document of the old ages due to wars, fires, or the way these notes were taken. They claimed that our King Rama IV wrote up her

story based on an oral history, and formally shared it to the public after the modern publishing machine was introduced in Thailand some hundred years ago.

To be concluded, no matter who she is, or whether she was in Thai history or not, Thai people perceived her as a traditional Role model, who promotes Thai Female characteristics, Thai way of smiling, and Thai way of dressing, and create the first PR event for recognizing the value of water as "Loi Krathong". Her story is widely spreads from WOM to the publishing documents, and promotional materials. Also a number of Thai women have joined the competitions to be selected as "Ms. Noppamas" of the "Loi Kratong" Festival. Then, should she be recognized as a first female PR person in Thai history?

A His- and- Herstory of Marriage in Sin City How Promoting the Wedding Industry Helped Las Vegas Establish Itself as One of the World's Most Popular Tourist Destinations

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In 2014, more than 80,000 couples came to Las Vegas, NV to get married at one of its well-known wedding chapels. These unique cultural icons take a number of forms: Drive-through weddings, weddings at a Denny's diner/restaurant, weddings officiated by Elvis impersonators, and much more. The notion of the "Vegas wedding" has gained its own cultural currency and has been replicated in a number of movies, books, and other pop culture representations of the city.

Few realize, however, that Las Vegas's historical association with marriage actually started because the state made it so easy for couples to end their unions. In the early 1930s, liberal divorce laws in Nevada drew hundreds of women (as well as some well known men, including actor Eddie Fisher and singer Frank Sinatra), to the state each year. They stayed the mandatory six-week residency period and returned home as single women (Brean, 2014). The most famous woman to do so was Maria Gable, Clark Gable's first wife, soon to be followed by women including actresses Elizabeth Taylor, Carole Lombard, and Marilyn Monroe.

This air of celebrity around the "quickie" Nevada divorce was closely paralleled by Las Vegas's growing reputation as a wedding destination. Notable Hollywood couples – Joanne Woodward and Paul Newman, Elvis and Priscilla Presley – flocked to Las Vegas in the 1950s and 1960s to tie the knot. Seeing the potential for favorable publicity, casino owners made the most of these weddings by providing complimentary facilities and wooing potential celebrity couples to wed in their chapels.

Owners of Las Vegas's independent wedding chapels similarly capitalized on the Vegas wedding phenomenon, advertising the marriages of famous couples at their establishments. When these chapels took to the Internet for promotion, many of them highlighted the celebrity couples that had used their services (e.g., Graceland Chapel, 2015; Little Church of the West, 2015).

This research will bring together evidence from the UNLV Special Collections Library's Gaming Collection, along with other primary and secondary sources, to document the historical association between weddings and Las Vegas tourism. It will focus primarily on the efforts of the casinos, chapels, and city tourism officials to promote the city as a wedding destination.

In October 2015, a record 3.8 million visitors came to Las Vegas (Las Vegas Sun Staff, 2015). They came to gamble in its casinos, dance in its nightclubs, and eat in its celebrity chef-helmed restaurants – and, without a doubt, some of them came to get married. This research will show how promotion of the wedding industry played a key role in turning Las Vegas into the unparalleled tourist attraction that it is today.

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An examination of historic efforts and attitudes of the integration of advertising & public relations

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The integration of advertising and public relations has been a topic of interest for some time, and though it has gone through various iterations in both name and practice (Duncan & Caywood, 1996), it is centered in the effort to combine organizational "members with skills in the various communication disciplines…to achieve the best possible communication solutions" (Phelps, et al., 1996, p.217).

Throughout the early 1980's through the mid 1990's, the concept of integration was predominantly under the paradigm of integrated marketing communications (IMC), an effort which was widely rejected by public relations educators and practitioners, who claimed "that IMC represents a form of marketing imperialism insofar as it seeks to subordinate much or all of public relations under the umbrella of IMC" (Hutton, 1996, p.155). Though the IMC paradigm may no longer be dominant in either practice or academia, it did leave a lasting mark as some universities maintain their public relations and advertising education under the IMC name.

In academia today, many programs use the moniker of "strategic communication" or some variation thereof, to signify their efforts toward integration. This; however, is not necessarily driven by current business practices, and is sometimes more reflective of administrative decisions to recruit more students, or because of insufficient faculty expertise in one field or the other.

However, integration of public relations and advertising (and often marketing) is replete in the practice of professional communication, though often to varying degrees. New communication tools and strategies (ie., social media, content creation) often serve as the drivers of this integration, as practitioners continue to realize the potential for both traditional public relations, as well as advertising opportunities, on these new platforms.

The concept of integration, then, is clearly important today. But how did early practitioners view integration of public relations and advertising? This study examines how early leaders in both public relations and advertising viewed the relationship between the two fledgling fields. Penning (2008) wrote that advertising and public relations were often associated with each other as far back as the 1920's, and that the business side of advertising may have been a cause of the publics' uncertainty about the motives of public relations.

Many of the early thought leaders in public relations and advertising held varying opinions about the concept of integrating public relations and advertising. This paper uses historical research of some of those figures to better understand the relationship between the two fields, and to (hopefully) better inform efforts in integration today. Some of the early thought leaders featured include: Edward Bernays, Arthur Page, John Hill, Albert Lasker, among others.

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How Far Have We Got? A Longitudinal Analysis of Female Practitioners and their Views on the Development of the Field

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It has been well established that Public Relations is a female industry, evidenced by the number of women working in the industry has grown considerably in the past decades². However, even though Public Relations is a predominantly female industry, senior positions remain occupied by male practitioners.

This paper presents a longitudinal analysis of views of female PR practitioners on the development of Public Relations. In that, the paper will particularly look at views on career development, leadership, and salaries. The data comes from the European Communications Monitor research project conducted annually since 2007 in 42 countries³. The project is based on a large trend survey distributed to PR and communication professionals who were asked to estimate developments in the field, as well as to self-report on their own work, career progress, etc.

The results show that women report career progress, however, there are still problems in wage gaps and progressing to more senior positions. This is despite the findings that it is women who use new technology more than men which contradicts the traditional prejudices that it is women who are more inclined towards personal contacts.⁴

The aim of the paper is to discuss these findings in line with relevant feminist theories and debate the main research question of the paper, i.e. how far have we got in gender equality?

² CIPR State of the Profession (2015). Results of survey on the wage gap between men and women in Public Relations. Available at: http://www.cipr.co.uk/stateofpr (Accessed 23 July 2015)

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Parallels in Propaganda? A Comparative Historical Analysis of Islamic State and the Third Reich

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Purpose: This paper aims to increase understanding of the propaganda operations of Islamic State (IS) through a comparative historical analysis of its communications strategy and tactics and those of the German Third Reich in the 1930s and 1940s.

The aim is to identify areas of commonality and so inform contemporary analysis of the efficacy of IS's communications strategy based on historical precedent.

Originality: The article goes beyond a descriptive study of Nazi Party and IS communications and undertakes a comparative historical study that identifies significant overlap in the propaganda operations of IS. The paper applies a totalitarian lens derived from analysis of the National Socialist (NS) communications for the analysis and the resulting categorisation of Islamic State's propaganda.

Literature: The place of Nazi propaganda in public relations (PR) history - and the work of Dr Joseph Goebbels in particular – has not been settled by scholars with no papers offered on the topic so far at IHPRC, although the period features explicitly in Bentele's (1994) stratified model of public relations. One possible explanation for this reticence is unease at the "highly effective, and catastrophic application and development of propaganda theory" from US theorists such as Bernays by Hitler and his Nazi propaganda chief, Joseph Goebbels (Motion et al, 2006, p. 10). A similar unease – along with a tendency to initially underestimate the effectiveness of Nazi propaganda followed by overestimation in the first wave of scholarship – has been repeated in analysis of IS. IS followed al-Qaeda as exponents of post-classical terrorism (Wieviorka and White, 2004) that moved beyond the classical era of regional or ideological groups. Post-classical terrorist groups share a global outlook, emphasis on the propaganda of the deed and interaction with global media infrastructures such as the internet, which has led to IS being hailed as terrorism's "masters of the digital universe" (Atwan, 2015, p. 15).

Methodology: The paper compares the contemporary media strategy and tactics of IS's Institution for Public Information and its affiliates, the Global Islamic Media Front and Al Hayat Media Centre, with the Reich Ministry for Propaganda and Enlightenment of Dr Joseph Goebbels in Nazi Germany.

The investigative emphasis of the paper is identification of what the two propaganda organisations did, based on available evidence in the form of propaganda outputs, materials and distribution systems. This listing of activity is then categorised and areas of difference or similarity recorded. Rather than regarding IS solely as a terrorist group, the article applies a totalitarian lens for the comparative analysis and the resulting categorisation of Islamic State's propaganda strategy and tactics.

Findings: The paper specifies and describes areas of commonality between IS and Nazi party propaganda strategy, messages and delivery. A selection of these thematic areas are summarised in the listing below, but other areas covered in the full paper are parallels in the use of martyrdom, literacy in technology of communications and media production, emotion and the use of sexuality in propaganda:.

Sense of new statehood: Islamic State and Volksgemeinschaft or national community.

Claiming the homeland and expanding overseas: IS's motto, "Enduring and Expanding" and Nazi race-based policy of expansion named *Lebensraum* or space for living.

Internal and External Enemy: A theme of Nazi propaganda and IS similarly wages war on "near enemy" in Middle East and "far enemy" in the West.

Leadership myths: Führer myth of Hitler and claim of IS leader and self-proclaimed caliph, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, to be a descendant of Muhammad.

Implications and Limitations: The comparative analysis offers insights into the nature of IS's media operations and suggests areas for future work to investigate strategies that could reduce its communications effectiveness. The conclusion of the paper includes tentative suggestions for counter-propaganda approaches that erode the language of claim that is used by IS in staking out extreme ideological and geopolitical claims, such as offering a new state or caliphate (*kalifr*) to which all Muslims should migrate (*hijr*).

The suggestion of breaking down the nomenclature of claim is already being deployed by opponents and some politicians, including the UK Prime Minister and ex-PR professional, David Cameron, who refuses to call IS, "Islamic State," and uses instead the potentially insulting *Daesh*, a name loathed by IS, which has threatened to cut out the tongue of anyone they find using the term.

The paper is limited in the scope of its investigation by its use of mainly print, video and online sources in English, although some original content of Nazi and IS propaganda was also reviewed.

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Art, Documentary or Propaganda of the Human Form? An Evaluation of the 1930s films of Leni Riefenstahl

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Leni Riefenstahl's Triumph des Willens is not only the greatest propaganda film ever made, it is a film for which a sense of informed historical content continues to be a major problem.

- Culbert, 2004

Purpose: The subject of this historical essay is two 1930s films by Leni Riefenstahl, who has been described as one of the 20th century's most controversial women, the greatest woman director and the maker of two of the most extraordinary documentaries of all time.

The purpose of the paper is to evaluate the propaganda approach adopted by Leni Riefenstahl in the 1935 film Triumph of the Will (*Triumph des Willens*), based on the 1934 Nuremburg rallies of the Nazi party, and *Olympia*, her account of the 1936 Berlin Olympics, which won awards at the Venice Film Festival and from the International Olympic Committee (IOC). Both films were funded by the Nazi party but presented as documentaries.

Originality: The article evaluates *Triumph des Willens* and *Olympia* from a physical propaganda perspective and presents a theorisation of Riefenstahl's work as a sensual corporealisation of Nazi ideology that promoted physical culture and complemented other strands of Nazi propaganda such as the ideal of a national community for a new Germany, the *Volksgemeinschaft*. The article also adds to public relations history with the proposal that both films are examples of the continued interest and involvement of Adolph Hitler - who commissioned *Triumph des Willens* and who is named in the credits as a producer - in propaganda design and delivery, despite the official delegation of most Nazi party communications to Dr Joseph Goebbels.

Literature Review: The place of film in propaganda has been a focus of public relations historical scholarship for over 10 years with L'Etang (2004) including the documentary film making of Grierson and others in her history of UK public relations. War time cinema has been the subject of papers at IHPRC since 2012 when Ramon Girona & Jordi Xifra presented on Frank Capra's Why we Fight documentary (2013). In the same year, St. John and Arnett (2013) provided a template for case study examination of propaganda cinema with their study of the war-time promotional film, Your Town, from the United States. A focus on physical culture at a time of national renewal was not unique to Nazi Germany in the 1930s. Grant (2012) recorded that the corporal was just as much an object of Bolshevik concern for the way fine bodies could be representative of renewal in the Soviet project. In Nazi Germany, physical culture was communicated as part of a "fascist aesthetic" (Schulte-Sasse, 1991) in posters, photography and cinema, as a visual representation of the ideology of the master race, or Herrerasse, which was made compelling through the motif of perfect bodies.

Methodology and Findings: This historical essay is based on existing literature, film viewings and the resulting analysis. The conclusion is that Riefenstahl's documentaries can be interpreted as a sensualised propaganda of the human form which also included elements of epic and mythology. The article proposes that Leni Riefenstahl was invited by Hitler to direct these two projects outside of Goebbel's Nazi propaganda operation, in order to deliver innovative documentary propaganda films that set a precedent in visual propaganda and

conveyed the physical culture of Nazism. Riefenstahl herself was an athletic and vibrant personality, with interests in theosophy and nudism as well as the benefits of physical fitness. The athletic bodies she portrayed in *Olympia* were her chosen artistic vehicle to convey the physical culture aspects of Nazi ideology. The result is a visual and sensual cinematic manifestation of an idea (Nazism) which guaranteed emotional engagement. Similarly, the transcendent visions of community in *Triumphen des Willen*, which included the smiling, blonde Germans marching together as well as bathing in the camps, offered a similarly intimate and highly appealing glimpse of life in the new communal *Volksgemeinschaft*.

Implications and Limitations: The implications of the research question as to whether Leni Riefenstahl's films were art, documentary or propaganda is an enduring historical issue that was critical to Riefenstahl herself in the 1940s and 1950s, when she was the subject of four de-nazification proceedings, one of which finally declared her a Nazi sympathizer (*Mitläufer*) although she was never a member of the Nazi party. This conceptualisation of these two works as a propaganda of the human form based on the director's own interests in physical culture offers a fresh perspective of Leni Riefenstahl's work that combines artistic, documentary and propaganda dimensions and offers a starting point for further study into visual propaganda that promotes the content motif of the perfect body for didactic purposes.

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The untold story of the Women who led Britain's PR and Corporate Communications Head Hunter firms – and how their decisions shaped the sector

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The UK Public Relations industry grew significantly on the back of the liberalisation of the financial system by the Conservative Government in the early 1980s. This began with the privatisations of the state-owned utilities in the 1980s (Davis, 2002, Marr, 2007). The agencies which were at the forefront of this growth included the multinationals such as Burson Marsteller and Lowe Bell whose founder Sir Tim Bell, was a Conservative Party adviser, found themselves in the right place and at the right time to capitalise on this growth. (Davis, 2002:161) From the 1980s-until the mid-1990s, (the UK economy went into recession not long after), the growth rate for medium and large consultancies in the UK was around 20-40% per annum, with PR consultancies reporting a profits of £15 million in 1979, growing to £383 million in 1998 (Miller and Diner, 2000: 5, 11-12).

Spotting the opportunity against this backdrop, were the female buccaneers of the public relations recruitment industry:

Judy Farquharson founded the JFL group, 54 years ago, specialising in mid-level PR roles (JFL Ltd, 2015). The agency saw its most significant growth in the early 1990s, when Ros Kindersley moved from publishing to PR to become JFL's managing director. Ms Kindersley has agreed to be interviewed and will provide access to the JFL archive for this paper.

In 1978 Vicky Mann created Vicky Mann and Associates specialising in corporate communications and the growth in financial communication. Mann navigated mostly all-male boardrooms and corporate senior management teams to become a trusted corporate PR headhunter. A report by Singh et al at Cranfield School of Management (2000) found evidence for 1989 from The Times Top 200 Companies that women held just 0.5% of executive positions overall. Numbers were low, due to women having a 'lack of senior corporate experience'. The Cranfield research points to the internet and the media industries as being the most amenable to women in senior roles (ibid).

Vicky Mann expanded her corporate communications / PR search and selection to the Asia-Pacific region, mainline Europe, and with an affiliate, to the US, where it offered specialist recruitment in internal communications, media & stakeholder relations, digital, financial PR, healthcare, public affairs and marketing communications. It now has offices in the UK, Mainland Europe and Asia-Pacific as well as an affiliate partner covering North America and is a noted publisher of practitioner-led research into industry expectations of senior PR practitioners and the changing shape of the sector (VMA Associates, 2015). Perhaps the most elite headhunter for the UK PR sector was Taylor Bennett, as it specialised in Board-level reputation management and communications director appointments. Founded as a partnership with Airdre Taylor in 1982 by Annitta Bennett, who had an HR background, it was the first to introduce psychometric testing and competence frameworks for PR candidates (Taylor Bennett, 2015). The agency is led today by the Financial Times columnist, Dr Heather McGregor, who writes a witty commentary about British careers and corporate life under the under the pseudonym 'Miss Moneypenny'.

PR head-hunting services were particularly important for technology, healthcare and financial services, which require bespoke sector knowledge and reputation management skill for salary packages starting at £50,000. (PR Week 2006).

This paper will include testimony and personal insights from the leading women in PR recruitment, from the 1960s (but mostly since the 1980s to the present day), and wherever possible, data from their archives. The findings should find parallels Heather Yaxley's research on women's careers in public relations and the UK PR Industry's professionalisation agenda, including studies such as the ECOPSI research report into European PR management competences (Yaxley, 2013, Tench et al 2013).

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"Daddy, Let's Get Los Angeles!" Public Relations, Advertising, and the Social Adoption of Radio, 1922-1924

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This paper will detail the integrated campaign of public relations and advertising to strengthen public acceptance of radio-receiver technology in the United States from 1922 through 1924. The paper's primary focuses will be the formation and actions of the National Radio Chamber of Commerce (NRCC) and the radio-receiver advertisements that appeared in major U.S. general interest magazines from 1922 through 1924. (The paper's main title comes from a 1924 full-page ad in *The Saturday Evening Post* for Workrite Super Neutrodyne Radio Sets.)

From an initial boom in the early 1920s, fueled largely by hobbyists, radio broadcasting evolved into a pervasive element of U.S. society and culture by World War II: In 1922, a U.S. Department of Commerce representative warned of forthcoming problems related to "the change of the radio dabbler to a standard, regulated radio subscriber." While the technologies, institutions, and social impacts of broadcast radio have been widely studied, scant scholarly attention has been devoted to the strategic communication tactics that, in the United States, helped move broadcasting from a novelty to widespread acceptance. For example, a Google Scholar search of the NRCC identifies only two references to that once-influential U.S. organization. A Google Scholar search of the key terms *radio*, *receiver*, Saturday Evening Post, American Magazine, *interference*, and *programming* identifies seven journal articles, only one of which directly addresses advertising (and that was on-air advertising) and none of which mention public relations.

Content analysis of U.S. national newspaper and radio-industry trade-publication articles from 1922 through 1924 that mention the NRCC identifies 14 issues that led to the formation and evolving public relations mission of that organization. Prominent among those issues were signal interference (as new stations competed for unregulated airwaves); the quality of receiver sets in a burgeoning market (U.S. sales revenue from receivers doubled from 1923 to 1924); and the quality of programming. Created in 1922 as a consortium of radio equipment manufacturers, the NRCC addressed these issues through a variety of tactics, including survey research, news releases, annual conferences, exhibitions, programming recommendations, federal regulation proposals, and federal lobbying.

The radio-equipment ads studied appeared in *American Magazine, Atlantic Monthly, Better Homes and Gardens, Collier's, Fortune, Good Housekeeping, Harper's, Ladies' Home Journal, Life, McCall's, Redbook,* and *The Saturday Evening Post.* The content analysis comes from a larger study of radio advertisements in those U.S. magazines from 1920 to 1940, a study (conducted by one of the authors) that comprised more than 3,300 ads of at least quarter-page size. The subset studied for this paper (1922-1924) indicated that magazine ads from radio manufacturers addressed the same issues that concerned the NRCC

– primarily signal interference, the quality of radio receivers, and the quality of programming. Samples of those ads are included in the paper/presentation.

Public relations theories relevant to this paper include resource dependency theory (with consumers, for example, holding the desired resources of acceptance and purchasing power) and the reflective paradigm, with its emphasis on the role of public relations in developing and sustaining social legitimacy for an individual, entity, or idea.

A herstory assessment of the paper's findings reveals a pervasive focus on white males, both as members of the NRCC and as subjects of magazine ads – something, unfortunately, to be expected in a time when *Radio Broadcast* magazine could title a 1924 article "Are Women Undesirable over the Radio?" In the ads from 1922 through 1924, women are rarely portrayed as single individuals and are used primarily to show either delight in the quality of reception or the ease of use of the receivers.

In addition to addressing this year's herstory theme, this paper addresses additional IHPRC emphases, particularly public relations' developing or diverging relationships with other disciplines (with magazine advertising and radio, in this case); unheard histories and herstories; and the history of public relations organizations.

From "a broad general culture" to "world-wide standards and curricula" – 60 years of debate over public relations education

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With recent moves by the Global Alliance for Public Relations and Communication Management (2015) to prepare a universal set of competencies for public relations education and training in public relations, this paper will consider the early conceptual influences. These start with the views of Edward L. Bernays in the 1920s (and repeated in the 1970s) (Bernays, 1976) and continue to the 1980s, when the International Public Relations Association published its second Gold Paper (guidance paper) on the topic (Wright, 1982).

Across this span of time, the emphasis in North America changed from a liberal arts education, bolstered by industry experience in journalism and promotional activities to a more defined set of workplace skills and theoretical knowledge (Wright, 2011). In the United Kingdom, where university-level studies did not commence until the mid-late 1980s, the focus was on training in workplace skills and knowledge of media environments starting soon after the formation of the Institute of Public Relations in 1948 (L'Etang, 2004).

For many nations, the development of public relations education was a consequence of professionalization (Watson, 2015). Cutlip's (1961) brief history of the development of public relations education in the United States reinforced this aspect when he argued that the support of practitioners for university level education was "as much for the prestige it brings their way of living as out of a conviction of the merit of such courses" (p. 367).

The paper analyses the development of PR education in several countries and offers two conclusions: 1) there was considerable debate over the structure of public relations education between a skills-based approach that was taught as a minor or major stream in an undergraduate degree programme or graduate level study (Master's) in public relations theory and practice; 2) there was growing tension between practitioner organisations and academics over the design, content and validation of public relations education. Both these debates are unresolved today.

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For heaven's sake or for the church's sake? –the role of protestant church and the E.P.D. in the emergence of professional public relations in Germany.

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Introduction: Scholars of public relations (PR) controversially discuss the emergence of Public Relations in history. While some argue, "the intentional practice of public relations is as least 2000 years old" (Lamme & Russel, 2009, p. 354), others differentiate between communicative instruments used in ancient times and the specific preconditions for PR as organizational function (e.g. Bentele, 2015a). While the first view evinces many historical references to Christianity, churches and the clergy (e.g. Brown, 2014; Spaulding & Dodd, 2014), the latter mostly bypass the role of religion and religious organizations in the historical emergence of professional PR (e.g. Raaz & Wehmeier, 2011). This paper focuses on the historical emergence of church PR in Germany by taking into consideration external and internal factors during the Congress of Vienna (1813-14) until World War I (1914-18). Hence, it offers insights from the appearance of the first protestant journals and later press relations to the professionalization of PR in the German Protestant Churches.

Literature review: Despite many scholars published diverse pieces of German PR history focusing on governmental or corporate PR (e.g. Bentele, 2015b), the role of the Protestant Church and its early PR has not been taken into account in the international PR history yet. Even though German literature mention the Protestant Church and its early press offices in the end of the 19th century (e.g. Bieler, 2010; Hafenbrack, 2010; 2004; Mehnert, 1983; Schuppan, 2011), the latest German PR textbook only mention briefly the role of August Hinderer as inventor of the German term "Öffentlichkeitsarbeit" (equivalent to PR) in 1917 (Fröhlich, 2015) and the professionalization of the Protestant press offices. Therefore, the aim of this paper is (1) to broaden the picture of the professionalization of PR in Germany beyond governmental or corporate PR introducing the PR of the Protestant Church by (2) examining the informal routines and formal institutions, attending to path dependency (see Bannerman & Haggart, 2015) and the stratification model for the evolutionary history of PR (Bentele, 2015a). One of the research questions of this study was, how informal routines and formal institutions contributed to the professionalization of PR in the German Protestant Church and its press offices.

Conceptual framework: Recently, Bannerman and Haggart (2015) introduced the historical institutionalism in communication studies. The following case study applies historical institutionalism to the emergence of professional public relations in the German Protestant Church. They (ibid., pp. 10-14) propose, historical institutionalists can summed up methodologically as follows: (1) Select case studies and time period, (2) Identify institutions (formal and informal), (3) Identify agents, (4) Identify ideas, (5) Identify the mechanisms supporting institutions to see if they are strengthening or weakening over time, and to what effect, and finally (6) Ask who benefits from institutional arrangements.

The rise of the E.P.D. and the professionalization of PR in the Church

Following the described method above, we chose the first period of Public Relations in Germany (Bentele 2015b) which focuses on the time between the Congress of Vienna (1813-14) and World War I (1914-18) to analyse the institutionalization of PR in the German Protestant Church. With the development of a more open public sphere, governments and other organisations tried to shape the public sphere. In turn, also private organisations like corporations or public organisations as well as political parties and the churches "not only started to act in the public sphere to further their interests, e.g., by press and media work but also by contributing to their own public spheres by publishing themselves" (Bentele & Nothaft, 2010, p. 111).

One of the early adaptors to this new open sphere was Johann Hinrich Wichern (1808-1881). The protestant clergy started in Hamburg an organisation called "Rauhes Haus" [rough house] with the pietistic drive for welfare and social work combined with missionary work. He worked together with several newspapers and started his own newspaper – everything with the same design and logo (Böttcher, 1965). This institutional entrepreneurship (DiMaggio, 1988; Fligstein, 1997) was strongly influenced by the upcoming industrialization and the resulting social injustice. After the March Revolution 1848 in Germany, Wichern proposed an idea on a Protestant gathering to create a network of organisations called "Innere Mission" [home or inner mission]. Under this umbrella of protestant scientists, theologians, senior Prussian officials and jurisdictions, Wichern formed 1849 a loosely coupled network of 12 different associations and 62 agents across the German Confederation ("Central-Ausschuss der Inneren Mission der deutschen evangelischen Kirche") to influence strategically gatekeepers and the public agenda.

After the first press office departments in Prussian politics had been established at the beginning of the 19th century and the first full-time working "literati" (Karl Varnhagen von Ense) during the Congress of Vienna (Bentele, 2015b, p. 48), the first organized regional Protestant press offices were founded in 1874 (Silesia), in 1878 (Berlin) and in 1891 (Dresden) (Bieler, 2010; Groth, 1929, p. 554; Mehnert, 1983, p. 187). Their purpose was to influence the secular daily press in Prussia and Germany. This was the beginning of the professional Protestant Church public relations in Germany. During the decades before, different types of magazines had the function to inform especially the church members themselves and binding them to the church.

In 1910, the newly-founded 23 regional press offices established the protestant press office for Germany ("evangelischer Preßverband für Deutschland" – E.P.D.) with its chairman Wilhelm von Büchsel, a former admiral of the German Navy of the Republic of Weimar (Höckele, 2001). While the Innere Mission followed with the socio-missionary work, the EPD started strategically to influence the public agenda by press relations. They imitated the journalistic styles in writing press releases and evaluated news coverage. In collaboration with the Prussian government, they tried to shape the upcoming workers movement (unions and parties) as well as the liberals and the communists that constituted the Frankfurt Parliament. In 1918, August Hinderer became director of the German office and pushed the national as well as regional press offices towards higher professionalization with upcoming radio stations and more professional workers he trained himself. He was also lecturing PR at the theological faculty in Berlin and is known for inventing the German term "Öffentlichkeitsarbeit" in 1917 together with the first employee of the E.P.D. Ferdinand Katsch, instead of the term Propaganda that had been invented by the Catholic Church in the early 17th century and therefore was no possible option.

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When Anglo-Jewry came blinking into the media spotlight: the Jacobs Affair of 1964

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We are often assailed in the contemporary media with debates about religious institutions whether it is the cause of women bishops in the C of E or child abuse allegations in the RC churches. Constantly we are warned of the dangers of 'radical Islam.' Less well discussed and publicised are the internal machinations of the UK Jewish communities (fewer than 300,000 affiliates). Apart from the appointment of a new Chief Rabbi, rarely do they appear on the front pages. This was not the case around 50 years ago when what became known as "the Jacobs Affair" hit the headlines with the force of a small nuclear explosion. The scandal rocked Anglo-Jewry and bemused the nation. Its PR effects were both profound and lasting.

It had been widely assumed that after Rabbi Isadore Epstein's retirement as principal of Jews' College, London (the rabbinical training college of mainstream Anglo-Jewry) in 1964, he would be succeeded by his second in command, Dr Louis Jacobs, generally regarded as a rising star in the United Synagogue. When this assumption was translated into a definite invitation by the College's Board of Trustees in 1961, the then Chief Rabbi of the United Kingdom, Sir Israel Brodie, unexpectedly blocked the appointment, "because of his [Jacobs's] published views." This was a reference to Jacobs' 1957 book *We Have Reason to Believe*, which questioned the precept, central to Orthodox Judaism of, "the Torah is from Heaven." That the five books of Moses were dictated word for word by G-d without any human contribution. Thus every generation of Jews is committed to all its 613 biblical commandments.

The largest communal newspaper, *The Jewish Chronicle*, took up the issue and turned it into a cause célèbre which was widely reported in the national press, including *The Times* and the BBC. It was an event that threatened to become the biggest schism in Anglo-Jewish history since the establishment of the Reform movement in the 1840s. The events of 1964 that became known as "the Jacobs Affair" dominated not just the Jewish media but the whole of Fleet Street and the newsrooms of both the BBC and ITN for several weeks. According to Jacobs himself, he was an unwilling participant in the affair. He later claimed he had been dragged into it by the religious and media establishment of the day.

When Dr Jacobs wished to return to his former pulpit at the New West End Synagogue, Bayswater, Rabbi Brodie also vetoed this appointment. A large number of members then left the New West End Synagogue to found the New London Synagogue, the first Conservative congregation in Britain. Seemingly profound public interest in Dr Jacobs's theological differences with the Anglo-Jewish establishment was later demonstrated by the in-depth television interview of 1966 conducted by the legendary *Times* columnist Bernard Levin. In 1964, the United Synagogue and the Office of the Chief Rabbi had not a single press or PR officer nor had ever retained a PR consultant. They had never required one as there had been little media or external public interest in the internal politics of Anglo-Jewry. In fact since the end of World War II and the discovery of the concentration camps, very few media enquiries had ever been made to the rabbinical and lay leaders of Anglo-Jewry. Suddenly they were thrust into the centre of a major, national 'scandal,' with no professional support, no experience and very little knowledge of what we now call 'crisis management.'

Almost immediately a team of lay leaders with big business experience, Orthodox Jewish journalists, academics and lawyers was cobbled together to support the Chief Rabbi. On his side, Dr Jacobs was supported unashamedly by the editor of the *Jewish Chronicle* (who became a founding member of the new Conservative synagogue) and several other Jewish and non-Jewish media organisations.

The "Jacobs Affair" left a permanent scar on the psyche of Anglo-Jewry that led to the establishment of several new institutions, not least of which are the PR teams of both the United Synagogue and the Office of the Chief Rabbi. This paper analyses the development of the "Jacobs Affair" and how it was seminal to the vastly improved external communications functions within the Anglo-Jewish establishment that the media and the general public benefit from today.

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Re-examining the Existence of the "Velvet Ghetto" and the "Glass Ceiling": Examining the Status of American Women in Public Relations 25-to-30 Years Later

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The public relations industry has been concerned with matters of gender diversity for decades. In the United States, much of this interest began more than a quarter century ago when the foundations of two of the world's largest and most successful professional societies commissioned major research studies on the subject.

One of these was funded by the IABC Foundation and became known as the "velvet ghetto" report – Cline, Masel-Walters, Toth, Turk, Smith & Johnson (1986) – while the other was supported by the PRSA Foundation and frequently was referred to as the "glass ceiling" report – Wright, Grunig, Springston & Toth (1991). These major studies plus research conducted by Theus (1985); Broom & Dozier (1986); Grunig (1988); Dozier (1988); Creedon (1991); Hon, Grunig & Dozier (1992); Toth & Grunig (1993); and Wrigley (2002) formed the basis of a considerable amount of research studying gender issues in USA public relations during the 1980s and the 1990s.

This gender research shed light on a number of concerns that were being faced at that time by women in the public relations industry. In particular, three major areas were cited. They were salary discrepancies between men and women, differences between the specific kinds of public relations work men and women were being asked to perform – with more women functioning in communication technician roles and more men performing as managers and executives – and concerns men held an unusually high percentage of the truly senior-level positions in American public relations.

The paper proposed for the IHPRC 2016 (as described in this abstract) will thoroughly review gender research studies about American public relations in the 1980s and 1990s and then report on the current status examining gender inequities in American public relations based upon salary, division of work, and the percentage of women now holding senior-level positions.

During much of the 1980s and 1990s data indicated about 55% of those practicing public relations in the USA were male and about 45% were female. According to *PR Week* the USA gender division in 2015 was 70% female and 30% male. With more women working in the field today, it will be interesting to see if this has impacted gender equity in public relations particularly in terms of salaries, role responsibilities, and senior-level employment status. Salary differences will be measured via interviews with representatives of three major recruiting companies, role responsibilities will be gauged through interviews with some of the leading female public relations managers, and senior-level status will be examined based upon membership rosters of organisations such as the (PR) Seminar and the Arthur W. Page Society.

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Conducting historical interviews in a transparent age: issues and implications of a visible insider

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This paper addresses issues encountered in conducting historical interviews in a transparent age. These relate to the implications of the researcher as a "double insider" (Adriansen and Madsen 2009 p.145) in relation to the topic of inquiry, in this case, career strategies in public relations, and relationships with research participants; fellow practitioners in the occupation. Even when the interviewer and interviewee do not know each other well in person, as Saunders et al (2015) contend, the internet and social media present ethical and practical challenges regarding accessibility of private as well as public information.

The research study sought to contribute towards knowledge of changing career paths (Valcour et al. 2007) and address a lack of understanding of "how careers are actually played out" (Schein 2007, p.575) through a series of 21 in-depth, oral history interviews with mid-career practitioners (10-20 years' experience in the occupation). It reflects Lamme's (2015 p.49) "invitation to enhance and expand biographical research in the larger field of public relations history" by recording the voices (and career experiences) of those who have been ignored in existing studies (Watson 2015).

An "eclectic process" (Kincheloe 2004 p.2) of archival research was used to contextualise participants' careers reflecting Social Chronology Theorising (SCrT), developed by Gunz and Mayrhofer (2011), and the emergence of social constructionism in the career field (Young and Collin 2004). The approach involved the researcher acting as a *bricoleur* (Rogers 2012) whose position needs to be clarified and socially located when interpreting online and other publicly available resources alongside interviewees' individual and collective lived experiences. As such the researcher becomes *rhizomatic* through "day-to-day experiential learning" (Clarke and Parsons 2013 p.42) and by being embedded in the investigative process. This raises issues regarding how knowledge and meaning are constructed when "doing and making history as digital practice" (Mussell 2013 p.79).

Finally, the paper explores the issue of visibility of the researcher within a methodological process that employed a number of innovative aspects and addressed typical challenges encountered in contemporary historical research. Specificities from the research are explored to explain the method and issues that arise as a result of an interviewer becoming "a willing participant in a dialogical process" of research (Jones 2003 p.60). The main innovation was application of the concept of time line interviews developed by Adriansen (2012). The research supported her advocacy of the technique as a visual, chronological ordering tool and "organising principle" (p.11) enabling contextual linkages to be identified. It further offers the addition of a kairotic element of qualitative time encountered within research and narration of career experiences in public relations.

The aim of the paper is to contribute to public relations history scholarship and offer practical insight into the process of conducting historical interviews in a transparent age.

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