

NATIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON
THE DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC
RELATIONS: OTHER VOICES

Series Editor: Tom Watson

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EASTERN EUROPEAN
PERSPECTIVES ON
THE DEVELOPMENT
OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Other Voices

Edited by
Tom Watson





**Eastern European Perspectives on the
Development of Public Relations**

National Perspectives on the Development of Public Relations: Other Voices

Series Editor: **Tom Watson**, Professor of Public Relations, The Media School, Bournemouth University, UK

The history of public relations has long been presented in a corporatist Anglo-American framework. *The National Perspectives on the Development of Public Relations: Other Voices* series is the first to offer an authentic worldwide view of the history of public relations freed from those influences.

The series will feature six books, five of which cover continental and regional groups including (Book 1) Asia and Australasia, (Book 2) Eastern Europe and Russia, (Book 3) Middle East and Africa, (Book 4) Latin America and Caribbean and (Book 5) Western Europe. The sixth book will have essays on new and revised historiographical and theoretical approaches.

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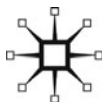


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This series is dedicated to my wife, Jenny, who has endured three decades of my practice and research in public relations ('I'll be finished soon' has been my response to her on too many occasions), and to the scholars and practitioners who have embraced and contributed so much to the International History of Public Relations Conference. They have come to Bournemouth University each year from around the world and reinvigorated the scholarship of public relations history. I hope everyone enjoys this series and are inspired to develop their research.

This book is dedicated to the memory of Dr Adela Rogojinaru, author of the Romania chapter, who passed away in August 2014. She was an incisive scholar of public relations history, a foundation executive member of the European Public Relations History Network, and a friend and mentor to many.

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Series Editor's Preface

This series will make a major contribution to the history and historiography of public relations (PR). Until recently publications and conference papers have focused mainly on American tropes that PR was invented in the United States, although there have been British and German challenges to this claim. There are, however, emerging narratives that public relations-type activity developed in many countries in other bureaucratic and cultural forms that only came in contact with Anglo-American practice recently.

The scholarship of public relations has largely been driven by US perspectives with a limited level of research undertaken in the United Kingdom and Central Europe. This has been reflected in general PR texts, which mostly tell the story of PR's development from the US experience. Following the establishment of the International History of Public Relations Conference (IHPRC), first held in 2010, it is evident there is increasing level of research, reflection and scholarship outside Anglo-America and Central European orbits.

From IHPRC and a recent expansion of publishing in public relations academic journals, new national perspectives on the formation of public relations structures and practices are being published and discussed. Some reflect Anglo-American influences while others have evolved from national cultural and communication practices with a sideways glance at international practices.

I am attached to the notion of 'other' both in its post-modern concept and a desire to create a more authentic

approach to the history of public relations. It was the UK public relations scholar and historian Professor Jacquie L'Etang who first used 'the other' in discussion with me. It immediately encapsulated my concerns about some recent historical writing, especially from countries outside Western Europe and North America. There was much evidence that 'Western hegemonic public relations' was influencing authors to make their national histories conform to the primacy of the United States. Often it was processed through the four models of Grunig and Hunt (1984). This approach did not take account of the social, cultural and political forces that formed each nation's approach to PR. It was also dull reading.

National Perspectives on the Development of Public Relations: Other Voices will be the first series to bring forward these different, sometimes alternative and culturally diverse national histories of public relations in a single format. Some will be appearing for the first time. In this series, national narratives are introduced and discussed, enabling the development of new or complementary theories on the establishment of public relations around the world.

Overall, the series has three aims:

- ▶ Introduce national perspectives on the formation of public relations practices and structures in countries outside Western Europe and North America;
- ▶ Challenge existing US-centric modelling of public relations;
- ▶ Aid the formation of new knowledge and theory on the formation of public relations practices and structures by offering accessible publications of high quality.

Five of the books will focus on national public relations narratives which are collected together on a continental basis: Asia and Australasia, Eastern Europe and Russia, Middle East and Africa, Latin America and Caribbean, and Western Europe. The sixth book addresses historiographic interpretations and theorization of public relations history.

Rather than requesting authors to write in a prescribed format which leaves little flexibility, they have been encouraged to research and write historical narratives and analysis that are pertinent to a particular country or region. My view is that a national historical account of public relations' evolution will be more prized and exciting to read if the author is encouraged to present a narrative of how it developed over one or more particular periods (determined by what is appropriate in that country), considering why one or two particular PR events or persons

(or none) were important in that country, reviewing cultural traditions and interpretations of historical experiences, and theorizing development of public relations into its present state. Chapters without enforced consistency to the structure and focus have enabled the perspectives and voices from the different countries to be told in a way that is relevant to their histories.

A more original discussion follows in the concluding book because the series editor and fellow contributors offer a more insightful commentary on the historical development in the regions, identifying a contextualized emergent theoretical frameworks and historiography that values differences, rather than attempting to 'test' an established theoretical framework or historiographic approach.

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Reference

Grunig, J., and Hunt, T. (1984) *Managing Public Relations* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston).

Notes on Contributors

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Dessislava Boshnakova, PhD, is Associate Professor in PR and Special Events in the Department of Mass Communication at New Bulgarian University, Sofia. Her agency ROI Communication specializes in PR and book publishing. She is the translator of many PR texts and the author of two books.

Anastasiia Grynko, PhD, is Deputy Research Director in the Mohyla School of Journalism, National University Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Ukraine. Former journalist and public relations director at the Open Society Institute in Ukraine, she received her PhD in mass communications at the Autonomous University of Barcelona (Spain). Her research interests include media ethics and transparency, journalism education, media development in Ukraine and other Post-Soviet countries, media and gender issues, media and civil society, media relations, public relations, strategic communication, interpretative studies, and qualitative methodology in media studies.

Denisa Hejlová holds a doctorate in Media Studies, and is Senior Lecturer in Public Relations and Communication at Charles University, Prague. Since 2011 she has been Head of the Marketing Communications and PR department. Dr Hejlová specializes in PR and public affairs, strategic reputation management, government and political communications. She has published numerous articles and a book on Czech political PR. She also works as a consultant for both commercial and non-commercial organizations. (Dr Hejlová was formerly Dr Kasl Kollmannova).

Ryszard Ławniczak is a professor at the Military University of Technology (Warsaw). He also served as the economic advisor to the President of Republic of Poland (1997–2005). His research interests include international public relations. He coined the concept of transitional public relations and is promoting the econo-centric approach in PR research.

Ludmila V. Minaeva, PhD and Doctor of Philology, is Department Head and Professor, Department of Foreign Languages, School of Public Administration, Lomonosov Moscow State University and Professor, Department of Russian and Foreign Languages and Literature, the National University of Science and Technology 'MISiS', Moscow. She is President, Association of Public Relations Educators. Minaeva has been teaching at Lomonosov Moscow State University since 1970, recently as a Distinguished Professor and a Department Head. She has published over more than 200 books and articles and supervised 40 PhD candidates.

Adela Rogojinaru, PhD (Philology), is Professor of Strategic Communication and Public Relations and Director of the Department of Communication Sciences at the University of Bucharest, Faculty of Letters, in Romania. Her research contributions are in the areas of theory and history of public relations, organizational communication and culture and cultural marketing.

György Szondi, PhD, is Lecturer in Corporate Communication at Bournemouth University, United Kingdom. Before joining the Media School, he was a senior lecturer in PR at Leeds Metropolitan University. His interests and publications include international PR, public diplomacy, nation branding, risk and crisis communication. He has been a regular conference speaker and PR trainer throughout Eastern Europe, including Hungary, Poland, Estonia, Latvia and Bulgaria.

Ana Tkalac Verčič is Full Professor in the Faculty of Business and Economics at the University of Zagreb, where she teaches marketing communications and public relations. She is a former Fulbright scholar, a visiting professor at the Università della Svizzera italiana, and a recipient of the CIPR Diploma and a qualified CIPR lecturer.

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Dejan Verčič, PhD (LSE), FCIPR, is Professor and Head of Centre for Marketing and Public Relations at the University of Ljubljana, Slovenia; Visiting Lecturer at the University of Lugano, Switzerland, and University of Zagreb, Croatia. In the 2013/14 academic year, he was a Fulbright scholar at San Diego State University, United States.

Tom Watson is Professor of Public Relations in The Media School at Bournemouth University, United Kingdom. Before entering academic life, Tom's career covered journalism and public relations in Australia, the United Kingdom and internationally. He ran a successful public relations consultancy in England for 18 years and was chairman of the United Kingdom's Public Relations Consultants Association from 2000 to 2002. Tom's research focuses on professionally important topics such as measurement and evaluation, reputation management and corporate social responsibility. He also researches and writes on public relations history and established the annual International History of Public Relations Conference in 2010. Tom is Fellow of the Chartered Institute of Public Relations and Founding Fellow of the Public Relations Consultants Association. Tom took his first degree at the University of New South Wales in 1974. He was awarded his PhD in 1995 from Nottingham Trent University for research into models of evaluation in public relations, and edits the annual Public Relations History special issue of *Public Relations Review* and on the editorial board of several other journals.

1

Introduction

Tom Watson

Abstract: *The commonality of political, social and economic systems in the nations of Eastern Europe until 1989 implies that there were shared or very similar experiences in the national development of public relations (PR). The breakdown of the Soviet bloc was followed in many nations by introduction of Western-style (or modern) PR practices. However, this book demonstrates different phenomena and interpretations as to when PR commenced or became identified as a defined practice. Some nations identify the arrival of PR as 1989 to 1991, whereas others tell of PR and PR-like practices for centuries and decades before, including the post-World War II era of communist or socialist management.*

Keywords: democracy; economic propaganda; proto PR; public relations; propaganda; transition

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The commonality of political, social and economic systems would imply that there were shared or very similar experiences in the national development of public relations. This is evidenced in most chapters by the introduction of Western-style (or modern) PR practices at the beginning of the 1990s. Only Slovenia was immune to the arrival of international PR agencies, mainly owned by US organizations, as it was the smallest of nine nations in this volume.

However, these phenomena are interpreted differently. In the cases of Bulgaria, Croatia, Poland, Russia and the Ukraine, the introduction of modern PR around 1990 is seen as the beginning of the national history. Ryszard Ławniczak, who has proposed the transitional model for PR in Eastern Europe (Ławniczak, Rydzak and Trębecki, 2003), commented that 'the history of modern PR started with a transition from a centrally planned to a market economy and the shift from socialist democracy to a pluralist political system that began in the early 1990s' (p. 259). In Russia, PR 'has been actively been developing... only in the last 30 years', while 'Bulgaria discovered PR after the changes to democracy in 1989'. In Croatia, PR 'started to distinguish itself as a separate profession' (from marketing and advertising) after the break-up of Yugoslavia in 1990–1991 and Ukraine identifies its independence year of 1991 as the start of PR as an identifiable communication practice.

Although the Czech Republic, Hungary and Romania also identify 1989 to 1991 as the time when Western PR was introduced, along with agencies, their chapters have identified a much longer history of antecedents and proto PR in the form of commercial publicity, economic propaganda and promotional activity in support of exports. The Romanian antecedents go back to the early 19th century for commercial, governmental and intellectual communication. The Bata shoe company of Czechoslovakia, after World War I, was innovative in both internal and external communication and, through the advocacy of its management, informed other commercial organizations. These chapters, and that of Slovenia, show that PR-like communication was widely applied before the introduction of regime propaganda and media controls after World War II. These regimes also used one-way PR to support the marketing and sales of exports to Western markets from the 1960s onwards, but disdained PR within their borders, referring to it in Czechoslovakia as 'economic propaganda.' The term 'public relations' was also evident in Hungary from the 1960s, although considered

as a 'capitalist tool'. Denisa Hejlová, however, comments that 'despite public relations being an English word, it has been used in professional practice since the 1960s' and so indicates that concepts of PR were well known before the avalanche of Western PR practice in the final decade of the 20th century.

After the fall of the Communist and Tito regimes, the Western form of PR became ubiquitous in Central and Eastern Europe, with the exception of Slovenia where innovative practitioners introduced a managerial/strategic approach. The evidence from these chapters is that, after the initial period of governmental and democratic reform in the early 1990s when political communication was the main service introduced, PR has been conceived and operationalized as a form of promotional communication that was typically offered by agencies from the United States, United Kingdom and Germany (in that order). In Russia, it has a more governmental emphasis but in other countries PR is undertaken in forms that are internationally recognizable.

The historiographic interpretation, as noted earlier, has been in two clusters: those which see PR starting at similar point around 1990, and those which identify antecedents and prior experience. There is some use of periodization, mainly by timeline (Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Slovenia). Thematic approaches, with emphases on education and institutionalization of PR, are used in other countries. Only the chapter on Poland has a specific historiographic model (transitional public relations) used to interpret national PR development.

Overall, there is no evidence of an Eastern European approach to PR which is rooted in the cultural, political and social norms of Central and Eastern Europe. Since the changes of 1989 to 1991, PR has been undertaken in a Western form that was strongly influenced by (mainly) US agencies and their clients who surged into the region. There are, of course, national variations with Russia's emphasis on governmental relations being the most apparent. However, the international agencies and their increasingly successful national competitors mainly use technical delivery methods, notably media relations, that would be included in most International PR campaign strategies. Adela Rogojinaru summarizes this overview appropriately in her chapter: 'Romanian PR represents a process of imitation of Western values, practices and doctrine'. This purview could be applied to most nations in the region.

Reference

Ławniczak, R., Rydzak, W., and Trębecki, J.(2003) 'Public Relations in an Economy in Transition and Society in Transition: The Case of Poland', in K. Sriramesh and D. Verčič (eds) *Global Public Relations Handbook* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates).

2

Bulgaria

Dessislava Boshnakova

Abstract: *Public relations (PR) practices in Bulgaria commenced around 1989 and developed quickly with strong American influence, although a national style has evolved. Bulgarian PR practitioners have shown themselves to be increasingly competitive in Europe and in international competitions. The institutionalization of PR has been supported by development of professional bodies, education and a limited amount of research and publishing. Research has found that PR practices have been mainly technical and implementational rather than strategic. There is strong association of PR as being equivalent to publicity, possibly as a result of its simultaneous introduction and development alongside Western-style advertising.*

Keywords: advertising; American influence; Bulgaria; education; institutionalization; publicity

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Founded in 681, Bulgaria is one of the oldest states in Europe, located in the Balkans. A predominantly Slavic-speaking and Orthodox Christian country, Bulgaria was the birthplace of the Cyrillic alphabet, which was created towards the end of the 9th century. After World War II, Bulgaria became a Communist state. The collapse of the Communist system in 1989 marked a turning point for the country's development. Bulgaria joined NATO in 2004 and the European Union in 2007.

Entry of PR

For Bulgarians the most common name for public relations is *vrazki s obshchestvenosta*, the literal translation of the term. The English term 'public relations' is also widely used, especially in the short version of 'PR'. The Bulgarian translation of the term is mostly used in government institutions, and the English term predominates in the private business sector.

Bulgaria discovered PR after the changes to democracy in 1989. The Bulgarian media sociologist Todor Petev noted this trend:

In Western societies public relations emerged and developed to meet the needs of business corporations and their customers, whereas in the young democracies of Eastern Europe it appeared as a necessary means of reorganization and stabilization of social interactions and relations in a period of total crisis. (cited in Bentele et al., 2002, p. 32)

PR appeared in Bulgaria almost simultaneously with the development of the advertising sector and is one of the reasons there are still difficulties in describing the differences between the two promotional communication practices. The first PR specialists in Bulgaria started work in the field of politics. The newly established political parties in the 1990s needed spokespersons, media relations and event organizers. These early PR practitioners came from journalism which led to another perception problem: the impression that PR and media relations were synonymous.

Another development in Bulgaria was the know-how that global companies brought. With the democratization of the economy many international communication agencies entered the economy. In addition to their products, they brought methods of doing business in which PR had an established role and duties. That influenced Bulgarian practice in two ways: First, the global companies trained their staff in PR practices and, second, international communication networks opened their national operations up to new knowledge and business models.

Education

Education in PR and advertising started simultaneously with the evolution of these communication practices. In March 1991, the Department of Mass Communication of the newly established first private university in Bulgaria, New Bulgarian University (NBU) in Sofia, opened its first three-year experimental course in PR as a separate specialty in which students graduated with the qualification title of 'Public Relations Specialist'. It was five of the first group of NBU graduates who set up the first Bulgarian private PR agency, Prime Agency. In 1994–1995, the first 50 full-time and correspondence students started PR studies at Sofia University's Faculty of Journalism & Mass Communication. In late 1995, UNESCO and Sofia University signed a contract for the foundation of the UNESCO Department of Communication and Public Relations which was headed by Associate Professor Todor Petev. PR has since then become a popular career choice. By 2014, there were more than 10 universities offering bachelor degrees in the PR and communication field.

Professional structure

In 1996, the first Bulgarian professional association, the Bulgarian Public Relations Society (BPRS), was founded. It is a voluntary non-profit organization whose members are practitioners and teachers in the field of PR, marketing, communication and advertising. BPRS adopted a Code of Professional Standards, derived from codes of other public relations organizations. Its initial chairperson was Todor Petev. The first annual award for PR best practices was held by BPRS in 2001. In 2005 BPRS became a member of the Global Alliance for PR and Communication Management and, in the following year, the first BPRS PR Festival was organized.

In 1998, the International Public Relations Association (IPRA) opened a branch in Bulgaria. Although Bulgaria is a small country, the national IPRA branch there has been very active. In 2002, Maria Gergova, managing director of United Partners, became an IPRA board member. In the next year, United Partners was the first Bulgarian agency to win an IPRA World Golden Award for its BGTeen.info corporate social responsibility (CSR) campaign for Procter & Gamble. Gergova was elected as

IPRA President for 2009, the first time in IPRA's 50 year history that its president was a representative of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE). At the same time Gergova was its youngest-ever president. IPRA activity remains still high and in 2013 the Bulgarian branch organized a CEE conference with the topic of 'Unleashing the power of smart communications'.

In 2001, the Bulgarian Association of Public Relations Agencies (BAPRA) was established by four of the major agencies: APRA Porter Novelli, Janev&Janev, Marc Communications and United Partners. BAPRA's membership has since grown to 17. In 2005, BAPRA joined the International Communications Consultancy Organization (ICCO), the voice of public relations consultancies around the world. In 2010, BAPRA started its BAPRA Bright Awards. Every year an international judging committee evaluates the most successful Bulgarian PR campaigns.

In 2004, the M3 Communications Group became the first PR and marketing company in Bulgaria certified to the ISO 9001:2000 standard. Eight years later in 2012, its founder and CEO Maxim Behar became chairman of Hill+Knowlton Strategies, Czech Republic. In 2013, he was elected Chairman of the Board of World Communications Forum in Davos.

The Code of Ethics of PR specialists in Bulgaria was adopted in 2005. The code was developed jointly by the Bulgarian PR Society (BPRS), Bulgarian Association of PR Agencies (BAPRA), Association IMAGINES and members of IPRA in Bulgaria. In 2006, Apeiron Academy became an accredited CIPR Qualifications Centre for Bulgaria of the UK Chartered Institute of Public Relations (CIPR, UK). Apeiron Academy started the Grapevine Award competition, which is the first specialized competition in Europe for creativity and professionalism among internal communication specialists. The competition started in 2009, and in 2013 opened its doors for entries from across Europe.

In 2007, All Channels Communication became the first Bulgarian PR agency awarded a SABRE award from the Holmes Report Group international competition. In 2010 three Bulgarian PR agencies, members of BAPRA, were nominated as finalists in the PR SABRE Awards competition. Those agencies were: APRA Porter Novelli, All Channels Communication and Intelday Solutions. Since then, Bulgarian agencies have been competing for this award each annually

The potential of the PR industry in Bulgaria can be measured by the extension of Bulgarian agencies abroad. In 2012, APRA Porter Novelli

became the first Bulgarian agency to open offices in Republic of Macedonia, Albania and Kosovo.

As preparation for the First Summer School on 'European Tendencies in Public Relations', the Department of Mass Communication at New Bulgarian University organized the first empirical sociological survey of the 'State and Tendencies of the Public Relations Activities in Bulgaria'. It was carried out in May 1999 by the Institute for Communication Ltd. The conclusion of the survey was that journalists and PR practitioners were not fully aware of the character, functions and tasks of PR, that is there was no adequate job description of the 'expert in public relations' role which recognized 'the need for a long-term strategy for the development of the public relations activities in Bulgaria' (Bondikov and Galev, 1999). Since then, the PR summer schools at New Bulgarian University have been held annually and bring scholars, students and practitioners together at the end of June to discuss important topics in PR.

Another PR industry survey was conducted in 2004 (Boshnakova, 2005). Among the main results were that the three most important skills of a PR professional were persuasive writing and speaking (86.5%), desire for work (83.5%) and creativity (83.5%). Other data were that the top three client expectations for PR service were professionalism (91.8%), dynamism (79.4%) and loyalty (75%). The three most offered services were mainly technical, led by media relations (84.4%), followed by event management (71.9%) and media monitoring (67.0%). The most effectively implemented PR tasks were building and maintaining a corporate brand (35.8%), developing a positive media image (32.6%) and publicity for products and services (32.6%). This survey demonstrated that, while the Bulgarian PR sector was growing strongly, its practices were mainly technical and implementational rather than strategic. Most PR activity was dedicated to media relations, which included social media, and reflected client demands.

After Bulgaria formally joined the European Union in 2007, many larger agencies started working on projects that were part of EU programmes with communication budgets. In many ways national practices in PR have been influenced by American practices, as the international agencies entered the national market and brought the techniques and 'know-how' with them. However, because of a media prohibition on the mention of companies, creativity has had to be an important characteristic of Bulgarian PR to overcome this barrier.

Perceptions: 25 years on

Some 25 years after PR entered Bulgaria, Boshnakova (2014, after Bentele, 2007) investigated public perceptions and found that knowledge was limited. Although PR practitioners use the English term, public relations, 60.3 per cent of those not connected with the profession most often encounter the Bulgarian translation *vrazki s obshtestvenostta*; 24.5 per cent were aware of one of the Bulgarian ways of expressing 'PR'; and only 13 per cent had heard the term 'public relations'. PR was mainly associated with publicity (46.9%). Other activities which were considered as PR included advertising (39.0%), propaganda (22.2%) and marketing (19.6%). Mutual understanding and dialogue, key terms included in most definitions, were low on the scale at 9.6 per cent. Those surveyed, however, perceived almost no connection between PR and sponsorship (6.9%). It can be concluded that people were aware of PR as a term but PR practitioners still have to explain what it actually stands for.

Providing media coverage was the main PR function according to 47.4 per cent of the participants. Other roles were event management (42.6%), advertising (36.3%) and image making and reputation management (34.9%). These results match with earlier research in 2007 (Boshnakova, 2007) carried out among PR practitioners, according to which the services in greatest demand were media relations (89.4%) and event management (71.9%). According to 2014 study, there was almost no connection between PR and CSR (3.0%) and advising management (8.2%). Some 14.0 per cent noted the importance of PR for management and for building relationships with customers.

Relationships with media

In 2009, AMI Communications Bulgaria, the Arbitrage market research agency, and the Department of Mass Communication at New Bulgarian University researched the attitudes of journalists and bloggers to the usefulness of the information they receive from PR professionals (Alexandrova, Popski and Stoitsova, 2009). They found that about two-thirds of the journalists considered that communication with the media on behalf of a company improved if it is facilitated by a PR agency; almost half of the journalists believed that PR specialists generally did not understand the specifics of the media; and that traditional PR activities

of organizing individual meetings, press conferences and training were the ‘most useful’. Other outcomes included the journalists’ view that there were three reasons why information distributed by PR specialists was not published: the text was too promotional ‘like advertising’, did not meet the specifics of the target media, and was not interesting enough. Bulgarian bloggers, it found, were open to cooperation with PR professionals.

PR publishing

The first translated book on PR appeared in the early 1990s. By 2014, there was a wide range of texts and books, mostly from American authors and sources. Most students use Cutlip, Center and Broom’s *Effective Public Relations* (Cutlip, Center and Broom, 2000). Among other popular translated books have been Larry Tye’s biography of Edward Bernays, *The Father of Spin* (Tye, 1998, Thomas L. Harris’s *Value Added Public Relations* (Harris, 1999), which won the BPRS award for best PR book in 2002 and Australian author Grahame Dowling’s *Creating Corporate Reputations* (Dowling, 2002), winner of the BPRS award in 2005. Among the most popular Bulgarian academic authors have been Zdrawko Raikov, Roussi Marinov, Todor Petev and Minka Zlateva. Recent books from Bulgarian authors are *How to Work with a PR agency* by Alexander Christov, *Communication in Organizations* by Evelina Christova and *PRogovorki – PR Principles Preserved and Perpetuated by Bulgarian Proverbs* by Dessislava Boshnakova.

Social media expansion

As media freedom in Bulgaria, according to many international organizations has declined, social media and websites have become popular alternative sources of information, especially small or mid-sized websites that are not owned by major media companies (Globalvoicesonline, 2013). According to Orlin Spasov, a Bulgarian media expert and director of the Media Democracy Foundation, ‘research shows that the social web such as Facebook, blogs, video exchange sites, enjoy almost as much [public] trust as television’ (ibid.). As a result, PR agencies have increasingly focused their efforts on using social media or online communication as a platform to communicate directly with publics.

During all the years of the development of PR industry, different magazines were dedicated to the topic, but none has survived. The professional media can only be found online (in 2014) and all are in Bulgarian language only.

Conclusion

Because PR practices commenced nearly 25 years ago, it had to develop quickly and be in touch with the new media. The quality of the work of the Bulgarian PR practitioners can be measured by the prestigious awards and recognition they have received. The development of PR in Bulgaria has been influenced by the American tradition and the international marketplace, but a Bulgarian way of practicing PR has been found. And in a quarter of century, Bulgarian PR practitioners have shown themselves to be increasingly competitive in Europe and in international competitions

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3

Croatia

Ana Tkalac Verčić

► **Abstract:** *Although Yugoslavia had been more open to market influences from the 1960s, it was not until the radical political changes of 1990–1991 had taken place that the marketing and advertising industry in Croatia started a period of increased growth and public relations (PR) was distinguished as a separate profession. Education has been gradually introduced and professional bodies are actively engaged in European discourse. Although communication is recognized as an important activity by government and businesses, Croatian practitioners are significantly less confident about their status and future than others in Europe.*

Keywords: Croatia; education; institutionalization; public relations

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Croatia is situated between Central Europe, the Balkans, and the Mediterranean. Its Adriatic Sea coast, popular with tourists, has more than 1000 islands. The country's population is 4.28 million, mostly Croats, with the most common religious denomination being Roman Catholicism. Croatia became the 28th member state of the European Union on 1 July 2013.

During the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the economy was based on agriculture, even though there were some signs of the industrial age. During this period Austria and Hungary dominated the union, but Croatia had limited capital resources. Becoming part of Yugoslavia at the end of World War I, Croatian industry started rapidly developing and, together with Slovenia, it became the most developed region of the new union (Croatia, 2014).

After World War II, Yugoslavia introduced a self-management social system that proved to be more dynamic than the centralized, planned economy mostly present in Eastern Europe. Croatia and Slovenia continued to be the two most economically-developed republics of Yugoslavia. After the break-up of Yugoslavia in 1990–1991, the socialist, semi-market economy in Croatia transitioned into a private ownership, open market economy. The transition was slowed down and significantly affected by the war that followed. In addition the transition had many negative social and economic effects: the impoverishment of the population, a rise in corruption and economic crime, as well as the devastation of industry (Croatia, 2014).

Today, the economy is dominated by the service sector. It is a market economy, but significant state control or involvement is retained in several industries. A major source of revenue is tourism, which is quite developed but still very seasonal. The country was badly affected by the global financial crisis and Croatia has mostly been in recession since 2009. Gross domestic product per head in 2012 was 10,300 euro; industrial output growth rate in 2013 was 2.9 per cent compared with 2012; inflation in 2013 was 2.2 per cent and the unemployment rate was 17 per cent (Eurostat, 2014). With such high unemployment, it was no surprise that Croats were reported as losing faith in their leaders and the European Union (Economist, 2014).

The country has weathered major changes during the last 20 years. Because of its progression towards the EU membership, important structural reforms shaped all areas of business and society as a whole, with a special emphasis on public administration and the judicial system.

However, in spite of the continuous progress, Croatia is still institutionally weak. Judicial reform, which is necessary, has not happened fast enough. Corruption is a key issue colouring all aspects of business and political life. All these factors have had a great influence on the development of public relations.

PR in Croatia: facts and figures

In 2004 Hajoš and Tkalac wrote a chapter on the state of PR in Croatia that started: ‘There is almost no research that would indicate what the current status of the profession is’ (Hajoš and Tkalac, 2004, p. 85). By 2014 the situation had improved significantly. Among numerous books, book chapters, studies, master’s and PhD theses, the Croatian Public Relations Association (CPRA) has conducted four major studies on the state of the profession. These studies conducted in 2003, 2006, 2009 and 2014 follow the development and issues in Croatian PR and serve as a basis for most of this chapter.

In 2004, there were between 1000 and 1500 professionals involved in different types of work in the Croatian PR industry (Hajoš and Tkalac, 2004). One reason for this relatively large number was a very vague definition of the PR field. It was easy to become a PR practitioner; you just had to state you were one. Clearly, the educational background of these professionals differed greatly. Most came from journalism and many were not educated in PR (at the time, educational possibilities were minimal). Today, the CPRA has 542 members (HUOJ, 2014a), and, according to recent estimates, there are around 2000 professionals working in the PR field (Jugo, Borić and Preselj, 2012). The possibilities for getting a PR education have improved and the association has introduced the certification process for its members.

The latest study from CPRA (HUOJ, 2014b) shows that 72 per cent of the Croatian PR professionals are women (unlike the European average that shows 58 per cent of female employees) (ECM, 2014). Almost half are between 30 and 39 years old (HUOJ, 2014b), which is a slight increase in age, since the percentage of employees in this age group was 37.2 (HUOJ, 2014b). The average Croatian professional is still younger than the average European professional (who is 40.9 years old) (ECM, 2014), which is not very surprising considering how young the profession is in Croatia.

The biggest change in PR's status is visible in the educational levels of the professionals. Some 71 per cent of them report an equivalent of a bachelor's degree, 22 per cent have a master's degree (which is a huge increase in comparison to 13 per cent only three years earlier) and 2 per cent have a PhD (HUOJ, 2014b).

The higher levels of education are connected to the development of the profession at various levels. Observed by the author, supportive trends include higher demands upon communication advisors who are required to have a deeper and wider knowledge of all communication and management areas, increased competition among agencies and increasing calls for more accountability from corporate and public organizations and institutions.

Still, Croatian PR practitioners are not as optimistic about their position as other European communication experts. According to the European Communication Monitor, 87 per cent of questioned professionals in Europe stated that communication has become more important for the overall success of their organization within the last year. However, only 39.5 per cent of Croats agreed that the influence and status of their role as a communication professional has increased. Unlike the majority of the European PR experts, only 39.5 per cent of Croatian communicators agreed that they are optimistic about the future development of their professional career. According to the same source, Croatia is also one of the few countries (joined only by Serbia and Romania) in which the majority of reported annual salaries of heads of communication and agency CEOs are below 30,000 euro (ECM, 2014). It seems there is a long way to go for Croatian PR to reach European norms.

Origins of Croatian PR

As the planned economy system in Yugoslavia was starting to collapse, market mechanisms started emerging slowly during the 1960s. In Croatia, this was the time in which the atmosphere finally allowed the introduction of marketing and advertising, both in business and university curricula. The 1970s and 1980s were even more liberal and all types of mass communication started developing rapidly. Academics and practitioners were finding more opportunities for efficient marketing communications and started adopting international trends in education and business. After the radical political changes of 1990–1991, the

marketing and advertising industry started a period of increased growth and PR finally started to distinguish itself as a separate profession. The agency market in Croatia, led by international advertising agencies, became quite dynamic with the first PR agency being formed (Renko, Pavičić and Tkalac, 1998). Mangura, which opened in 1997, and Premisa, which was launched in 1999, are still among the top public relations agencies today.

In various accounts of PR's development in the former Yugoslav countries, it has always been clear that Slovenia was the leader in every aspect of progress. Economically, it had the status of the most advanced republic of former Yugoslavia. Slovenia had also allowed the most outspoken and open public discussions and was the first to import Western practices and knowledge. The introduction of PR in Slovenia had a formative influence in the way practices developed in Croatia.

In most accounts of PR's beginnings in Croatia, authors (Tomašević, 2002; Jugo, Borić and Preselj, 2012) nominate the early 1960s as the official start point since the first formal PR appointment was made in 1964. Even though there have been attempts to trace PR even further back, they are not documented well enough to be truly considered. Following international trends in hotel management, Zagreb's Hotel Esplanade introduced the position of a PR manager in 1964. This first job description included developing relations and relationships between the hotel and its, mostly economic, environment (Hajoš and Tkalac, 2004).

The understanding and scope of PR at the time was quite rudimentary. Its main aim was to assist promotional activities and there was little awareness of it as a separate activity. Another important date for the history of the profession was the opening of a PR position at Podravka, the biggest food processing company in Croatia, in 1968. After that numerous hotels followed and advertised for PR staff (1973 – Hotel Croatia; 1974 – Hotel InterContinental; 1980 – Hotel Solaris; 1984 – Hotel Belvedere). However, there still appeared to be no need for PR staff in the business sector or the public administration until the 1990s (Tomašević, 2002).

The beginnings of the 1990s were a time of turbulent change in this part of the world. In Slovenia, the first PR agency was formed, followed closely by the establishment of the Slovenian PR society. At the same time, in Serbia (Yugoslavia, at the time), there was educational progress when the Institute for Journalism started organizing the first business

school for PR in cooperation with the Faculty of Public Relations at Utrecht University in the Netherlands. Unfortunately, due to the collapse of Yugoslavia, the courses were never completed. The Yugoslav Public Relations Society was formed in 1993; in 2004 it became the Serbian Association of Public Relations.

Similarly in Croatia during the early 1990s, the need for public information started becoming stronger. This led to the opening of the first spokesperson position in the Office of the President of the Republic. The roots of identifying public relations with spokespeople started at that time and the trend was quite strong until recently. CPRA and its members had to put much effort into raising the level of knowledge about the profession so that it could become more than just 'something spokespeople do'. At the same time, in the early 1990s, the first Office for Information of the Government of Croatia was opened and was the forerunner of today's Offices for Information of Spokespersons in Croatian ministries, governmental agencies and other public administrations bodies (Hajoš and Tkalac, 2004).

Despite promising beginnings and a relatively developed advertising market before the Balkans war, the whole communication industry suffered in the early 1990s and greatly affected PR's development. Nevertheless, the need for a PR association was becoming evident. Eduard Osredečki, a communication expert and the author of a book on PR, *Odnosi s javnošću* (Public Relations), initiated the establishment of a Croatian PR society named HUOJ, Hrvatska udruga za odnose s javnošću (Croatian Public Relations Association), in 1994. He was also the first president and, together with the second president of the association, Mihovil Bogoslav Matković (the PR officer of Croatian Electrical Power Supply) and Amelia Tomašević, was one of the recipients of the first CPRA lifetime achievement awards.

Today, CPRA is the central meeting point for PR practitioners in Croatia. It is an organization of professional, corporate and institutional communicators and promotes the professional development of its members. The associations operate at the national level and cooperate with (or is a member of) various other international communication associations. CPRA provides professional education, networking, sets ethical principles for its members and acts as the focal point and voice of the PR industry. The association organizes an annual conference, forums and lectures for its members on related topics. It publishes books and handbooks, has an annual award and certification of membership.

Status of public relations today

When Hajoš and Tkalac (2004) analysed the status of PR in Croatia 10 years ago, they commented:

The development of corporate culture in Croatia is in its initial phase, and the status of public relations is greatly affected by this. The dominant view in most companies defines public relations as an additional cost instead of an investment. Still, today, in every area of business, industry and government, there is a growing belief in the public's right to be informed on what is going on and why. All parts of business are expected to be accountable to the community for their policies and actions. This is where public relations becomes important and has a definite contribution. PR means different things to different people, but professionally it means creating an understanding and better still, a mutual understanding. Among the small (but growing) PR community the profession is seen as a process of affecting change. (p. 88)

Fortunately, the situation has improved. As previously mentioned, the CPRA (HUOJ) has conducted four longitudinal studies on the state of PR. The studies focused on acquiring data on the structure and number of employees; their responsibilities and influence; the scope of their work and other relevant information. The number of respondents was between 215 and 250 for each of the studies. The results show trends in Croatian PR over the last 10 years.

A decade ago, the trend of departmentalizing PR was relatively new. To be more precise, PR activities were rarely united in a department named 'public relations'. Only a few market leader companies had in-house PR or corporate communications departments.

In the 2003 study, 47.2 per cent of the organizations represented had a department specialized for communication activities in the PR domain. However, this department was not necessarily named as the 'PR department'. In most cases, the department in charge of PR activities was the marketing department (19.7 per cent), followed by the PR department (12.9 per cent). In other cases PR activities were conducted in the CEO's office, the commercial director's office or the mayor's office. In 4.5 per cent of the organizations 'everyone does it', thus indicating there was no special department. In 2006 the number of organizations with a specialized PR department grew by almost 5 per cent (up to 52 per cent) and in 2009 it was 56 per cent (HUOJ, 2014b). In their earlier analysis, Hajoš and Tkalac (2004) surmised that PR practitioners had to:

... work on defining their role in the hierarchy of the company and in relations to top management, which in most cases does not support the idea of departmentalizing public relations. In most companies, management does not recognize the essential and strategic role of public relations. Altogether the position of public relations depends mostly upon the individual management style of each CEO since the style of management in Croatia is very authoritative. (p. 90)

In 2003, most of the heads of PR departments reported directly to the management board (43.2 per cent), then to a member of the board (34.7 per cent). No respondents stated that PR heads were a part of the board. In 2006 there was an improvement and 59 per cent of the PR heads were positioned directly below the management board, with 12 per cent being a part of the board. However, 60 per cent of the respondents stated that in their opinion the department that coordinated communication did not have any influence on the organization's strategic decisions. The 2009 study showed only 5 per cent of PR managers being part of the management board, and there had been a decrease of 37 per cent of them reporting directly to the board (HUOJ, 2014b).

According to the European Communication Monitor, only 39.5 per cent of Croatian PR practitioners agreed that the influence and status of their current role as a communication professional had increased, which was the lowest percentage in Europe. The number of Croatian respondents who agreed that the budgets for communication have been increased above average, compared to other functions, was the second lowest in Europe (7.9 per cent) (ECM, 2014).

The issue of positioning PR in the dominant coalition and giving it possibilities to influence change is still one of the biggest challenges for the profession. This problem is even more pronounced in Croatia because of inadequate PR education possibilities. Until the academic world (and the business schools) can offer educated PR managers for the highest organizational levels, the profession will struggle in its acceptance at the top levels of management.

The development of public administration in Croatia is going through a dynamic process, too. After a long period of socialism and a subsequent turbulent decade that was dominated by a war and its aftermath, the 2000 elections brought a big change in public communication. The year marked the opening of public administration to various publics, as well as institutionalization of information offices. In the beginning, public administration communication was mostly concentrated on

media relations, but the function has evolved. Unfortunately, the majority of communication practitioners working in public administration have a journalism background which dictates the way they perceive and perform their everyday duties.

Public relations education

In their previous article about PR in Croatia, Hajoš and Tkalac (2004) concluded that a major problem for its development was the lack of educational opportunities. Ten years ago, the Croatian body of knowledge in the area of PR was almost non-existent. It was difficult to develop research and academic programmes in PR without any researchers or professors specialized in this area. There were no undergraduate or graduate programmes, either. The number of studies, published articles or books in Croatian or English (by Croatian authors) was insignificant.

By 2014, the situation had improved. PR has entered all educational levels. Professional and lifelong learning programmes, as the most flexible offerings, have adapted quickly to professional market demands. At the beginning, these included PR short courses, and have recently started offering complete training programmes. While in earlier years the curriculum of those programmes reflected the understanding of PR as a publicity-generating tool or 'something spokespeople do', today they offer education that promotes a more strategic perspective. The programmes with the longest tradition, such as the London School of Public Relations and the (United Kingdom) Chartered Institute of Public Relations' Croatian programme, have been developed with international collaboration.

PR at undergraduate and graduate levels is included in private faculty programmes throughout the country. Public academic programmes, as the slowest ones to change, have also followed in their acceptance of PR. Universities throughout Croatia are beginning to include and offer PR programmes. At the biggest Croatian university, University of Zagreb, the Faculty of Political Sciences has a complete programme. The Faculty of Economics and Business, which currently also includes undergraduate and graduate PR courses, has plans to develop a collaborative international PhD programme.

An important step in the development of Croatian PR has been an increase in the body of knowledge. In 2007 the CPRA started publishing

a series of PR books, by international and Croatian authors. The PRint series has 11 books so far and ambitious plans for the future.

The CPRA held its first annual conference in the year 2000. The second conference in October 2001 attracted more than 200 PR professionals with a guest list of speakers that included James and Lauri Grunig from the University of Maryland, Steven Ross from Boston University and Dejan Verčič from University of Ljubljana. In 2014, 12 conferences later, the annual conference has become a central place for gathering PR practitioners with a long list of international guests and speakers.

The future (and conclusion)

In a recent study on the development of Croatian PR (Jugo, Borić and Preselj, 2012), after interviewing a group of Croatian PR specialists, the authors concluded that one of the biggest problems in the development of the profession was the positioning of communications experts within the organization. Another important issue was the amount of research being used in developing PR programmes. They stated that practitioners needed to have a better education, since it directly affected the quality of their work and, through that, the level of the profession.

A decade ago Hajoš and Tkalac (2014) concluded thus:

The field of public relations in Croatia is characterized by inspiration, ambition and a growing demand for professionalism, while on the other side the necessary infrastructure still isn't complete. PR needs to be (re) defined and (re) positioned in the education system, the organizational structure and through ethical codes and codes of conduct. (p. 92)

In 2014, Croatia is making progress. The growing demand for professionalism remains; PR has been introduced into all levels of the educational system, as well as educating organizational management about the value of PR. The CPRA has, after a long period of discussion, accepted and introduced an ethical code of conduct to be signed by all members. Some comments are as accurate today as they were a decade ago. PR in Croatia is following the same path of development as its neighbours and other European countries. The hope is that PR becomes an unavoidable management function in all types of organizations.

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4

The Czech Republic

Denisa Hejlová

Abstract: *The evolution of public relations (PR) in the Czech Republic can be traced back to the early 20th century, as exemplified by the Bata shoe company which used a wide range of internal and external communication. From mid-century until the 1990s, propaganda was the dominant model under Nazi and Communist regimes, although Western PR methods were applied to support export of manufactures and products. After 1989/90, there was a rush of Western agencies into Central and Eastern Europe market which brought a more international model of practice, which is now the dominant model.*

Keywords: Bata; Czech Republic; economic propaganda; education; institutionalization; professionalization; propaganda; public relations

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So far, no history of public relations in the Czech Republic has been written and published. Some sketches on history of Czech PR have appeared in local publications (Němec, 1996; Svoboda, 2006, 2009; Ftorek, 2009; Pařík, 2011; Kopecký, 2013). Compared with other states in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), most offered a comprehensive review about their national PR field, for example in van Ruler and Verčič's *Public Relations and Communication Management in Europe: A Nation-by-Nation Introduction to Public Relations Theory and Practice* (2004) and other books (Zerfass, van Ruler and Sriramesh, 2008; Sriramesh and Verčič, 2012). The Czech Republic was not included, despite neighbouring countries like Poland, Slovakia and Austria being represented. The first attempt to describe the PR field, its role and function in the Czech Republic to international academic audience was published by Kasl Kollmannova (2013a). This focused on the local market overview and characteristics. The aim of this chapter is thus to present the national history of PR in the Czech Republic. The chapter analyses early development and put greater emphasis on development from 1990 onwards, when a professional PR field was gradually established. Also, a brief introduction about Bata, the founder of Czechoslovak internal and corporate communication, and the state-controlled foreign trade PR from the in the 1960s to 1980s will be presented. The chapter presents primary research and a review of literature and documents. In addition to documentary sources, the author will also apply insights from interviews with leading practitioners about the development of PR in the Czech Republic in the past 30 years. Those interviewed were (in name order): Vladimír Bystrov, Michal Donath, Euan Edworthy, Allan Gintel, Milan Hejl, Marek Hlavica, Ladislav Kopecký, Paul Kučera, Jindřich Lacko, Miroslav Novák, and Dita Stejskalová.

When talking about history, one has to bear in mind that several states and political arrangements included the territory of what, since 1993, is the Czech Republic, be it the Austro-Hungarian Empire until formation after World War I of the first independent Czechoslovakia (so-called First Republic until 1938), followed by the Nazi invasion ('Second Republic') which created the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. For three years after World War II, Czechs enjoyed a democratic country and society until February 1948 when the Communist Party took over the country. For the next 41 years, the Czechs were part of the Eastern Bloc, with its all economic, social and political consequences. This has to be taken in account: the freedom of the press and speech were suppressed. With the

exception of the Prague Spring in 1968, it was almost impossible to travel freely, especially to the West, and other means of communication, such as international post and media, were banned or censored.

During the First Republic (1918 to 1938), Czechoslovakia was building a new democratic country based on industry and economic growth. Foreign capital played an important role, especially in mining and metallurgy industry, where cartel agreements and monopoly were very common (Teichova, 1974, p. 72). There were companies which established strong brands and used what we would call PR today: Škoda, Laurin & Klement, Koh-i-noor Waldes, Antonín Chmel (Prague Ham), Jawa Motorcycles, Brouk and Babka department stores and others. In the first half of the 20th century, the Czech terminology distinguished between advertising (*reklama*) and promotion (*propagace*). The later term represented the origins of PR.

The Bata Company

One of the most prominent brands was Baťa, a family-controlled shoe-making business, which grew into a global enterprise under the name Bata. The aim of this fast-growing company, which profited from army contracts during World War I, was not only to produce shoes, but also to create a strong corporate culture, which included education, housing and welfare for their employees. When the CEO Tomas Bata died in 1932, the management team were comparatively young men. ‘Antonin Cekota, who, at the age of 33 was the youngest of the team, was responsible for public relations and management of publishing of newspapers and magazines, which he consolidated into a general publishing company, known as “Tisk” (The Press)’ (Cekota, 1985, p. 37). Cekota focused on internal communication and delivering the corporate vision, mission and goals to every employee. He published four weekly newspapers and four monthly magazines, which later expanded into magazines for customers and wider publics. Bata also created a unique internal communication when 80 to 100 men (including the board of directors, members of a parliament or city council and other specialists) met at weekly conferences (Cekota, 1985).

Bata’s communication was established on three important, innovative premises: 1) transparency and openness in communication, 2) a strong corporate culture and education of employees, including building a strong

ethos and morale, 3) goodwill and what today is called corporate social responsibility (Cekota, 1981 and 1985; Pokluda, 2013). Bata opened its factories in full view to the public, including competitors, who could see production in operation (Cekota, 1985). It was the first Czech company which operated a sophisticated system of social welfare and education benefits. For example, employees had regular medical checks; trainees at Bata schools (Baťovy školy práce, Bata Labour Schools were the first company schools in Czechoslovakia) had instant access to a school doctor, physical training including special training for the handicapped, and sport activities such as skiing, swimming and summer camps. Bata built whole suburbs of modern, neat architecture housing projects and family villas (Batastory, 2014). The Bata world was envisioned in short mottoes or longer essays: for example, Antonín Cekota's book, *Bata: Ideas, acts, life and work*, was published in 1929 (Cekota, 1929).

After World War II: rise of propaganda and fall of PR

During the First Republic, most attention was given to advertising. However, the German annexation in 1938 and 1939 and later the rapid establishment of the Communist regime in February 1948 left only three years between 1945 and 1948 for a short recovery of the previous expansion of communication, advertising techniques and PR. During both totalitarian regimes, Nazi and Communist, freedom of speech and the press was suppressed and communication was directed by state propaganda needs. In 1927, the first professional advertising association (Reklub) was established, which offered courses on rhetoric, promotional writing and market research. In 1948, there were 16 branches of Reklub representing 3690 advertising professionals (Pavlů, 2012). The club finished soon after in 1949, but some professionals kept working despite the communistic central planning and direction. The socialistic state ideology controlled all means of advertising and promotion in the 1950s because advertising was considered 'capitalistic' and a 'waste of money'. Many in-house promotional departments of formerly private companies (which had come under the state control) were closed.

Some former advertising experts were active in the 1960s in newly established state advertising and promotional organizations and agencies, such as Merkur, Rapid, BVV (Brno Trades and Exhibitions),

Incheba (Chemical Trade PZO), and Made in Publicity (L. Kopecký, 2013 and personal communication, 5 February 2014). The promotion and PR techniques arising from these state organizations and agencies were oriented towards Western or global trade and business (especially *pézetky* or *Podniky zahraničního obchodu*, foreign trade companies – PZO) (Svoboda, 2009, p. 220). As Lacko noted, the PR was ‘only meant to go abroad. Everything, that went inside (i.e. for the Czechoslovak public) was propaganda’ (J. Lacko, personal communication, 17 February 2014). However, both ways of communications were aimed at the domestic or foreign audience in order to present Czechoslovakia at its best and were strictly directed by the government and Communist Party. Also, to the domestic audience, the West was presented as an ‘imperialistic’ world where exploited masses are ruled by the rich few.

1960s: professional PR, inspired from the West

In the 1960s, the socio-political atmosphere changed and in the second half of 1960s, PR started to emerge as a professional field. One of the first professionals to cultivate and develop PR was Alfons Kachlík. He worked from 1956 to 1968 as the head of the promotion department at the foreign trade company Omnipol, which exported sport airplanes and weapons (Svoboda, 2009, p. 220). Kachlík issued the first publication on PR not only within Czechoslovakia, but according to Svoboda (2009, p. 220), also among other socialist states. This publication named simply *Public Relations* and issued by Czechoslovak Chamber of Commerce was not freely available in bookstores but was distributed to the few professionals and students of the Economic University (VŠE, Prague) (Kachlík, 1965). At the Economic University, Professor Jaroslav Nykrýn, Zdeněk Červený and Kachlík taught PR.

Despite ‘public relations’ being an English-language word, it has been used in professional practice since the 1960s. For example, at the state-run Rapid agency there were departments in ‘all marketing and advertising fields, such as external advertising, exhibitions, etc., and also public relations’ (J. Lacko, personal communication, 17 February 2014). Later, in the 1970s and 1980s, the German equivalent term for PR, *Öffentlichkeitsarbeit*, was translated as *práce s veřejností* (work with the publics) and used more frequently because of its ‘easier ideological viability’ (Svoboda, 2009, p. 221). Svoboda (2009) stated that the first

Czechoslovak PR professional body was Klub práce s veřejností (The Club of the Work with Publics), established by the Brno Trades and Exhibitions in 1983.

PR was, however, used only within organizations promoting Czechoslovak goods or services to foreign, namely Western, markets. For internal trade and domestic communication, the term PR was replaced by 'economic propaganda' especially within ministries or in-house departments of state companies (J. Lacko, personal communication, 17 February 2014). Books describing economic propaganda and technical-economic propaganda were published from 1960s. Unlike the foreign (Western) literature, they were easily acquired and strictly recommended to follow. Books included Karliček (1964) *Technological-Economic Propaganda in Industrial Companies*; Šatkovský and Vlček (1966) *Scientific-Technological and Economic Propaganda and Information*; and Šťastný (1977) *Economic Propaganda and Agitation*.

The late 1960s were essential for the development of PR techniques in Czechoslovakia. Because of a slight loosening of the tight state control, especially during Prague Spring in 1968, some international relations were established. In 1964, the British PR agency Pemberton organized a seminar on public relations, and the PR division of Rapid (consisting of around 10 people) established cooperation with foreign (meaning Western) PR agencies, which promoted Czech products (J. Lacko, personal communication, 17 February 2014; L. Kopecký, personal communication, 5 February 2014). Among countries where PR for Czech interests was applied were United States, Canada, Japan, Egypt, India, Scandinavia, Germany, United Kingdom and other European countries (J. Lacko, personal communication, 17 February 2014). Contrary to the vast majority of the Czechoslovak citizens, those working for the state promotion agencies had no difficulty obtaining Western literature or sources. 'We had everything what we wanted, books, sources, everything', recalled Ladislav Kopecký, who was able to travel to the United Kingdom in 1967 with Jiří Mikeš to the Institute of Public Relations in London where they studied under Arthur Cain (L. Kopecký, personal communication, 5 February 2014). Czech PR successfully participated in EXPO exhibitions (1958 in Brussels the Czechoslovak Pavilion was awarded the best exposition and was visited by 6 million people; in 1967 Expo in Montreal introduced the famous Kinoautomat, the world's first interactive movie). Among the most successful PR professionals trained in the 1960s were Aleš Hejlek, Vilém Havelka, Zdeněk Červený, Vlasta

Vorlová, Bohuš Häckl and Alfons Kachlík (J. Lacko, personal communication, 17 February 2014).

1970s: normalization – under state control

The situation was soon to change. With the intervention of the Warsaw Pact armies in August 1968, the Communist regime stopped reforms initiated by Alexander Dubček and started the era of ‘normalization’, which meant tightening ideological and political structures and re-establishing central power over the economy. Every journey to the West was monitored and carefully examined by the State Secret Police (StB), and so were press trips of foreign journalists to Czechoslovakia.

I met them (secret police officers) almost every other day. We’d meet in the hallway and greet, and they had an office on the same floor... I was meant to report every foreign contact, what we were talking about... so at the end of the day I just poured all the business cards on them and they’d copy the names. (J. Lacko, personal communication, 17 February 2014)

Some PR professionals did not pass through the ideological ‘checks’ (*prověrky*) in the 1970s, when they were asked whether they agreed with the 1968 invasion or not, and some had to change their job or had their travelling limited (J. Lacko, personal communication, 17 February 2014). The main goal of Czechoslovak PR was targeting foreign (Western) journalists in order to build up an image of a historically beautiful, socialistic but yet progressive country.

1980s: The era of economic propaganda

During the 1980s, the methods and techniques of promotion became more common and accepted even in the socialist regime. Since the early 1970s, ‘economic propaganda’ and ‘promotion’ (in the socialistic sense) were taught at the Faculty of Journalism, Charles University in Prague and heavily promoted to the domestic audience as how to ‘raise and educate a socialistic man’ (Zrostlík, 1979, p. 57) [see other books on economic propaganda, by Kašík (1975), Kašík and Klimpl (1982), Košťálová and Seifer (1979), Zrostlík (1979), Kachlík (1985) and Nevolová (1988)]. Despite some methods and techniques of communication being

similar to PR, there was one relevant difference: the dissemination of information was one way, ideology-based, state-controlled and aimed not to build a free dialogue, but to use various methods of persuasion to achieve communicator's goals and spread socialistic political ideology.

Dissatisfaction with the Communist regime in socialist Czechoslovakia was on the rise throughout the 1980s (Vaněk, 2009). More student organizations, artists, scientists, scholars and journalists were seeking information and contact with the Western, capitalist and democratic lifestyle and culture; especially after the Russian President Mikhail Gorbachev's 'perestroika' (restructuring). Many later PR professionals joined student organizations, such as AIESEC at the Economic University (VŠE), or even the official SSM (Socialistic Youth Association), in order to enable international contact and travel. 'I was very active at AIESEC even before 1989. I did fundraising, marketing and we could travel to student conferences' (D. Stejskalová, personal communication, 12 February 2014). From these active students, especially in foreign trade and diplomacy studies at Economic University, many local PR talents arose, such as Dita Stejskalová who later became CEO of Ogilvy PR. Others who specialized in foreign journalism, psychology or language studies during the 1980s had an advantage to start a PR career when the political system broke down in November 1989.

1990s: foreign PR agencies and global PR departments

With the change of the political system, the market experienced a major economic, political and social transition. Foreign companies and agencies started to enter the market in the first half of 1990s. The first international PR agency to enter was Burson-Marsteller in 1991. Michal Donath, a former *Time* magazine correspondent and interpreter, whose Burson-Marsteller agency (later Donath-Burson-Masteller or DBM) became quickly the biggest and most successful PR agency in the 1990s, said:

They wanted to enter the market prior to the multinationals. My former boss from *Time* magazine who started to work for Burson-Marsteller called me one day and asked me 'would you like to work in PR?' and I replied 'in P-what?' and then I said whatever is good for you is good for me as well... They gave me \$10,000 to set up my office. My first client was Procter & Gamble. (M. Donath, personal communication, 21 February 2014)

During the first half of the 1990s, the PR field in the Czech Republic experienced immense growth. Multinational agencies were entering the market and looking for local employees or managers. 'Globalization took place namely in the early 1990s, when major global or international PR and communication agencies entered the new market' (Kollmannová, 2013a, p. 106). In-house PR departments came within the first corporations such as Unilever, Coca-Cola, P&G and many others. Corporate PR in local companies also started to grow.

In December 1990, we (Novák and Kačena) started to create PR department at the ČEZ (Czech energetic company). Before that, there was nothing, just one lady who did exhibitions and promotion and one man who did company newspapers. We learned from abroad, namely France, Great Britain, USA or Germany. By 1996 or 1997, we reached the professional level of the Western companies. Today, ČEZ is the leader in the field of corporate communication in energetics. (M. Novák, personal communication, 24 February 2014)

Local agencies also started to emerge. Among the early entrants were those started or led by Czechs who formerly worked in *pézetky* (foreign trade companies) and other communication fields; because they had access, practice and contacts in the Western world. They knew the business, budgets, tasks and services to offer foreign clients. Also, they spoke English. Among those was Pragma, started by Jindřich Lacko; Lintas (then Ammirati Puris Lintas, communication and advertising agency) led by Ladislav Kopecký; Burson-Marsteller; and Pragma Communications. Over time, they became 'talent incubators' as many later PR entrepreneurs started their careers with them. Amalthea was another agency, originally part of the Ringier publishing house, which focused on HR, training, education and also PR. Amalthea was run by Allan Gintel, a specialist in psychology and social psychology: 'We were organizing seminars about PR, so that the people would know what it is and then can buy this type of service from us' (A. Gintel, personal communication, 11 February 2014).

A second type of agency emerged from young, active Czechs, who had mostly just graduated and were enthusiastic to work in a new field. It is notable that the founders had one common personal characteristic: organizational experience that was developed through membership of the official Socialistic Youth Organization (SSM) or AIESEC (M. Hejl, personal communication, 1 February 2014; D. Stejskalová, personal communication, 12 February 2014). Vanda Wolfová, one of the most

successful Czech communication managers, started to run the Czech PR division of Ogilvy & Mather in January 1992 and in few years she was managing the whole CEE sector. Dita Stejskalová became a Managing Partner of Ogilvy PR in 1994 after working in the international student organization AIESEC at the Economic University and later at Burson-Marsteller.

In the early 1990s, absolutely everything was new, but there was no cynicism in society. The people, actors, even Olga Havlová (the first wife of the president Vaclav Havel) would have their photo taken for a PR campaign for Polaroid... A promotional song which we recorded for Ribena with Michal David actually hit the children's music charts. (D. Stejskalová, personal communication, 12 February 2014)

Thirdly, some agencies were run or managed by expatriates, coming mainly from the United States, United Kingdom, but also Austria, the Netherlands and other countries. In 1990s, British PR and lobbying agencies such as Rowland or Shilland & Company were servicing mostly British clients like Johnny Walker whisky (M. Hlavica, personal communication, 3 February 2014). Among notable expatriates were Euan Edworthy, who worked for Shilland and then set up his own company Best Communications; Paul Kučera (born in Australia with a Czech background) who co-owned PR agency Eklektik and now works for Hill & Knowlton; Adrian Wheeler (GCI) and Melinda Ewing (Ewing PR, founded 1993).

Knowledge of English was a necessary skill for PR practitioners, especially in the early 1990s. As Russian has been the primary foreign language in the educational system and very few people had access to the English language because of the Iron Curtain.

It was an au-pair terror. Every girl who went to the UK and learned basic English, came back and thought she was ready to work in PR. (M. Hlavica, personal communication, 3 February 2014)

In the 1990s, many agencies profited just from the fact they had foreign management. Often their main qualification was just that they were native speakers. Naturally, they gained more trust from the foreign management. (V. Bystrov, personal communication, 7 February 2014)

English was also necessary because it was mainly multinational companies that entered the Czech market with their PR departments or hired PR professionals. There was also some training in German. The Austrian agency Publico entered the market in early 1990s and German political

consultants organized training for the politicians, but that was a minority activity. The situation began to change in the late 1990s, when local companies also started to demand PR, Czech managers took over the leading positions in companies and local PR agencies started to dominate the market.

Professionalization, education and institutionalization

In 1994, Allan Gintel organized the first national PR conference (A. Gintel, personal communication, 11 February 2014). Among the participants were Vanda Wolfová, Michal Donath, Milan Hejl, Aleš Langr and Vladimír Bystrov. It was the first meeting of Czech PR professionals: ‘That’s where I first met the other people in the field’ (M. Hejl, personal communication, 1 February 2014). ‘When [Harold] Burson asked me ‘what’s your competition?’ I replied ‘What competition?’ (M. Donath, personal communication, 21 February 2014).

Soon after, in 1995, the professionals overcame initial problems and hesitation and established the Association of PR Agencies (APRA), which has become the most respected professional organization within the PR field. APRA cooperated with International Communications Consultancy Association (ICCO) and later (2003) put into practice its Stockholm Charter of Professional Conduct. This was followed in 2004 by a Code of Ethics for Clients Relationships. In 2005 it also adopted the International Public Relations Association (IPRA) media transparency charter. Although APRA has an Ethical Commission to deal with ethical problems, very few have been reported.

There is strong differentiation between credible agencies and the other agencies or individuals, when it comes to ethics. ‘Most problems arose from the politicians and people around them, not from APRA agencies. The problems came from those people called themselves ‘PRists’ or ‘lobbyists’ (M. Hejl, personal communication, 1 February 2014).

In 2004, The Chamber of PR (Komora PR) was established to gather individual consultants, spokespeople from governmental bodies or NGOs and smaller agencies, which could not afford APRA’s expensive fees or did not meet its entry conditions. Among the most visible activities of Komora PR and the Spokespeople club has been the ‘Spokesperson of the Year’ award, which ran from 2003 to 2011 (Komora PR, 2014). Another organization which has been active since 1998 with limited results is the

PR Club (PR Club, 2014). Its most visible activity is the Zlatý středník Award for the best company publication. However, neither organization has had much impact on the professional field.

PR education has not played a major role in the Czech Republic. Courses have been taught at the Economic University and later at the Zlin Tomas Bata University and Masaryk University in Brno. Since 2004, an undergraduate study programme of marketing communications and PR has been offered at the Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University in Prague. APRA operated the London School of PR from 2001 to 2013, and since 2014, has run the 'PR professional' course.

Local authors have begun to write about PR, often in 'how to do PR' commercial publications. One of the first was Petr Němec (1996, 1999) followed by Václav Svoboda (2004, 2006), Roman Bajčan (2003) and Ladislav Kopecký (2013). Jozef Ftorek (2009) wrote about the politics and PR, and Denisa Kollmannova analysed the change of political PR concerning private life issues since the 1989 Velvet Revolution (Kollmannova, 2012), when the local politicians began to use family and private life to get publicity and media visibility. The first comprehensive study of the role and function of PR in the Czech Republic was published by Kasl Kollmannova (2013a). Still, 25 years after the Velvet Revolution and immense growth of the PR field in practice, the Czech Republic lacks more detailed investigation and critical analysis of this field, especially in relation to changes in the political and media landscape (for the changes in media, see e.g. Jirák et al., 2009).

The new millennium: takeover of local PR agencies

From the second half of the 1990s, turnover within the PR field began. Local professionals gained enough know-how to run their own agencies and in-house departments, mostly from the multinational agencies, companies or clients, but also intuitively (such as M. Donath, personal communication, 21 February 2014) or from their peers. For the international companies, local competition began to grow. Some of the professionals see the turning point in 1998 when a local PR agency AMI, run by Aleš Langr and Milan Hejl, 'cut prices and changed fees in the market' (P. Kučera, personal communication, 4 February 2014) and quickly become the biggest agency. In 1999, AMI gained Edelman affiliation. 'By the end of the nineties, value for money became most

important in PR services' (V. Bystrov, personal communication, 7 February, 2014).

With the new millennium, the PR of NGOs and governmental bodies started to develop in large scale. In government communication, PR has not been widely successful. Campaigns like Second Pillar of Social Welfare, The Local Fish (to increase the consumption of carp) or A Green Light to Savings have cost millions of Czech crowns with very limited results. Some 86 per cent of the Czech population 'have a feeling that the government does not communicate with them' (Kollmannová, 2013b). Yet governmental bodies and regional politics represent an indispensable part of the PR professionals.

Current situation

Many practitioners see the specifics of Czech PR linked to the transition or market limitations. 'There is not a developed capital market with many shareholders, as there is in the United Kingdom. Therefore there is also not such demand for corporate transparency and so companies do not have to communicate so much. They do not need to present themselves because they do not have small shareholders' (D. Stejskalová, personal communication, 12 February 2014). Kollmannová (2013a) argues that the Czech Republic has witnessed growing influence and realization of the importance of PR to contemporary society. 'PR, however, faces a big challenge in communicating and explaining its own relevance' (p. 108). PR agencies do not possess well-known brands to their clients, and most publics do not recognize the importance or meaning of this service. However, the professional field is led by dominant local players, namely the big three agencies (AMI Communications, Bison & Rose and Ogilvy PR).

Since 1990s, PR in the Czech Republic has also become an indispensable part of corporations, businesses, as well as government offices, political bodies, NGOs and other institutions. With the rise of digital communication and social media, the stakeholders have become more active in communication. In 2011, 96 per cent of Czech households have mobile phones, and in 2013, 67 per cent of households were connected to the internet (ČSÚ, 2014). Despite the legislative norms and ethical codes, a case can be made that, apart from the highly professional senior practitioners from respected agencies or companies, there is also another group of people offering so-called PR services or lobbying which do not

stand up to the professional nor ethical standards. This continues to be a problem for PR's image in the Czech Republic.

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5

Hungary

György Szondi

Abstract: *This chapter focuses on the past 50 years of Hungarian public relations (PR), from the mid-1950s till today. The first part of the chapter details the development of public relations during the Communist period when it was considered as a tool to promote foreign trade, domestic commerce and tourism. The second part outlines some key dates and events in the history of democratic public relations in the context of the changing political, economic and media environments.*

Keywords: commercial propaganda; foreign trade promotion; socialist public relations; trust building

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In November 2014, Europe celebrated the 25th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall, which marked the birth of market economies in Central Europe. According to the popular view, the fall of Communism also marked the birth of the public relations industry in Eastern Europe. Based on the case of the former Yugoslavia, Grunig, Grunig and Verčič (2004) incorrectly concluded that ‘there was no public relations in Eastern Europe before 1989 because the concept was not acceptable for socialism’ (p. 137).

The history of PR is often interpreted through the lenses of US liberal practice and theory whereby the United States is used as a benchmark. Any variation from the evolution and development of American PR history has been branded as a ‘distorted’ or ‘twisted’ line of evolution (Tsetsura and Kruckeberg, 2004) insomuch as that ‘[the role of public relations in lesser-developed countries or countries with different political structures and economic conditions forms a contentious area that *clouds the development of integrated international public relations theory*’ (Gaither and Curtin, 2008, p. 284, emphasis added).

While post-Communist PR in Eastern Europe, together with the transitional period, has been widely researched, documented and celebrated, PR during Communism remains under-researched or even deliberately ignored apart from a few rare exceptions (e.g. Bentele and Mühlberg, 2010; Wehmeier, 2004). The development and history of ‘modern’ PR in Hungary, however, cannot be understood without considering the three decades of PR during the socialist era.

This chapter focuses on the period when the term ‘public relations’ first appeared in Hungary, despite several earlier actions and events during the course of Hungarian history that could be classified as certain type of PR. A historical perspective was adopted to analyse and understand the 50 years of Hungarian PR; emphasis has been placed on the oral histories told by practitioners as well as on archival research. Special attention was given to PR in the socialist era, as literature about the past 25 years of Hungarian PR developments is available (Szondi, 2004, 2009).

In Hungarian, there is only one book devoted exclusively to PR history (Beke, 2001). The author devoted only a short chapter to the history of Hungarian PR, largely as a chronology. Most of the book presents the US history of PR as *the* history of public relations with some reference to European histories.

The Communist era

The evolution and development of Hungarian PR has been characterized by several stages, usually linked to landmark dates. The first state spans from about 1958 till 1967. It was in 1958 that *Külkereskedelmi Propaganda* [Foreign Trade Propaganda], a bi-monthly trade journal of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce, was launched. This journal mostly covered practical aspects of promoting Hungarian foreign trade, among both socialist and capitalist countries, but also paid significant attention to some theoretical aspects. In 1964 a series of articles were written about PR as capitalist economic tool, which was described as ‘a manifestation of capitalist ideology’, the aim of which was the ‘tuning of the public towards a corporation and its interest’ by providing information in order to build trust (Tartsay, 1964, pp. 3–4). Probably the first mention of the term ‘public relations’ was in 1960 when a theoretical and conceptual work on advertising (Varga, 1960) mentioned PR as a particular type of propaganda in the United States, whose purpose was to create and maintain goodwill towards a company. Varga argued that PR had no significance whatsoever for socialist companies, since citizens already nurture goodwill towards socialist companies and the socialist media do not need to be convinced and persuaded to write about companies either, given that the media represent the interests of the people. Although the initial attitudes towards PR were negative, a few years later the tone changed. More and more foreign trade propagandists as well as Presto, the monopolistic foreign trade propaganda firm that served as an agency to advertise Hungarian companies and their products abroad as well as place advertisements of foreign products and companies in the Hungarian media, realized that PR was a necessary tool, particularly if export promotion was to be successful in capitalist countries.

Endre Marinovich, a young economist graduate and an employee of Presto from 1959, showed particular interest in this new tool inasmuch as he wrote and defended the first doctorate in PR in 1966. By that year PR was very much ‘in the air’: in February 1966 the British PR educator Sam Black was invited by the Chamber of Commerce and delivered a seminar on ‘Public Relations in Support of British Foreign Trade’. Participants noted Black did not cover any topics previously unknown to them but logically summarized PR practices in foreign trade promotion. The same year, the trade magazine *Külkereskedelmi Propaganda* devoted

an entire issue to PR, focusing on foreign trade propagandists' personal experiences as well as providing case studies.

From the mid-1960s preparations were well under way to reform the Hungarian economy. January 1968 saw the official launch of a series of economic and social reforms, called the 'New Economic Mechanism', which attempted to combine features of central planning and those of the market mechanism. The reforms triggered changes in many areas: enterprises won greater autonomy in decisions over production and investments at the expense of central planners; a new pricing system was introduced; there was increased independence from centralized state control in some areas of economy, education and culture, some freedom of travel, and modest social protection and welfare. One of the primary concerns of the New Economic Mechanism was to improve foreign trade and establish a relationship between success in export and companies' profitability.

The year 1968 was a milestone in the history of Hungarian PR too and signalled the beginning of the second stage of socialist PR. The publication of the first book on PR coincided with the start of the reforms. The book, *Public Relations a gyakorlatban* [Public Relations in Practice], written by József Lipót, a former 'public relations officer' of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce, was based on the author's own experience as well as on some German and English language literature. Some 3800 copies were published, which sold out in a year. The author clearly separated PR from both advertising and (commercial) propaganda, making a strong case for the wider use of PR both domestically as well as abroad. He argued that both advertising and propaganda should be considered as part of PR, which was a broader activity that helps develop corporate identity as well as establish its prestige. This was an important development as PR was initially conceptualized as a vital part of commercial propaganda during the 1960s although the borderlines and the relationship among advertising, PR, propaganda and publicity were elastic. Lipót's book provided this definition:

Public relations is a more extensive and clearly separate activity from advertising and propaganda. Public relations is a company's or organization's efforts to inform and get informed, alter its actions and coordinate behavior according to its interests – but at the same time in accordance with facts and truth – through two-way relations established with its publics; ultimately to create and maintain understanding and trust. Public relations work is a continuous, planned, purposeful and complex activity that uses all available

means in a complementary way and – under ideal circumstances – starts simultaneously with the establishment of a company or organization until its winding up. (1968, p. 18)

The definition and the approach taken in the book emphasized two-way relations and it is notable that it referred to ‘publics’, in plural. Trust-building was identified as an overall goal of public relations: creating and maintaining trust has always remained a key characteristic of Hungarian socialist and post-socialist public relations. Lipót also called for the establishment of PR departments in organizations. In state-owned companies advertising and propaganda were often combined in one department (Department of Advertising and Propaganda), while press relations were handled either by a press office or sometimes by the management. Only a handful of companies established these departments and employed ‘public relations officers’, using the English title towards the end of the 1960s. Not only did the book cover the structural requirements of establishing a PR department but it also devoted space to the necessary skills of a PR practitioner. The book adopted and applied PR as a ‘capitalist tool’ for socialist economic conditions and successfully navigated between the capitalist and socialist applications of the concept. Any books that later appeared had to justify how and why PR was relevant in the socialist economy. Propagandists and advertising experts were keen on developing their knowledge and know-how of PR by contacting US, English as well as German authors and practitioners who often sent books or magazines about public relations. Thanks to a Ford scholarship, Miklós Márton, a journalist was able to spend a year in the United States studying the work of several American companies’ PR departments in 1967 and published several articles upon his return (e.g. Márton, 1969).

The establishment of the ‘Public Relations Committee’ of the Management and Leadership Scientific Society in February 1970 played a significant role in promoting PR as a practice for domestic companies too during the 1970s. The committee, led by Endre Marinovich, organized PR clubs on a monthly basis where the latest trends, events and best practices were shared among the 60 members. It was their initiative to organize the first national PR conference which took place in February 1972. More than 200 people attended the event, which hosted speakers also from abroad, such as the European PR manager of Chrysler and Professor Carl Hundhausen from West Germany. Hundhausen’s speech complained about PR being subordinated to advertising in the German

Federal Republic and called for PR to be used in the interest of society. From 1970 onwards the committee organized intensive week-long PR training courses where the participants were awarded a diploma in public relations on successful completion.

Also in 1970 after 12 years of publication, the magazine *Külkereskedelmi Propaganda* briefly changed its title to *Propaganda, Reklám, Public Relations*. This marked a shift toward domestic commercial propaganda. PR was included in the title for reasons of convenience too, combining the first letters of the words *Propaganda* and *Reklám* [Advertising]. The editor of the first renamed issue justified the inclusion of PR with ‘the second line of the journal’s title [Public Relations] demonstrates certain type of internationalization. It shows that we wish to put public relations – an activity conducted with great success already in many countries – into its right place in our country’ (*Propaganda, Reklám, Public Relations* 1970/1–2, p. 1). The choice of the title also demonstrated that the three fields were considered similar but separate activities in Hungary. The new title, however, was short lived as ‘Public Relations’ disappeared from the next issue onwards, though it continued to publish articles and case studies on PR.

After 1968, marketing, together with market research, was also making its way into Hungary’s economic system and academic circles with such impact that a market(ing) centred concept became a core element of the Hungarian economy. The National Institute for Market Research was established in 1968 and launched its professional quarterly journal *Marketing, piackutatás* [Marketing, Market Research] in the same year. This journal published academic articles, opinion pieces, case studies as well as translations of Western articles about the different areas of marketing. PR case studies and conceptual articles also featured in the journal but from a domestic commerce view rather than a foreign trade perspective. While the concept of marketing enjoyed the unconditional support of the political and economic elites, PR raised eyebrows, both inside and outside the country. Some of the criticism came from East Germany via the writings of Alfred Klein who was a master of ideologizing socialist PR and heavily criticizing its capitalist form. Until the mid-1970s the emphasis was on the external dimension of PR. Soon after, however, practitioners’ attention turned to internal PR, which was not always received with enthusiasm given that it interfered with the concepts of enterprise (or working place) democracy. Enterprise democracy gave ‘the opportunity (for workers) to substantially intervene in the

enterprise management and in the decision-making in local and public affairs, it encourages the workers' creativity and it is a major instrument in developing a socialist relationship between managers and employees; it increases the workers' responsibility and incentives for a greater effort on the job' (Racz, 1984, p. 544).

In 1971 a textbook was published by the Scientific Association of Machine Industry with the title 'The Company and Public Relations' (Kovács, 1971). It focused on the planning and implementation of organizational PR strategies and tactics. Four years later Marinovich defended his second thesis about PR and was awarded the Candidate of Science degree. In this work he provided a critical overview of the development and theory of PR and its application for companies in socialist Hungary. During the second half of the 1970s PR became a chapter in several textbooks on commercial and (foreign) trade propaganda as well as in specialist books about marketing in the socialist economies. In 1973 an article was published about the relationship between informatics and PR and how these two new fields would rely on and complement each other (Zoltán, 1973). The first empirical research about PR was in 1972 (cited in Marinovich, 1975) when 246 companies were asked if they engaged in PR and, if yes, which groups did they target. Some 47 per cent of the surveyed companies said they undertook PR activities (although it was up to the companies how they interpreted PR). Out of those companies, 57 per cent targeted the 'general public', 42 per cent were engaging in internal PR as well and 64 per cent targeted decision-making and controlling (official) organizations (today, this latter activity would fall under the auspices of public affairs). Follow-up research in 1977 went into more details about the PR tools and methods used for communicating with these various target groups (Sándor, 1987).

The other line of development of PR related to cultural institutions, particularly libraries from the 1970s onwards. The Széchényi National Library and the National Technical Information Centre and Library published booklets and other materials on PR and organized several conferences, seminars and clubs about the theoretical and practical aspects of developing and maintaining relations with the public, thus contributing to the dissemination of PR. Several campaigns were organized to make libraries more popular among the citizens and to promote their use. The librarian Tibor Pelejtei published two books about PR for libraries in 1979 and 1984 in which he used and adopted the writings of English and German authors.

From the mid-1970s several authors wrote about PR as an approach towards communication and information with a strong emphasis on behaviour as the core of good PR practice. Until the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, PR had never been mentioned in a negative context. However, during the 1990s it acquired a dubious reputation and was often used as a synonym for manipulation or lies with derogative associations attached.

By the 1980s several companies used PR consciously as a function distinct from advertising and propaganda. These included department stores, export companies, trade organizations, libraries, ministries and tourism promotion organizations. From 1982 Lipót, the author of the first PR book, was the PR officer of Transelectro, an electrical foreign trade company where PR was a planned activity, approved and supported by the company management.

With the advancement and strengthening position of marketing and marketing communication during the 1980s, PR was increasingly viewed as a marketing communication tool. Imre Sándor, a leading scholar on marketing communication and PR during the 1980s, conceptualized marketing communication as the management of the system of social communication (Sándor, 1987). He argued that, in a socialist system, PR's function was the coordination of individual, corporate and societal interests, which may be colliding or contradictory; but it was PR that could help identify, negotiate and coordinate these interests. This approach was reflected in his book co-authored with Peter Szeles, which was published in 1990 (Sándor and Szeles, 1990) just around the time when Communism was collapsing.

When in 1988 the International Public Relations Association's (IPRA) annual conference took place in Vienna, the wind of change was already blowing across the Eastern bloc. The participants were invited to Budapest as well where IPRA's first East-West Public Relations Conference was organized.

The second 25 years of Hungarian PR

It was against this backdrop that 'modern' PR evolved after the fall of the Berlin Wall. The political and economic changes in 1989/1990 created historic opportunities for PR, which played a vital role in turning a centrally planned economy into a free market economy during a very short period of time. It involved the privatization of 1850 state-owned

firms and 11,000 hotels, shops and catering operations which attracted Western companies to invest in Hungary and preparation for the first free elections with the emergence of several political parties.

During the 1990s the Hungarian PR industry was characterized by a variety of initiatives and developments towards professionalization. The first Hungarian owned PR agency, Publicpress, was established in October 1989. When the Hungarian Public Relations Association (HPRA) was founded in December 1990, several of the 30 founding members had already significant PR experience. In 1992 PR was recognized as a profession by the Office of Central Statistics under the Business Counselling category. In the same year HPRA developed and accepted a standardized PR terminology. During the first half of the 1990s the association issued four fundamental documents regarding the terminology and the basic PR principles as well as a Code of Ethics. *PRHerald*, the monthly professional journal devoted to PR, was launched in 1995 and, until its bankruptcy in 2001, it remained a vivid forum for trends and analyses of the profession, case studies and theoretical discussions. In 2004 the journal was relaunched in an online format (<http://www.prherald.hu>) and continues to serve as the news portal of the national communication profession. *Kreatív*, the monthly professional marketing communication journal, also devotes a section to PR but otherwise there is no print journal dedicated to the discipline.

The first PR academic educational department was established at the College of Foreign Trade in 1994 by Marta Németh (the wife of Marinovich). This department had pioneered PR education since the 1970s.

The demand for PR was enormous during the early 1990s: newly arriving multinational companies had no knowledge of the local conditions, the business or political environment. International PR consultancies were quick to set up offices in Budapest, usually headed by Hungarians who had been living in the West and had some experience with 'Western' public relations. A second generation of PR consultancies sprang up around the turn of the millennium, when talented young professionals who had been trained under the wings of the international PR consultancies began to set up local agencies, keeping the profit inside the country rather than sending them to London or New York.

The practice of crisis communication also emerged during the early 1990s but more out of necessity than being a consciously established field. The Hungarian Business Leaders Forum, established in 1992, was the forerunner of promoting corporate social responsibility (CSR) during

the first half of the 1990s. It was the mid-2000s when CSR became more widely recognized and practiced. The first CSR consultancies emerged around this time and in 2006 the position of the director of CSR for the Ministry of the Economy was created. In the same year HPRÁ launched the 'CSR Best Practice' initiative to reward the companies with the best programmes. 'The day of CSR' was officially proclaimed on 1 June 2006 (See Lakatos, 2013 for detail on CSR in Hungary and Central Europe).

The 'First Lobby Association' was established in 2002, the same year when an MA in Lobbying was launched at the Budapest University of Economics and Public Administration. To make lobbying activities more transparent and accountable, the so-called Lobbying Act was passed in 2006, which defined the duties and obligations of lobbyists. In 2011, however, the conservative government abolished the original law, leaving the practice almost unregulated. With the conservative government's two-thirds parliamentary majority and its fast decision-making processes, companies have been left powerless to influence the political elite in recent times (Lewis and Benson, 2014).

From 2008 till today: the period of the financial crisis

The global financial crisis had a huge impact on companies across Hungary. Although the entire PR industry suffered from the direct and indirect impacts of the financial crisis, nevertheless practitioners played a vital role in communicating factory closures, employee lay-offs, salary cuts or reductions in services as the results of the crisis. At the same time, the banking sector relied heavily on PR to regain the trust of disillusioned citizen-customers. The Hungarian PR market has always been price sensitive, often at the expense of professionalism, but was even more so during the financial crisis (Z. Lakatos, HPRÁ President, personal communication, 17 January 2014). Contracts or tenders have been won by the cheapest offers rather than by the most professional ones, as smaller local agencies were willing to work for less. Many smaller agencies were set up shortly before or during the financial crisis (the third generation of consultancies) by just one or two people, often former journalists or politicians, who were willing to work for less. Even multinational companies were forced to commission these smaller, less expensive agencies, leaving several leading global PR consultan-

cies without heavyweight multinationals as clients due to financial constraints.

Although a plethora of multinational companies set up their regional hubs in Budapest as well as coordinating regional PR activities from the 1990s, Hungary had lost its regional hub position by 2010, partly due to the conservative government's nationalist economic policies and confrontational approaches towards multinational companies.

The Hungarian media remain politicized: media outlets and journalists have strong political links and views (Szondi, 2009). Therefore impartial media hardly exist in Hungary. The country's media law of 2011 that requires all media to register and provide 'balanced' coverage of national and EU events has sparked controversy inside Hungary as well as abroad.

PR, in its post-1990 'modern' form, remains strongly associated with media relations. According to a 2013 survey for HPRA, media relations, media monitoring and analysis form the bulk of PR consultancies' work. These practices are followed by marketing public relations (<http://www.mprsz.hu>). Evaluating media relations (as well as other PR activities) remain high on the agenda and the debate is ongoing about the use and relevance of Advertising Value Equivalent (AVE) as an accepted evaluation method.

Conclusion

It was more than half a century ago that the term 'public relations' appeared in Hungary. In the beginning it was considered as a tool which had different functions in the capitalist and socialist systems. PR was initially used as a tool for promoting Hungarian companies, product, industries and, eventually, the country itself abroad. Later domestic application followed when companies and their propagandists realized that firms, ministries, libraries and other types of organizations needed to develop and maintain relations with their publics, coordinate interests and gain long-term trust. Unlike East Germany where PR had a very strong political and ideological function (Bentele and Mühlberg, 2010), PR in Hungary had a commercial (foreign trade and domestic commerce) function and never became the victim of political ideology.

Since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, PR's functions have drastically changed and it contributed a great deal towards changing the Hungarian political and economic systems. Today, the profession faces many chal-

lenges due to the political and media environment, in which Hungarian PR practitioners operate. Both environments struggle with a lack of trust and credibility, two major factors in PR, which has long been defined in Hungary as ‘the art of trust building’ (Barát, 1994).

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6

Poland

Ryszard Ławniczak

Abstract: *Using an econo-centric approach, this chapter argues that the socio-economic and political background of development of modern public relations (PR) in Poland (the transition from socialist/Communist political and socio-economic to capitalist/market economy system) has shaped the specific model/approach of transitional public relations. It periodizes development of modern public relations in three stages: 1990–1999, 2000–2009 and since 2010.*

Keywords: education; institutionalization; internationalization; periodization; Poland; professionalization; transitional public relations

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The history of modern public relations in Poland started with a transition from a centrally planned to a market economy and the shift from socialist democracy to a pluralistic political system that began in the early 1990s. With a track record of a little more than two decades, Poland's public relations industry is relatively young. On 1 January 2005 'specialist in public relations' profession was officially recognized by government regulation and classified within 'the specialist in the economics and management not elsewhere classified' group (Dziennik Ustaw, 2004).

The methodological approach applied in this chapter combines both fact-based and theory oriented analysis. It also tries to integrate the political and economic aspects of the historical evolution of PR in Poland, which can be described as an econo-centric approach.

Forces that developed PR in Poland

From the beginning of 1990s, a unique historical process was witnessed in which a group of former 'socialist', centrally planned economies (or as some called them, 'Communist' countries and societies) underwent a process of transition from planned to market economies, from party dictatorship to democracy, and from socialism to capitalism. There have been no precedents in the last two centuries of such a comprehensive transition from one political and economic system to another.

Such systemic transition could not proceed smoothly and efficiently without effective communication tools to help the public absorb new value systems, overcome their fears and prejudices, learn about the new economics, and explain how to operate in a competitive market economy. As daunting as the task appeared, its success was crucial for overcoming the legacy of the old Communist system both in the minds of the people and in the fabric of the economy. Such communication tools, critical for the introduction of a new socio-political and economic system, could only be delivered by PR practices tailored to the specific realities of the time (called 'transitional public relations' by the author) but relying on instruments and strategies tested over more than seven decades of use, mainly in the United States. One might argue that the political, social and economic transformations were responsible for having created a demand for PR services and for the arrival of PR experts and agencies, mainly from the West. In that way PR played the role of an important

and useful instrument that facilitated and accelerated the political and economic transition of the country (Ławniczak, 2001, 2005).

Stages of development

When trying to discover the roots of modern PR, the interpretation has been accepted that Polish PR is the direct product of the country's systemic transformation and the need to communicate with the publics, brought about by the transition to a market economy. However, already in the 1970s, information on the nature of PR trickled into Poland from Western Europe and the United States, carried by Polish researchers who maintained scientific links with the West. The year 1973 marked the publication of the article 'Public Relations in the Socialist Economies' (Żelisławski, 1973), which was probably the first published article on PR in Poland.

First stage: infancy to maturity (1990 to 1999)

In Poland at the beginning of the transition period, the demand for PR services came from two main sources:

- Central and local governments launching PR campaigns, and
- Western investors starting their operations in Central and Eastern Europe (C&EE).

As a result, the evolution of PR in Poland followed two tracks:

The first track was paradoxically dominated by government PR. Namely, before establishing certain market instruments, mechanisms and institutions (e. g., the stock exchange) that were absent in the command economy, the Polish government engaged foreign PR agencies to carry out public information campaigns to promote the new capitalist socio-economic and political system, as well as to reintroduce such market institutions like the stock exchange and financial instruments such as stocks, bonds and pension funds. At that stage PR services were paid for with funds provided by Western corporations and governments and practically unseen or unnoticed by the Polish general public. In effect, PR agencies such as Burson-Marsteller could charge regular Western rates plus a 'transition fee'. In time, as the number of local Polish PR experts trained by Burson-Marsteller and similar Western PR agencies

grew considerably. Those experts step by step started to establish their own PR agencies, offering comparable if not higher quality services because of their knowledge of local cultural and political environment, as well as lower prices. This way, even though funds ultimately ended up in the pockets of external contractors, the transformation provided an impetus for the emergence of the home-grown Polish PR industry.

The second track is characterized by domination of corporate PR. The systemic transformation created opportunities for establishing broader foreign contacts, thereby allowing for foreign investment and privatization to enter the country. Numerous Western enterprises that recognized the demand for PR services moved into the Polish market. Some of this demand was satisfied by foreign agencies that established branch offices in Poland. The first, as noted above, was Burson-Marsteller, which opened its Warsaw office in 1991. One year earlier, however, Piotr Czarnowski and Alma Kadragic formed the first two domestic PR agencies, First Public Relations and Alcat Communication, respectively. At the first stage, only 11 newly established companies claimed to have made PR their core business. Their actual focus, however, was on advertising. Nevertheless, thanks mainly to big governmental contracts for public information campaigns, the first five years of PR evolution in Poland witnessed a rapid development of the market with annual growth proceeding at the rate of 12 per cent (Czarnowski, 1999). In 1995, the annual sales of the largest agency, SIGMA International, reached US\$ 8.3 million (*Rzeczpospolita*, 26 June 1996). By comparison, the market's later annual growth between 2000 and 2002 was less than 5 per cent a year (Łaszyn, 2001).

The transformations also had an effect on public administration. Some market institutions absent in centrally planned economies, such as the stock exchange and the Securities and Exchange Commission, were created. Public administration was placed in charge of educating the public about previously unknown instruments and institutions of the market economy and, most of all, to alleviate fears of the negative consequences of capitalism. Their underlying goal was to foster public support for the ongoing systemic reform. The responsible ministries pursued all these goals since the early 1990s. Educational tasks were outsourced to foreign companies and financed with foreign funds. Also, later in July 2002, in its new strategy for administrative reform that was drawn up to the European Commission's recommendations for Polish tax administration, the Exchequer resolved to establish 16 PR units at local and

regional tax offices by 1 January 2004. In 2014 full-time in-house professionals employed in PR departments performed most informational and publicity actions were carried out by the central administration. Some work was outsourced to specialized PR agencies.

The years 1994 to 1999 saw further dramatic growth of PR. For most of the period, this growth was mainly quantitative and characterized by dominance of media relations. PR was most often combined and confused with marketing. It was not until the late 1990s that qualitative improvements were made as the need for crisis communication (in the wake of the Russian crisis of 1998), internal communications and investor relations were recognized.

The rapid growth of the PR market in the 1990s increased the demand for the establishment of a professional association of practitioners. As a result, the Polish Public Relations Association (PSPR) was established in 1994 and currently (2014) has about 200 members. A year later, PSPR introduced its Code of Ethics for practitioners.

Second stage: professionalization, specialization, internationalization (2000 to 2009)

Around 2000, a growing number of PR agencies recognized the need for specialization. The formerly fragmented market consolidated through mergers and acquisitions. Many agencies were pushed out of business partly because the first stage of transformations had been completed and the government no longer had large contracts to offer to big Western agencies. In addition, many smaller agencies were adversely affected as the economy declined into recession in 2000–2001. It was at this time that professionalization and internationalization began.

The 2000–2001 economic crisis in the PR industry forced agencies to join forces. On the initiative of Grzegorz Szczepański, the Polish Public Relations Consultancies Association (ZFPR) was established on 18 January 2001 to represent public relations agencies. Currently (2014) ZFPR has 40 leading agencies as members. Its mission is to protect the rights of members; represent them to state authorities, state administration, local governments and other institutions, as well as with corporations and individuals; and strengthen the position of PR and disseminate knowledge. The Association organizes one of the industry's most important events, PR FORUM – Congress of PR Experts and Specialists (www.prforum.pl), and a contest for the best PR campaign 'The Golden Clips'.

As ZFPR became more professional, it joined international PR organizations. In August 2001, the association was admitted to the International Communications Consultancy Organization (ICCO). In the same year, it signed a cooperation agreement with the International Public Relations Association (IPRA) and joined the Polish Confederation of Private Employers. Five years later, on the initiative of Paweł Trochimiuk, the president of Partner of Promotion, a leading ZFPR member, the first regional network of public relations agencies – CEEPRnet (Central Eastern Europe Public Relations Network) was established. It offers consultancy and coordination of activities in Central and Eastern European countries and is affiliated to 12 agencies from 12 European countries.

Poland, like other Central European countries, saw a ‘big wave’ of PR activities when preparing for EU as well as NATO membership. The issue of membership presented a great challenge as well as opportunity for public relations industry as it played a central role in the public communication campaigns to create awareness of membership benefits and opportunities. After Poland joined the European Union, EU funds became available for regional promotion. So the market for PR services began to grow immensely. Among others, *Proto*, an online portal, began operating in August 2004 and became the best source of information about the national PR industry.

The date 21 February 2006 was the next important one when three professional organizations, InternetPR Foundation, Polish Association of Public Relations and Polish Public Relations Consultancies Association set up the Council of Ethics, whose goal is to promote ethical standards in PR.

In 2007, ‘the golden age’ of the Polish PR industry was recognized. Most Polish experts estimated the industry’s value at between US\$ 400 and 450m (Czubkowska, 2010), which indicated tens of percentage annual growth. Two factors contributed to this development: first, the dynamic growth of GDP, which rose by more than 5 per cent a year in 2006 and 2007 and, second, the stream of structural funds from the EU, which amounted to 67bn euro over seven years. It is estimated that 2 to 3 per cent of that amount was used to promote EU supported projects. Also from 2007 to 2013, 1.2bn euro funds were available for promotion of those projects, from which hundreds of millions euro were at the disposal of PR agencies (Krzewińska and Paczkowski, 2007).

EU membership and the inflow of funds since 2003 led to the return of internationally operating agencies such as Edelman (2003), Fleishmann Hillard, Rowland, Hill & Knowlton, Pleon and Havas PR (2003). Burson-Marsteller, which closed its Warsaw office in 2001, returned but signed a cooperation agreement with a Polish partner Solski PR, thus establishing the Solski Burson-Marsteller agency, one of the 15 largest on the market.

After such a boom period, the 2008–2009 global financial crisis resulted in cuts in corporate communications and PR budgets that forced agencies to lower their margins for basic services by about almost 50 per cent.

Third stage: impact of new media and technologies (2010 onwards)

As a result of the digital revolution, the Polish PR industry and media relations professionals are adapting to the rapidly transforming media landscape. Private and proprietary platforms for social media releases have enabled PR to redraft and publish news content in formats optimized for distribution to social media outlets. A CommPress-PMR study found in 2013 that nearly 75 per cent of the PR companies surveyed planned to increase spending on the Internet and develop this area of PR (ComPress-PMR, 2013).

Since beginning of the 21st century, the leading Polish PR agencies, such as CommPress, Edelman, Ciszewski Group, Partners of Promotion, On Board PR, Euro RSCG Sensors, SIGMA International, Solski BM and Hill & Knowlton have offered a broad range of e-PR services such as internal audits, internet communications strategies, online press offices, website content, interactive contests, mailings, e-newsletters, corporate and themed blogs, monitoring and analysis of Internet information, communication consulting and e-marketing.

In 2011 the market was growing annually at an average of 14 per cent a year (Ciszewski, 2011). The largest demand was created by FMCG and banking and finance followed by energy and pharmaceutical sectors. At the end of 2013, PR services were offered by around 500 specialized agencies. However, only about 40 were fully professional, being able to offer a wide range of services and operating on a long-term basis to establish lasting client relationships. Other agencies, typically run by

one or two owners/practitioners, have been set up by journalists and PR experts who have chosen to leave their jobs in the declining traditional media sector. Polish agencies have also started to cooperate with foreign partners abroad (e.g. EMG FIRST Public Relations in the Netherlands) as well as opening their first foreign offices, like Partner of Promotion has done in Moscow, Beijing and Shanghai.

In December 2011 the Polish PR industry's largest merger took place. The French-owned Publicis Groupe bought Ciszewski Group, the largest independent public relations firm. Ciszewski's three agencies were integrated into MSLGROUP, the flagship specialty communications, public relations and events network of Publicis Groupe. At the beginning of 2014, MSLGROUP became the first agency in history of Polish PR to employ more than 100 consultants.

As at the end of the 20th century, customers for PR services were predominantly international corporations. Today, more and more Polish companies follow their lead. This also includes small and medium businesses, as the importance of reputation becomes more crucial for successful business. In 2011, Jan Kulczyk who is Poland's the largest, most successful private global entrepreneur appointed his organization's Director of Corporate Communication, Jarosław Sroka, to the management board of Kulczyk Investments (thus a member of the dominant coalition, in the language of the mainstream theory).

On the other hand, PR's image has been tarnished recently. Scandals involving media (journalists) and PR agencies make headlines frequently. Unethical journalist practices were revealed much earlier in a well-known accusatory article from Dominica Wielowiejska (Wielowiejska, 2000), who openly accused fellow journalists of accepting bribes to publish sponsored articles. Today ruthless competition between agencies has multiplied these practices as well as cases of 'Black PR', the dissemination of false information about a competitor in order to reduce their value and drive them out of business (Rydzak, 2006). One of the three infamous agencies has been promoting this type of service on its website. In addition, political parties, which have accused opponents of using 'cheap PR tricks' to achieve political aims, contributed immensely to the negative trend. Particularly the different campaigns and programmes announced by the governing Platforma Obywatelska (Citizens Platform) party are regularly criticized by opposition parties and described as 'just PR' and not a serious action.

Looking ahead

After 2014 further growth of the market and communication industry is predicted (MillwardBrown Report, 2012), in particular trends such as:

- ▶ Further waves of acquisitions and consolidations – small players will disappear;
- ▶ Further industry specialization and integration;
- ▶ Broader and better use of digital PR and social media channels;
- ▶ Increasing competencies related to new media in such areas as PR, marketing, sales or customer service will be required;
- ▶ New courses and subjects at the universities will be offered to acquire such theoretical knowledge and practical experience.

PR education and research

The origins of PR education date back to the early 1970s, when the first public relations course was offered at the former Main School of Planning and Statistics. At that time, the course was a lecture given on an elective basis by Krystyna Wojcik, the author-to-be of what became a primary public relations textbook. From 1989, Dr Agenor Gawrzyża offered a seminar on public relations. This course became a core requirement in the Economic Journalism programme offered by the Poznan University of Economics. The first two textbooks on public relations were published in 1992 (Wojcik, 1992; Zemler, 1992). From the mid-1990s, the teaching of PR gained popularity in state universities and private business colleges. It was not until the late 1990s that a dramatic rise in the number of educational offerings in the field was observed. The growth of the PR education market was the direct result of the industry's development.

Today, Polish educational institutions offer PR programmes at undergraduate, graduate, and postgraduate levels. Undergraduate and graduate programmes usually focus on an area, such as PR, spokespersonship, media relations and communication management. Specializations are offered within major programmes in economics, sociology, journalism, political science, management and marketing. The programmes are three years at the undergraduate level and two years at graduate level. Most commonly, however, PR education is offered in two-year postgraduate courses.

The emergence of PR programmes coincided with the rise in the number of textbooks and other books on related topics. A total of about 50 titles have been published, mostly by Polish specialists, with seven translations of English-language books available. Most of the national textbooks provide general information and Western case studies. Titles providing in-depth discussions of specific issues or tools and case studies set in the Polish context are still in short supply. The authors of these publications are theoreticians (Wojcik, Olędzki, Rozwadowska and Tworzydło being the most popular) and practitioners, such as publications of the Polish consultancies association (ZFPR, 2006), which share members' experience. At the time of writing, the bestselling title was the fifth edition of the expanded and modified textbooks of Professor Krystyna Wojcik (2013).

PR is, however, a relatively recent research development. The first studies were conducted in the early 1990s and authors focused on general rather than specific issues. This approach was understandable as the discipline was new in Polish business practice. The first PhD dissertation in public relations was awarded to Wojciech Budzyński in December 1995. By 2014, this number grew to 38 PhD dissertations. The first higher-level dissertation (*habilitacja*) was defended in 2012 at Poznan University of Economics by Dr Waldemar Rydzak (2012) with two more in 2013 at Warsaw School of Economics (Katarzyna Majchrzak) and in Poznan (Jacek Trębecki). The year 2001 marked the first time that a book presenting an original Polish theoretical concept (transitional public relations) was published in English and presented at the IPRA World Congress in Berlin (Ławniczak, 2001). This concept was further promoted internationally in two publications edited by the same author in English (Ławniczak 2005, 2011).

The majority of PR research is conducted by Warsaw University, Poznan University of Economics (promoter of the econo-centric approach in PR research, and organizer of series of international EconPR conferences), Warsaw School of Economics, Katowice University of Economics (organizer of conferences for PR scholars), Krakow University of Economics, the University of Wroclaw, Jagiellonian University of Krakow, and the private University of Information Technology and Management in Rzeszow. In summary, the significance of PR as a field of research and teaching continues to rise. Yet, experts claim that the real growth of PR as a discipline of science is still to come.

Conclusion

With little more than two decades of history, Poland's PR market is relatively young. Its emergence and evolution were a response to transformations occurring in the transitional economy. By 2006 the approximate annual value of the PR market was estimated as 250 m zloty (US\$ 80 m) and, according to same source, reached the peak value of 450 m zl in 2008 (US\$ 200 m), declining to the 390–400 m zl in 2010 (about US\$ 136m) (Czubkowska, 2010). As for the year 2013, large majority of the enterprises in Poland (57–71%) employing over 100 persons declared that they are planning to freeze their PR budgets at the level of 2012 (ComPress, PMR, 2013), which means stagnation of the market.

The industry faced a unique challenge: It had a chance to get involved in campaigns aiming at promotion of a positive image not only of a company, institution, politician or an organization, but of a whole socio-economic and political system – market economy/capitalism. The socio-economic and political background of development of modern PR in Poland (the transition from socialist/Communist political and socio-economic to capitalist/market economy system) has also shaped the specific model/approach of transitional public relations, which may be valid also for other former Communist/socialist countries in transition.

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7

Romania

Adela Rogojinaru

Abstract: *Although there is little evidence of Romanian public relations in a recognizably modern form before 1990, this chapter considers the pre-history of public relations (PR) in its emergent stages as ‘public engagement’, ‘public diplomacy’ and ‘propaganda’, followed by a review of the development of PR practices over the past quarter century.*

Keywords: cultural diplomacy; education; news promotion; political relations; propaganda; public relations; Romania

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In 1978, the first Romanian doctoral thesis, entitled *Public Relations – Factory Mark, Trade Mark, and Service Mark*, mentioning ‘public relations’ in the title was submitted by Liviu Mureşan. The thesis, archived in the Library of the Academy of Economic Science in Bucharest, is described by key words of ‘relations with public’, ‘external relations’, ‘trade promotions’ and ‘exports promotion’. It does not offer insight into the discipline of public relations, and focuses more on foreign trade and what today we would call ‘branding’. The usage of the term, however, denotes a certain awareness of the process. In the immediate post-Communist years of the early 1990s, Liviu Mureşan was the founding president of the Romanian Public Relations Professionals Association (ARRP). As there is little evidence of Romanian public relations before 1990, this study considers the pre-history of public relations in its emergent stages as ‘public engagement’, ‘public diplomacy’ and ‘propaganda’, followed by a brief presentation of current issues.

Early commercial communication

If the beginnings of public relations practices are to be found in the merchant way of life and industries, the economic form of PR certainly comes from end of 18th and beginning of 19th centuries, cf. Habermas: ‘However, economic advertisement achieved an awareness of its political character only in the practice of public relations’ (1991, p. 193).

According to Zeletin ([1925], 2008), 1829 was an important year in the Romanian principalities (Moldavia and Wallachia) for political and economic emancipation following the Treaty of Adrianople, signed at the end of one of the Russo-Turkish wars (April 1828 to September 1829). Other historical sources (Patrascanu, 1945; apud. Ornea, 1999) consider that the beginning of modern Romania could be placed even earlier, in the year 1774, after the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji. This peace treaty, signed at the end of the one of the most important Russo-Turkish Wars (1768–1774), brought the first wave of liberalization of Romanian trade. The later Treaty of Adrianople marked a turning point in the national economic liberation because the Ottoman Empire lost control over Romanian exports. This Treaty also created a favourable context for Russia to gain a strong diplomatic and strategic position in the South-Eastern Europe. During Russian governance, Romanian Principalities were ruled on basic laws called Organic Regulations, which were adopted in 1831 in Wallachia and 1832 in Moldavia. As a result of these

Regulations, a series of political and economic transformations took place, including modernization of cities and emancipation of businesses from the medieval guild-like structures called *bresle*. The main national concerns of the time were freedom, Westernization (Europeanization) of the Principalities, national union and economic development. In spite of the modernization brought by the Russian Protectorate after 1829, structural reforms started to grow only after 1859, the year of the first union of Wallachia and Moldavia in a single State of United Principalities (the name of *Romania* was adopted later by the 1866 Constitution). When ascending the throne, the ruling prince Al. I. Cuza made the doctrine of free exchange and promotion of industry and trades an important part of his governing policies.

To enable this union, there was a long period of attempts towards Romanian modernization that lasted from 1774 to 1881, with milestones in 1829 – Treaty of Adrianople, 1848 – the bourgeois revolution, and 1859 – political unity between Moldavia and Wallachia under one single rule. Eventually the foundation of the modern political state came in 1881, when the first monarchy was established in Romanian states with Prince Carol (Karl of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen) and his wife, Elisabeth of Wied, as King and Queen of Romania. The industrial ideology started to be intensively promoted as part of the polarization of the political life between liberal and conservative parties during this first monarchy period of Carol I (from 1866 as Ruling Prince and on to 1881 to 1914 as King). Being predominantly a rural and agrarian country, the process of modernization of urban life in Romania did not begin before the final decades of the 19th century. It achieved a national scale only after the Great Union (*Marea Unire*) of Romanian Principalities with Transylvania on the 1 December 1918.

As PR has been mainly associated with the industrial development, business associations were important in defining public opinion and creating a climate for business promotion. The first industrial association *România industrială* was founded by the liberal movement in 23 January 1870, with the purpose of lobbying the Romanian government for protection of national industry and commerce. It was followed by a similar organization in the second historical capital of Moldova, Iași (Iassy): an association called the Society for encouraging the National Industry and Commerce. Both were well publicized by the press (*Românul* newspaper). These actions represented important steps in promoting industry and industrial manufacturing in a state like Romania that was mostly agricultural and technologically underdeveloped (Vlad, 2001).

Besides the economic case for transformation of the Romanian state, ideological debates played an important role as well. Romanian modern political philosophers, sociologists and critical journalists, from the 1830s until the 1940s, launched a series of ideological debates that contributed to the creation of a modern public sphere and public opinion. During the first decades of the 20th century, one of the most significant was polemics around the ‘theory of forms without content’ (*teoria formelor fara fond*). This was debated between the supporters of inner (internal) modernization and theorists who argued for formal imitation and synchronization with Western forms of modernity. For classic (Lovinescu, 1924–1925) or contemporary authors (Ornea, 1999; Rizescu, 2008; Dobrescu, 2009), two core ideas were important factors in the construction of a modern public sphere and public opinion: nation building, implying ideas of national independence and freedom, and liberal emancipation. Unlike its premodern form, liberal thought in modern Romania was focused much more on economic and cultural emancipation, with intensive disputes between supporters of traditionalism and proponents of modernity viewed as a process of imitation, adaptation and synchronization (or synchronism) with Western European (Lovinescu, [1925] 1992). Lovinescu’s theories from the 1920s about modernization, whose argumentation and bibliographic references are even more complex and advanced than Habermasian thought in the 1960s, helped advance the principles of critical reflection and critical spirit, which remain important instruments in the contemporary theory of public sphere (Habermas, [1962] 1991). Whether commercial or ideological, public debates enriched Romanian civilization and culture with modern values. These clearly determined the emergence of the first (precarious) forms of PR at least in their equivalence of public engagement and public diplomacy, which expressed the will for nation building or national and economic freedom.

Public sphere and communicative expressions

As stated in the Habermasian theory of *Öffentlichkeit* or better *öffentlicher Raum* (*public realm*, cf. Susen, 2011), the preconditions for the institutionalization of PR were urban development, civic life, political literacy and participation, and open sphere of public opinion (circulation of ideas, pluralists interests and parties, economic institutions and political

parties). These components of the modern public sphere were present in Romania as well. Some highlights are presented in the next section.

PR equated with news promotion

The ideologies that marked Romanian modernization also contributed to the emancipation of the national press. Ideas concerning European aspirations or nation building helped establish the modern press during the first half of the 19th century and reappeared in the first post-revolutionary newspapers in the 1990s (Petcu, 2009). The first national publications were *Curierul Romanesc* (Romanian Courier), editor Ion Heliade Radulescu, Bucharest, and *Albina Romaneasca* (Romanian Bee), editor Gheorghe Asachi, Iasi. Both were launched in 1829, together with their Transylvanian equivalent *Gazeta de Transilvania* (Transylvanian Gazette), editor Gheorghe Baritiu, Brasov, in 1838. At the beginning of the 20th century, other forms of early event publicity emerged from the press industry: lithographs, postcards and photos helped publicize the events. Publishers such as Socec & Co., Manolescu, Tache Niculescu and Adolph Meier acted as quasi-PR agencies.

As with their ancestors in the first half of the 19th century, the first independent publications of the 1990s (new or refreshed by new names or attributes) promoted the symbiotic national and pro-European orientations: *Adevarul*, emancipated from the former Communist *Scanteia*; *Romania Libera*, *Vatra Romaneasca* and *Romania Literara* that continued to use the same names; new newspapers such as *Europa*. Promoting the new free press formulas was the basic public communication in the first revolutionary years which was characterized by an extraordinary civic effervescence. The sheer volume of news publications which rose from 492 in 1989 to about 1450 a few years later (Surcel, 2010) meant the new publications competed with their variety. The media soon became more professionalized and incorporated in big media holdings, so people had other sources of news and information.

Publics unequally engaged in political relations

During the first period of Romanian modernity, the existence of the restricted 'censitary suffrage' from 1864 until 1919 (despite the second revision of the electoral law in 1866) limited political participation,

according to wealth and social status. After 1918, the elimination of electoral colleges and adoption of universal vote allowed more participants in the voting process. As regards the political pluralism, between 1895 and 1918, two parties formed the government alternatively by a process known in the Romanian political history as the ‘governmental rotative’, a system introduced by the King Carol I in order to reach a political stability. The dominance of liberals in the Romanian government and politics over 12 years under the leadership of Ion Brătianu, known as ‘The Vizier’ (1876–1888), helped introduce protectionist policies, but the contest was mostly ideological and did not involve all interested classes or groups. In the first decade of the 20th century, the great peasant revolt in 1907 was a critical signal about the impact of class segregation.

Modern propaganda emerged in Romania in the second decade of the 20th century. For the first time, the elections in November 1919 made use of political propaganda instruments such as electoral symbols, printed materials and banners on vehicles (Teriș, 2012). This period is characterized by the development of press agencies, merchants’ advertising and the emergence of the first type of third-party-endorsement, signalling the early development of PR for commercial activity: in 1924, Queen Mary of Romania endorsed the Ponds’ Cold Cream at the invitation of the American J. Walter Thompson agency (Petcu, 2002). Political life in the inter-war period gained more dynamism and strengthened political propaganda, especially for electoral reasons. In 1937, King Carol II of Romania dissolved all parties and instituted a monarchial dictatorship. In 1939, the king founded the Ministry of National Propaganda, which was established to control the press and the public opinion, and to maintain a good image of the monarch. Despite shortcomings, especially press censorship, this ministry served as an effective instrument of inter-war Romanian cultural diplomacy. Prominent intellectual figures including the historian C. C. Giurescu and the writer, right wing philosopher and theologian Nichifor Crainic led it (cf. Panait, *Carol al II-lea, presa si propaganda*). In a 1941 letter from Vichy sent by the Romanian philosopher Emil Cioran in his role as Cultural Counselor to Crainic, then Minister of National Propaganda, Cioran expressed concerns about the subjects of Romanian cultural propaganda in France and pleaded for consolidation of cultural links with France, such as transfer of the Romanian Cultural House from suburban Fontenay aux Roses to central Paris (Jora, 2006). Cioran uses the term ‘propaganda’ with no negative connotation, as

quasi-synonym for political promotion of national values, what today would be called ‘nation branding’.

Urban modernization: construction of *loci publici*

Public spaces for leisure also represented an excellent mode of framing PR. A look into the process of creation of the Romanian urban public sphere reveals the presence of micro-spheres such as fairs in or around towns and cities, and Sunday markets in small towns. As noted earlier, the initial emancipation of the middle class was noted during the Russian governorate, in terms of trade and business stimulation. Such economic emancipation might have encouraged or accentuated interest in leisure situations and events. As a result, the last Russian Governor, Count Pavel Dmitrievich Kiselyov or Kiseleff (in French) created the context for more public engagement through existing basic laws called Organic Regulations. Kiseleff introduced a chapter in the Organic Regulations of 1831 with an initiative to create three public plaza gardens (*piete obstesti*) in Bucharest, probably based on models from Western capitals. Consequently, a large boulevard (still named Kiseleff) and green area were erected in one of the main public gardens. Construction started in 1832 and has continued through various stages until today. In 1922, the area gained an impressive Arch of Triumph (Lascu and Moldovan, 2011).

This large area (not exceptional in Bucharest) was one of the first public micro-spheres aimed specifically at an emancipated urban middle and upper middle class to enjoy all forms of *loisir* (free time activities). Up to the present, Bucharest parks and gardens have acted as public *loci* of meetings, gatherings and structuring of micro-communities or discussion groups (for political or leisure purpose). As for the plazas, University Square that was known as the anti-Communist or Communism-free place gained notoriety in the early 1990s.

Cultural diplomacy

One of the most important public events with international impact was the General (Jubilee) Exhibition organized in 1906 in Bucharest to celebrate 40 years of King Carol I's reign. Created in a park similar to a belle époque garden (Park Carol I), the event had great publicity support

and created a national identity by reviving the Latin and Orthodox roots of Romania (the commemorative medals portrayed on the reverse the heads of the Emperor Trajan (left) and King Carol I (right) circumscribed ‘TRAJAN MARELE IMPERATOR CAROL I. PRIMUL REGE AL ROMANIEI’ (Trajan Great Emperor Carol I First King of Romania), dated ‘1866’, ‘106’ and ‘1906’. National identity symbols were also used to create solidarity with Romanians across borders (van Drunnen, 2013, pp. 413–419). A series of postcards were released for the event (cf. Only Romania, 2001). Posters were also launched on the same occasion:

The Palace of the Arts is shown in all its glory in this colour poster published in the monthly magazine *Vulturul* (‘The Eagle’, a reference to the country’s coat of arms). The issue date is Sunday 2 July 1906 (in the Julian calendar, then used in the country). It presents the official opening ceremony of the exhibition in the presence of the Royal Family and a welcoming public, which took place on 6 June (it closed on 23 November that year). (Mandache, 2012)

Political and cultural diplomacy continued to be an issue in the inter-war period, during which Romania’s position was sensitive due to its geostrategic role in the Balkans and Eastern part of Europe. At the end of the World War II, both tools were converted into the Communist propaganda, which served both internal and external goals. Especially after 1963, when Ceausescu’s era began as President and General-commander of the Army, the joint State and Communist Party propaganda was meant to balance the political powers of the West in order to place the presidency of Nicolae Ceausescu on the world map and keep distance from Moscow (political separation was announced in 1967 as a reaction to the Soviet invasion of the Czechoslovakia).

PR or propaganda (1947–1989)

After the 1947 abdication of King Michael of Romania and the inauguration of the Communist regime, an era of propaganda started first under the Soviet influence and later, after 1963, as a form of independent socialist regime under Ceausescu’s rule. In the late 1960s and during the 1970s, until 1977, a modest and centralized form of publicity was used to promote the superiority of the national industrial goods (refrigerators, TV sets, autos, etc.), and to influence the style of life (economic and healthy consumption, e.g. promoting oceanic fish). The 1980s were, by contrast, the years of black propaganda. The 1971 ‘July theses’ (*tezele*

din iulie), named as the month of their completion, triggered a series of negative effects on culture (censorship and ideological control), the political regime (higher bureaucracy and control of Party *nomenklatura*) and the quality of public life in Romania (eradication of any form of critical expression). Constantiniu (2002) considers that Ceausescu's visits to China and North Korea were influencing factors for conception of the policies. Ideological pressure from Moscow and the Ceausescu's vision of to accomplish a higher phase of Communism created a context of similarity with North Korea. The dogmatic and autocratic regime of the Presidential couple imposed a similar 'cultural mini-revolution'.

Film and music festivals

An entire industry of entertainment (film, festivals) as well as the famous *Flacăra Cenacle* cultural festivals (from 1973 until 1985) led by the late poet Adrian Păunescu had the goal of celebrating the regime. For instance, a comedy series from the national film industry with the subject of a fictitious Militia Brigade – BD (Small Operation Brigade) aimed at publicizing the efficacy of the national institution of the Militia, whose energy and competence was fully engaged at the service of the 'people'. As regards *Flacăra* [the Flame] *Cenacle*, this public phenomenon was compared with the Woodstock festival, especially the last edition in which an accident put an end to the event. It was an interesting social movement of the 1970s and a very effective way of internal political propaganda through culture.

Literature

Realist or socialist-realist literature was the main instrument of indirect indoctrination and a useful PR tool. Poetry was more servile than novels, as lyrics allowed the author to eulogize the Ceausescu. Children and youth literature was the last bastion. Unfortunately many writers of this genre wrote in the propagandistic style and gave a marginal status of this form of literature.

Media and PR development since 1989

First steps

As the literature of transitional PR shows (Ławniczak 2001, 2003; Tampere, 2006), public relations could be instrumental in supporting

the new democratic system. In an empty communication market, the first PR Agency in Romania, Perfect Ltd (Perfect Ltd, 1992a) arranged the events around the 1992 Michael Jackson concert in Bucharest, as well as the first PR campaign for PepsiCo. Little is shown in the history of Romanian public relations about the activity of this first agency, so the only archive is the agency's website on which states that '*While on his "Dangerous World Tour": Michael Jackson donates USD 10,000 to the orphans of Bucharest, an event organized and presented to the media by PERFECT Ltd Co for Pepsi Cola International*' (Perfect Ltd, 1992b). The Perfect Ltd agency also helped launch the first post-revolutionary glossy magazine in 1995, *Avantaj*. Together with the Soros Foundation, the Timisoara Chamber of Trade and a number of Fulbright trainers, Perfect helped set up PRAIT (The PR and Advertising Institute of Timisoara), the first PR training programme outside universities.

Associations

In 1995, the national Association of Romanian PR professionals (ARRP) was founded with the aim of advocacy for PR, status of profession, qualifications and professionalization structures, lobbying, education and research. After 2000, the association faced several challenges, one being the foundation of a new professional body, the PR Companies' Club (Clubul Companiilor de Relatii Publice – CCRP) that was comprised the most developed PR companies in Romania (2activePR, DC Communication, Free Communication, Image Promotion, Millennium Communication, Ogilvy PR Worldwide, Perfect Ltd, PRAIS Corporate Communication, Premium Communication and The Practice). In 2003, working with the research agency Daedalus Consulting, CCRP launched a survey on public perception of public relations services of Romanian PR companies and firms. This reached its second edition in 2010 (first edition in 2006). During 2010, one of the ARRP members, Marius Ghilezan, proposed and initiated a debate about the enactment of a new law about the status of PR professionals in Romania. In 2012, as a result of the previous year's elections, ARRP adopted new Statutes and Bylaws in combination with a rebranding strategy. The association changed its name from Romanian Association of PR Professionals to Romanian Association of Public Relations, redeveloped its website and relaunched its structure of values. Unfortunately, the sponsoring president resigned during 2012 in order to enter politics as a parliamentary candidate.

Education and research

Interest in introducing academic degrees in PR was evident early in the 1990s. The PR discipline was included within emergent structures of journalism studies or political studies, the latter being under reconstruction after closing the former propaganda research and training institutes, such as *Academia Stefan Gheorghiu* and the *Institute of Historical and Social-Political Studies*, both associated with the Romanian Communist Party. PR was adopted as a secondary specialization in the University of Bucharest's Faculty of Journalism in 1991. It was followed in 1992 in post-university modules at the newly established SNSPA, National School for Political and Administrative Studies. A full degree in public relations was founded in 1993 at the Faculty of Letters, University of Bucharest.

Most Romanian PR history is still oral. Some papers on early development have been published (Bortun, 2005, Rogojinaru, 2009). As for the fundamentals of the discipline, editorial production (books and articles) increased significantly in the last decade, mostly addressed to the academic communities (bachelor and master students, and doctoral fellows). The journals of the main universities have achieved a stronger status through international indexation (*Revista Romana de Jurnalism si Comunicare* [Romanian Review of Journalism and Communication] and *Romanian Journal of Communication and Public Relations*). However, national research on PR is still deficient in the areas of strategic communication, stakeholder engagement, ethics and deontology and sectoral application such as sport, health, education, culture, tourism and finances.

Recent reflection and critique

Public relations is a growing profession in Romania, with a stable climate of business. It is dominated by 20 major agencies operating in the capital city. Nevertheless, some aspects of 'crony public relations' have appeared recently. One manifestation was the nomination in January 2010 of Dan Bittman, a rock music star, as adviser to the (then) minister of finance Sebastian Vladescu, on matters related to the image of the ministry among the general public. This nomination followed the appointment of a radio host, Andrei Gheorghe, as his communication adviser. The Finance Minister explained that the nomination of his friend Bittman

was due to the charisma of this celebrity. A popular person like Bittman was supposed to easily collect and analyse reactions from regular people. Bittman, however, resigned in June 2010, and Andrei Gheorghe was dismissed in February 2010. The two appointments regrettably proved that for certain political authorities PR was confused with personal and show-biz affairs. ARRP reacted publicly to both nominations by sending a critical open position letter.

If the philosopher Lovinescu were alive, he would argue that Romanian PR represents a process of imitation of Western values, practices and doctrine. That is the case, but, as shown in this chapter, the preconditions for the emergence of the discipline were in place. If the Communist regime had not been established in 1947, Romania could have evolved a form of PR comparable with other European countries.

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8

Russia

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Abstract: *Public relations (PR) is a new and developing field of communication practice that has emerged in Russia since the perestrojka era over 30 years ago. It has developed from the initial Western influences to have strong linkages with government at all levels. The growth of PR has been supported by ever-evolving educational resources at university level and a broad range of professional associations. Women, who took an early prominent role in PR's introduction, have not been able to sustain leadership roles as the profession has grown. Practice models, possibly reflecting past propaganda influences have been top-down rather than dialogic.*

Keywords: education; government relations; institutionalization; market; Russia; women

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Public relations is a young field of knowledge and practice in Russia, which started to develop in its modern sense toward the end of the 1980s. The Russian historical PR narrative has been deeply affected by the first Western business practices and by the political election campaigns of the early 1990s. To this day, a comprehensive understanding of public relations as a professionalized field is still developing. Some may argue that in Russia PR has existed for a long time because persuasive communication practices, including propaganda, have been around for many centuries. However, the majority of scholars and practitioners clearly distinguish PR from propaganda and argue that the field in a modern, strategic sense has been actively developing in Russia only in the last 30 years (Chumikov and Bocharov, 2006; Guth, 2000; McElreath et al., 2001; Minaeva, 2012; Moiseeva, 1997; Shishkina, 2002; Sveshnikoff, 2005).

The early rapid growth of PR in Russia was connected with the expansion of political consultancy practices, which grew during the *perestrojka* time and the collapse of the Soviet Union. At the same time, Western businesses were making the first small steps toward the consumers, and businesses were learning how to use and apply advertising principles. PR as a concept and a professional field was mostly unknown to the general public. The transformation processes in the country and numerous election campaigns favoured the development of PR and political consultancy. Particularly, the first free elections in Russia in early 1990s and the freedom of press and information in the *perestrojka* time, shortly after the collapse of the Soviet Union, created favourable conditions for the rapid development of communication and public relations practices (Tsetsura, 2004). Persuasive strategies and success in political campaigning and elections stimulated the development of the first agencies, associations, and educational programmes in Moscow and St Petersburg. Among most notable professional associations of the period were Russian chapters of the international organizations, such as the Russian Association of Communication Consultancies in the field of Public Relations, or AKOS-Russia (formed in 1991), or Western format national associations, such as the Russian Association of Public Relations, or RASO (founded in 1991). At that time, Russian professionals and early practitioners often travelled to the United States and Great Britain to learn about Western practices, and came back with ideas on how to build the profession and develop the market, based on examples they saw abroad (*ibid.*). Among the forward-looking professors and practitioners who helped to launch the modern PR profession were Alexander Borisov, Igor Mintusov,

Sergey Trofimenko, Veronika Moiseeva, Andrey Barannikov, Mikhail Maslov, and Sergey Mikhailov. As the rapid market development took place, more active international professionals associations started to enter the Russian market: in 2001, International Association of Business Communicators opened its chapter in Russia (IABC-Russia), under the patronage of the influential practitioner Vitaly Rasnitsyn, who united many professionals around IABC-Russia. Today, IABC-Russia is perhaps the most influential and vibrant professional organization. It organizes national practitioner-driven research studies, is active in organizing various professional events and national and regional contests and PR awards, and represents the vast majority of PR leaders: in fact, owners and presidents of the top 10 communication and public relations agencies are members of IABC-Russia (IABC-Russia, 2014).

Among the first agencies that opened in Russia (specifically, in Moscow and St Petersburg) were Nikkolo M, the oldest public relations and political consultancy agency, which independently exists to this day (founded in 1989 by Igor Mintusov and Ekaterina Egorova); Image-Kontakt (founded in 1989 by Alexey Sitnikov); Image-Land, acquired by Edelman in 2008 but closed in 2012 (the original agency was founded in 1991 by Veronika Moiseeva); Point Passat communication, marketing, and PR group (founded in 1992 by Sergey Trofimenko); and SPN Granat communication agency, which in 2005 became SPN Ogilvy Public Relations Worldwide (founded in 1990 by Andrey Barannikov).

Women's role

Scholars have argued that women have played a significant role in the growth of Russian PR, particularly in the early stages of the modern development of the field (Tsetsura, 1999, 2012; Tsetsura and Kruckeberg, 2004). Their role is not as much a tribute to the feminist movement as an illustration of the initial inferiority of PR as a professional field. Early on, women were well represented and able to organize their own agencies or move quickly to managerial positions because PR was not perceived seriously (Tsetsura, 2004). As the demand for services grew, many men also moved to the field. Increasingly, female practitioners found it more difficult to stay in leadership positions because male practitioners were more likely to become managers or owners of the agencies (Sinyaeva, 2000). Russian female professionals worked in many areas of PR, but

young professionals performed mostly in technical roles and have been sometimes asked to do ethically questionable work (Ragozina, 2007). For instance, employees of political consulting agencies were once required to write blackmail reports about other candidates and produce promotional newspapers sponsored and published by a single candidate during elections (Pashentsev, 2002). Today, the professional view of PR has advanced, yet Russian female practitioners often face a gender struggle in the patriarchal society (Tsetsura, 2011, 2012).

Institutionalization

Much of the PR's history as a field in Russia can be understood through examination of educational capacity building. In the following section, the history of PR in Russia is considered from the perspective of its institutionalization, which is based on the three pillars of the profession: the body of knowledge, the educational system, and the organization of professional associations and professional ethical standards (Tsetsura and Kruckeberg, 2009). Scholars have used periodization to describe PR's development. Moiseeva (1997) argued that the contemporary history dates from the end of 1980s. She identified three periods of development in Russia: 1) 1988–1991 – the birth stage (first PR services established within the government and first international PR agencies opened Moscow offices); 2) 1991–1995 – the development stage (political consulting developed as a major practice area, adaptation of the international experience to Russia took place; education started at universities, and first professional associations were formed); and 3) 1996–1997 – a qualitative leap in the field's development (formation of the new informational communicative environment and institutionalization of the profession). Shishkina (2002) offered another timeline that was based on PR's features as a social institution: 1) 1988–1991 – pre-institutionalization period (formation of the first subjects of the professional field, establishment of the relations between the field and the society); 2) 1991–1994 – first-stage institutionalization (formation of educational standards, first professional associations, organization of the subjects within the professional field); and 3) 1994–2000 – second-stage institutionalization (formation of social norms to regulate behaviours of participants within the social institution of public relations).

Shilina (2011) discussed PR's progress through the evolution of the term: from *PR*, *black PR*, and *manipulation* in the early 1990s, to *piar* and *piarologiya* in early 2000s, and to *svyazi s obschestvennostju* (relationships with publics, or public relations) at the end of 2000s when the translation of the term 'public relations' into Russian and further adaptation to the Russian reality took place. Shilina argued that, historically, Russian PR formed as an applied discipline in the area of political consulting and marketing. Previously, strategy and strategic analysis had not been considered within the discipline because of the lack of understanding of strategy and its role within society as well as the lack of government and social needs for strategic decision-making. In the 2000s, PR practices were centred on internal corporate communication and a growing need for governmental PR. Nonetheless, the top-down, one-way, and two-way asymmetrical approaches to communication models (Grunig and Hunt, 1984) dominated the Russian market reality. Although internet communication changed the way PR was perceived and horizontal models were introduced, Russian practice continued to rely on the top-down, organization-centred practice at the end of the first decade of the century (Shilina, 2011).

The 2008–2010 world economic crisis demonstrated the ineffectiveness and inability to conduct successful communication within the asymmetrical top-down models and thus pushed forward the development of new approaches to PR in Russia. The crisis demonstrated the gap between old institutional strategies and emerging markets (the latter based on the understanding of a social and strategic role of PR in society) and demonstrated the importance of the professionalization of the field in Russia (Shilina, 2011).

At all times, the influence of Western, particularly US-driven, approaches on PR in Russia was clear: even the first textbooks, written by Russian scholars and practitioners, were solely based on Western theories, models and practices (Tsetsura, 2000). In order to understand the reasons for such a strong connection between Western and Russian practices, the development of one particular pillar within the profession, education, needs to be reviewed. Following identified periods of the development, the next section demonstrates how the development of education provision created the opportunity for significant, continuing Western influence on Russian PR theory and practice and reflected the market and societal changes over time.

PR education

The establishment of education started shortly after PR was introduced in Russia. The first courses were offered at the time when it emerged as a separate industry, which was a result of changes in the social, economic and political life of the country. As the industry continued to develop, particularly in politics and business, universities began to offer fully fledged educational programmes. The first programme was established in 1991 at the Moscow State Institute (University) of International Relations (Achkasova and Volodina, 2005). Around the same time, PR courses and programmes appeared at the St Petersburg State Electrotechnical University. In 1993, this university was first to receive a licence to grant a specialization in PR from the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation (Azarova and Ivanova, 2003). Soon after, other universities (e.g. Lomonosov Moscow State University, St Petersburg State University and Voronezh State University) started offering courses, specializations and complete programmes. From the very early start, PR education in Russia and textbooks written by Russian educators and practitioners were heavily influenced by Western education and publications, particularly from Great Britain and the United States (Tsetsura, 2000).

Polytechnic institutions were among the first educational institutions offering PR education. In the United States, courses were mostly developed in the departments of journalism and mass communication, and speech communication units generally welcomed them (Newsom, Turk and Kruckeberg, 1998). In Russia, first programmes were offered both by large universities (mainly within the schools and departments of journalism and sometimes schools and departments of linguistics or sociology) and polytechnic institutions (within the departments of liberal arts). This began in the 1990s when Russian polytechnic institutions acquired university status and started active development of humanities specializations to answer the market calls. At that time, the transition to a market economy demanded more economists, managers, and by extension, marketing and PR professionals. Many state universities did not have sufficient funding to support their existence and began offering commercial (paid) educational programmes and started lucrative majors to attract students and bring new income. As engineering professions were quickly losing popularity among future students, management, marketing and economics were in great demand (Tsetsura, 2012).

Polytechnic institutions have always had departments of the liberal arts. In the Soviet Union, courses in history, economics, philosophy, politology (political sciences of socialism) and foreign languages were compulsory in university curricula. Humanities faculty could help polytechnic institutions to survive and attract those students who would pay for their education. In the 1990s, schools of liberal arts in polytechnic institutions developed several new programmes of study, and PR courses were extremely popular at that time (Minaeva and Sabirova, 2012).

During this period, many journalists and political consultants were university faculty members, as adjunct professors. At the same time academics were eager to acquire new knowledge and develop new practical skills. To this end, many educators attended various courses, seminars, and conferences held by foreign colleagues, mainly American, British, and French professionals and educators. For example, in 1998, a group of well-known US PR academics, including Doug Newsom, Judy VanSlyke Turk, Dennis Wilcox, Dean Kruckeberg and others held a three-week workshop for PR practitioners and university lecturers from Lomonosov Moscow State University, St Petersburg State University, St Petersburg State Electrotechnical University and Vilnius University, among others.

The popularity of the Western PR education and practice in Russia grew rapidly during the 1990s. Sometimes foreign educational institutions became educational partners with Russian universities. For instance, the St Petersburg State Electrotechnical University signed an agreement with the Towson University in the US state of Maryland for a long-term collaboration and exchange between students and faculty members. Visiting professors from Towson came to Russia and delivered lectures to the students; its undergraduates and the faculty members travelled to the United States to study and carry out joint research projects.

The result of this development can be seen today: study programmes are offered by approximately 140 universities and polytechnic institutions. Some have been on the market of educational services since the beginning of the 1990s and have strong, comprehensive programmes with rigorous curricula and professional experiences. Other universities have only recently made their first steps (Minaeva and Sabirova, 2012).

By the end of 1990s, the profession was fairly well established, but materials were needed to educate current and future practitioners. At the time, there were practically no textbooks: the only book about PR

available in Russian at the time was a practical guide translated from English, *The Essentials of Public Relations*, by Sam Black (Black, 1993). The book was considered the ‘bible of public relations’ in the early 1990s (Krivonosov, 2014). Later, through the efforts of several agencies including Image-land PR and Nikkolo M which arranged translation, basic textbooks by American and British authors appeared on the market. These included textbooks by Cutlip, Center and Broom (1994), Newsom, VanSlyke Turk and Kruckeberg (1985), and Jefkins and Yadin (1998). The textbooks introduced students into profession and outlined the PR’s main directions but only described American or British practices.

The situation changed when Russian practitioners and academics began to generalize accumulated experience and publish textbooks for university undergraduates (e.g. Achkasova and Volodina, 2005; Chumikov and Bocharov, 2006; Egorova-Gantman and Pleshakov, 2002; Krivonosov, 2002; Lebedeva, 1996; Minaeva, 2010, 2012). PR was increasingly seen as a culturally determined activity, and, therefore, the practice was perceived as the one that is influenced by the environments of different countries, despite the basic principles (Banks, 2000). Today, learning about PR practices in Russia is heavily based on case studies produced as a result of the annual Silver Archer national competition for the best public relations practices run by the Russian Association of Public Relations (RASO, 2013). The winning case studies are published on a regular basis and are used in education and continuing training of professionals.

PR and government

Much has been written about auditing educational programmes in different regions of the world (Cotton and Tench, 2009; Spacal, 2007). Research conducted by Leeds Metropolitan University (2008) described the status of PR education globally and proved that cultural factors greatly affected education in different countries. Russia was not an exception. One distinctive feature of its education – and as a result its practice – is strong regulation by the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation. There are three principal actors who influenced the development of PR as a profession: the government (the Ministry of Education and Science), educational institutions that are heavily regulated by the government (universities and polytechnics) and

professional associations. Below we discuss each of these actors and their interaction.

The Ministry of Education and Science controls educational institutions through rules and regulations, licensing of commercial universities and educational programmes. It conducts periodical audits of universities' activities. One of the most important documents issued by the ministry is the National State Educational Standard (NSES), which regulates state and private (commercial) universities.

Professional associations in the field include Russian Association of Public Relations, Association of Public Relations Educators, Association of Communication Agencies of Russia, International Association of Business Communicators (Russian chapter), and the Education Methodological Union. The last organization is an intermediary between the Ministry of Education and universities in Russia. It also consults professional associations on curriculum.

The first national standard (NSES) for PR was introduced in 1996; with the second one in 2000. In the second standard, Russian universities were given more freedom and could offer those subjects which, from their point of view, were especially important. The most striking difference between the standards of 1996 and 2000 was in the third group of required courses, 'professional subjects'. A great number of subjects in journalism were included in the NSES-1996 resulted from the lack of experience of Russian PR educators. As PR courses appeared first within the schools of mass communication and journalism, journalists designed programmes based on how they thought future practitioners should be trained. Later it became evident that PR was mainly a function of management and should include additional subjects outside journalism. So NSES-2000 defined PR as a management activity and emphasized understanding of communications processes in practice. The new standard provided an introduction to management skills and the primary tactics used in PR as well as some tools used to plan and manage PR processes.

The more recent NSES-2011 standard was more progressive than the previous two standards. First, it gave more freedom to universities to design a more flexible curriculum adapted to the needs of the region or the profile of the educational institution. Second, NSES-2011 gave more freedom to students to choose from an increased number of electives. PR evolved into a multi-disciplinary subject, and students can adapt their future careers by electing courses that help them enter a competitive and

increasingly specialized job market. Third, NSES-2011 met the requirements of the Bologna Process to match the European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System.

Further institutionalization of PR

By the early 2000s, Russian PR had been fully institutionalized: many higher educational institutions offered courses and programmes, national educational standards were developed, the body of knowledge and codes of ethics and standards for the profession were created, and multiple professional associations were established. The number of public relations agencies in Russia grew to 250 in 2003, with one third of the agencies located in Moscow, according to a survey by *Sovetnik*, a leading Russian public relations industry magazine (Sovetnik, 2003).

Among the associations were the Russian Association of Public Relations, established in 1991 (<http://www.raso.ru>); the Association of Consultancies in the field of public relations (AKOS) (<http://www.akospr.ru>), the Russian chapter of the International Communication Consultancy Organization (ICCO); the International Association of Business Communicators – the Russian Chapter, established in 2001 (<http://www.communicators.ru>); and the Russian Association of Political Consultants, founded in 2014. In 2005, Russian educators created their own association, the Association of Public Relations Educators in Russia (APRE). The objective of APRE is to share experience and best practices, elaborate new teaching methods, improve educators' ability to provide students with a high quality education, and, most importantly, to be heard by the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation. Today, APRE's membership includes PR educators from more than 70 universities across Russia (APRE, 2013).

Contemporary challenges

Several aspects of the field's development in Russia make its practice unique. First, the close connection between PR and the government in Russia is a result of the societal changes and the ongoing centralization of the country in the period of Vladimir Putin's presidency. Although the ties between the government and other sectors of the society are

not unique to Russia, the practice is heavily dependent upon decisions the most important public, the government officials at all levels, makes (Taylor and Kent, 1999). So-called government relations (or GR) has become one of the most popular specializations, with new GR departments created at several universities (including the St Petersburg State University) and new professional associations and groups organized specifically to address its challenges (such as a Russian Association of Political Consultants). But most importantly, the reality of PR calls for an intensive engagement and involvement in public relations relationship building with the government in Russia (NVPress.ru, 30 November 2013, interview with Igor Mintusov). The key factors which have an impact on PR's development are the political regime and the economic situation, especially the overarching role of the government in Russia that influences all aspects of life (Klyueva and Tsetsura, 2011). Over time, expectations for relationship building among communities or publics have been transformed into expectations for relationship building with government at all levels: local, municipal, regional and federal. As a result, recently, PR in Russia has been transforming into government relations. However, the general distrust in society (Tsetsura and Luomaha, 2009) and a low level of activism and participation of citizens in civic dialogue are clear indications of challenges for a societal approach to PR.

In contrast with foreign counterparts, the Russian students and practitioners are overloaded with theoretical subjects and have little exposure to applied, practical knowledge and skills (Slutsky, 2011). A sad tendency is seen with introduction of each new educational standard: professional ethics does not receive the attention it deserves. Ethical issues are only discussed in introductory courses and not discussed among practitioners within the professional associations. Although ethical standards exist, many practitioners dismiss them as irrelevant or outdated (Azarova and Markova, 2014).

Finally, the relationship between practitioners and academics remains a topic of critical importance. Although universities provide human resources (graduates) for the profession, the dialogue between Russian educators and practitioners has not developed successfully. Practitioners often express dismay when they speak about graduates who are making the first steps in the profession. Educators, on the other hand, criticize practitioners who rarely engage with the universities and offer internship programmes or collaborative opportunities to current students.

Practitioners emphasize the lack of PR experience among educators, while the academics claim that competent practitioners are rarely effective teachers (Alexandrov, 2013; Round Table, 2013).

Conclusion

As one can see from this chapter, much of the modern history of Russian public relations is seen by many professionals and academics in relation to the development of the free market economy and the regime change. For some, the modern history of public relations starts with *perestrojka* and the collapse of the Soviet Union. However, as many professionals have noted over the years, the machine of Soviet propaganda has existed for much of the 20th century, and it certainly has affected the ways how practitioners, scholars and the public think about modern PR. Russian scholars are yet to fully investigate how the long history of Tsarist Russia and the Soviet past might have influenced the field of modern public relations and how the public perception of public relations have been formed, based on the public knowledge and acknowledgment of deep distrust within the society (Tsetsura and Luoma-aho, 2010).

Perhaps, alternative approaches to understanding the history of the field of PR in Russia have not been pursued because of the anticipatory socialization practices (Jablin 1987) into the modern, Western understanding of PR, a process of socially forming expectations about the profession, the work, and the process of what professionals were supposed to do (Taylor and Kent, 2010), which was brought to Russia in the 1980s and early 1990s. Investigating PR as a profession has also influenced the way how practitioners chose to think about it and chose to tell stories about its past. Some may argue that the silent voices of PR's past (such as quiet voices of Russian female practitioners) need to be investigated further. Still, the most interesting question is: What kinds of stories from the past are silent today and how, if anyhow, these stories, if and when they are heard, can help us better understand the field of modern public relations in Russia? The Western market development and the Western education were certainly prevalent in the last 1980s and early 1990s in Russia, as part of the major political, economic and socio-cultural changes in the country. But as new Russia enters the next century and as the political, economic and socio-cultural contexts in Russia change, would the history of Russian PR also be rewritten? These

are the questions that are yet unanswered but which are undoubtedly among the most important ones in defining the Russian PR's past and present.

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9

Slovenia

Dejan Verčič

► **Abstract:** *The history of public relations in Slovenia, which as a nation has exerted great influence on the development of public relations (PR) in Central and Eastern Europe, is periodized in three eras – antecedents (before 1960), formative (1960s to 1990s) and modern (1990s onwards). It shows that there have been long-standing influences on modern PR, although current understandings of the practices are linked to Western models.*

Keywords: institutionalization; government communications; Pristop; profession; public relations; Slovenia

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A brief history of public relations in Slovenia intersects two different stories: a story of PR-like activities practiced on the territory of what is today the Republic of Slovenia and PR-like activities practiced by Slovenes, a nation that gained independence and formed its own state on that territory in 1991. Each story contains its own set of events and interpretations and the two sets largely overlap, but not completely.

Slovenia is a small country in Central Europe, between Italy on the west, Austria on the north, Hungary on the northeast and Croatia on the east. It is at the intersection of three climates (Alpine, Mediterranean and Pannonian) and three major cultural and linguistic groupings (Latin, Germanic and Slavic).

Today, Slovenia hosts two million people. Some are living in their fourth country without ever moving from their homes: Slovenia entered the 20th century as a part of the Hapsburg (Austro-Hungarian) Empire (before which it was a part of the Roman Empire and later the Holy Roman Empire) that collapsed in the World War I and became a part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. In the World War II Slovenia was divided by Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and their ally Hungary. Communist-led partisans, who fought occupiers and gained power in 1945, reintegrated Slovenia into Socialist Yugoslavia that was until 1948 a close ally of Stalin's Soviet Union and then developed its own version of 'self-management socialism' at home and abroad. With Egypt, Ghana, India and Indonesia, it initiated the formation of the Non-Aligned Movement (as a kind of third way between US-led capitalism and USSR-led socialism). The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia collapsed with the Berlin Wall, and in June 1991 Slovenia gained independence.

What counts as a history of PR in Slovenia and by Slovenes depends on a conceptualization of PR and its antecedents (and, of course, of what is Slovenia and who are Slovenes. That part is beyond the scope of this text). Various possible understandings of PR will become evident through the story presented here in which the history of PR in Slovenia is cut into three periods: antecedents (to around 1960s), formative period (1960s to 1990s), the modern (1990 to 2010) and postmodern public relations (from 2010). This narrative is based on a literature review (Gruban, Verčič and Zavrl, 1994a; Grunig, Grunig and Verčič, 2004; Podnar and Verčič, 2011; Verčič, 1999, 2002, 2004, 2009, 2011; Verčič, Grunig and Grunig, 1996; Zavrl and Verčič, 1995), extensive discussions with many protagonists of the 'proto public relations' period, and my personal recollection as one of the initiators of modern Slovenian PR.

Antecedents (to around 1960s)

In line with those who say that PR has been with us for thousands of years, one could study how different peoples that inhabited the territory of today's Slovenia tried to handle their inter-group and inter-organizational relationships and communication.

The first evidence of persuasive communication in Slovene language exists from the times of the Christianization of Slovenes, which started around the 8th century. The Freisling Records, written as a travelling manual at the time when Abraham was the bishop of Freisling (a town in Bavaria, Germany, a major religious centre and still the seat of an important diocese; he died in 994), represent the oldest known record of persuasive speech in the Slovene language. They consist of two manuscripts (sermons on sin and repentance; a confessional form) and were probably used by Bavarian clergy cultivating relationships with and christianizing Slovene Slavic tribes south of Bavaria. One could conclude that the first PR-like activities in Slovene language were performed by foreigners (in what from today's perspective looks like a 'glocalized' campaign).

The Renaissance and Reformation initiated production of Slovene persuasive communication by Slovenes, although not in Slovenia: Primož Trubar in the 16th century converted from Roman Catholicism and founded and superintended the Protestant Church of the Slovene Lands. He was expelled from Ljubljana, the capital of Slovenia, in 1547, and while being a Protestant preacher in Rothenburg, Germany, he wrote the first three Slovene Alphabetical Primers (1550, 1555 and 1556). The 1550 Primer printed in the same year as the Catechism (also by Trubar) and the two were the first two Slovene language printed books.

A third milestone of the antecedent phase was publication of the first Slovene popular science paper intended for farmers, artisans, craftsmen and intellectuals titled *Kmetijske in rokodelske novice* (Agricultural and Artisan News) in the 19th century.

The antecedent phase was characterized by strategic use of communication by foreign rulers to mould local populations as loyal subjects and enabled the emancipating tendencies of Slovenes to build and preserve their national identity. As Slovenes gained their national self-consciousness by mid-19th century, strategic communication was competitively and cooperatively used to articulate political ideas and by different types of organizations in relations with their members and their economic, social and political environment.

Formative public relations (1960s to 1990s)

Slovenia as a part of Socialist Yugoslavia (1945–1991) went through swaying decades between brutal Stalinist oppression and what were probably the most liberal conditions of living in any country under Communist government. The 1960s brought a political easing and partial opening of economy to international markets. Some companies operating in Western markets established the formative approach to public relations, *stiki z javnostjo*, which literally translated means ‘contacts with the public’. The public here was the public at large, the general public, but in reality the majority of work was directed towards the foreign media.

In 1960s, the founder of communication science studies in Slovenia, Dr Franci Vreg, on one of his visits to US universities met Professor Scott Cutlip and began translating the second edition of the textbook *Effective Public Relations* (Cutlip and Center, 1960). A colleague of Vreg at the Department of Communication in Ljubljana, Pavle Zrimšek, translated a German PR textbook by Carl Hundhausen (1969). There was a clear preparation for introduction of PR as a subject to be taught at the Faculty of Sociology, Political Sciences and Journalism in Ljubljana, when the political pendulum swayed to the more oppressive side again and PR was labelled as politically incorrect. The two manuscripts were never published. This was relevant to the discipline’s delayed introduction, as when PR was precluded from the university, marketing and advertising flourished. The very idea of the public as an autonomous social force frightened the ruling elite and the idea that there could be even more such publics was more threatening. The concept of the public contains a notion of public rationality independent of government power. Public rationality might interfere with the historic insight into economic, social and political life, which was reserved to the Communists and the government (and in the last years of Socialist Yugoslavia to the armed forces – which is why the dissolution of Yugoslavia was so aggressive). The idea of the public(s) presupposed equality and dialogue and this was possible under the Communist government in the same way that there is equality and dialogue between parents and their minor children. Citizens were not allowed to form publics; they were members of popular masses to be guided into the brighter future.

In organizations, from financial institutions and enterprises to government agencies and non-governmental organizations, there was a vibrant internal communication scene, largely guided by Communist-controlled

trade unions. Corporate journalism was developed and in-house journalists had their own section within the Slovene Association of Journalists. This was closed down in democratic Slovenia, when journalists decided that corporate journalism was not compatible with publicly responsible media (at least as a professional ideal).

The government and the Communist Party had a very sophisticated communication apparatus after 1945. Slovenian government first had the Press Office (Tiskovni urad; 1945–1947), then an Office of Information (Urad za informacije; 1947–1960), and finally Secretariat of Information and the Committee of Information (Sekretariat izvršnega sveta za informacije and Republiški komite za informiranje; 1960–1990). The structure was then transformed into the Ministry of Information (Ministrstvo za informiranje; 1991–1993), which played an important role in cultivation of both domestic and international support for Slovenian independence.

The formative stage is largely understudied, because the processes of social, political and economic transition from socialism back to capitalism in 1990s also brought a collective amnesia which was supported by Slovenia becoming a new country, a clear hiatus. The recent past was largely deleted from human minds and waits in archives to be reconstructed.

Modern public relations (from 1990s to 2010s)

The establishment and institutionalization of modern PR in Slovenia is related to the establishment and institutionalization of Slovenia as an independent country, with an open society, political democracy and market economy. In 1990 my business partner, Franci Zavrl and I founded the first PR agency in Slovenia (PR Center Ljubljana) as a spin-off of the International Press Center Ljubljana. The change, initiated in 1989, aimed to broadcast news on the Slovenian democratic and independence movement. Our goal was to develop communication infrastructure able to bypass TANJUG, the Yugoslav state news agency, as the main source of information from and about Slovenia in the international community at a time of social and political turmoil. In that capacity we were invited on a week-long trip to the United Kingdom as guests of the governmental Central Office of Information where we visited the (now Chartered) Institute of Public Relations, a newly founded internal communications agency Smythe Dorward Lambert and the BBC

Monitoring Service. During that week in London, Franci and I figured out that we would like to be in PR. On our flight home we made a list of people who might know something about the practice. One of them was Brane Gruban who was working at the communication department (*stiki z javnostjo*) of the largest Slovene electronics company, Iskra. After long discussions, he agreed to leave a seemingly secure corporate position in a public company and joined us to become an entrepreneur in Pristop, which in 10 years became the largest communications company between Vienna and Athens. (In the meantime, Iskra collapsed). Within a year after our London visit, Franci and I established a PR agency (PR Center Ljubljana), a media monitoring agency (Kliping) and a national professional association, Public Relations Society of Slovenia (PRSS). In 1992, the International Press Center Ljubljana and PR Center Ljubljana were integrated into Pristop communication management consultancy and I worked from 1991 to 1993 as the founding director of the Slovene national news agency, STA.

When PR Center Ljubljana was established there was a vibrant advertising agency scene in Slovenia. As advertisers were seeing and presenting themselves as artists, we in PR decided to become business professionals by positioning ourselves as management consultants from the very beginning. When PR Center in 1992 transformed into Pristop, this was incorporated as a communication management consultancy. Today, it is still the largest PR consultancy in Slovenia, but also a major player in advertising, interactive communication, media buying, media clipping and analysis, and strategic management consulting. (I sold out as a Pristop partner in 2009 and left for a position at the University of Ljubljana as Professor in Public Relations at the Faculty of Social Sciences.)

The conception of PR as a profession had several implications. From a business point of view, it enabled us to work with the CEOs, while advertisers had to work with marketing managers at least one corporate layer lower. That way we outmanoeuvred our biggest potential competitor. By the time they figured out what we had done, we were not only the largest PR consultancy, but also an advertising agency (diversification into related areas was one of the growth options we identified; internationalization was another one). Our positioning as business consultants was not a symbolic gesture (although it was that, too), we meant it seriously. We trained and educated ourselves and our associates as management consultants (at institutions like Harvard Business School, INSEAD, London Business School and London School of Economics).

The Public Relations Society of Slovenia (PRSS) was established in 1990 to set ethical standards and provide a vehicle for international openings. It was clear to us that we had to acquire competencies from the most developed parts of the world. For that reason, PRSS became an active player on the European and global professional scenes. It was active in the European Confederation of Public Relations (CERP) until its very end and was among the founders of the Global Alliance for Public Relations and Communication Management. In 1992, PRSS members founded the Slovenia chapter of the International Association of Business Communicators (IABC). IABC Slovenia, over the next 22 years, was the most-awarded IABC chapter in Europe. PRSS was present at the foundation of the European Public Relations Education and Research Association (EUPRERA) and I served as one of its early presidents. Within the PRSS framework, the major international documents articulating ethical obligations and professional standards in PR were translated in Slovene and incorporated into its domestic regulations. We were active in the management consultancies association in Slovenia and within the European federation of management consultancies association (FEACO). In its first decade the PRSS grew from 10 to around 100 members and, in the second decade, to nearly 500 members. It hosts five functional sections (one of which is the IABC Slovenia chapter; the other four are focused on internal communicators, communicators in public sector, corporate social responsibility and students) and regional groups. PRSS has organized annual conferences since 1997.

Professional standards were only a part of the competencies we were interested in. The other was to develop a knowledge base and position education for PR in an academic setting. Not long after the UK trip I was invited by the USIA (United States Information Agency) for a longer visit to the United States on a Young European Leaders Program. Before leaving Ljubljana, I was asked if there is anybody I would like to meet. As I was, and still am, a big fan of *Managing Public Relations* as the most original PR textbook, I nominated its primary author Dr James E. Grunig from the University of Maryland. He met me with his wife and research partner Dr Larissa A. Grunig (also at the University of Maryland) in a Washington bar and we collaborated ever since. At that time, Jim Grunig was leading the major *Excellence in Public Relations and Communication Management* research project and I decided to replicate parts of it in Slovenia (Gruban, Verčič and Zavrl, 1994b). The

Grunigs visited Slovenia for the first time in 1992 and again 1993 when they gave the first official lecture on PR at the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Ljubljana. In the past 20 years there have been frequent visits on both sides, as we researched and published together. The Grunigs' influence on the understanding of PR in Slovenia cannot be overestimated. At the 20th annual International Public Relations Research Symposium, BledCom 2013, they received commendations from PRSS and the Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana.

In 1994, PR became a regular course taught at the university. The first lecturer was Dr. Andrej Škerlep. Today, there is a Chair in marketing and public relations as one of the three Chairs constituting the Department of Communication at the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Ljubljana. PR can be studied up to the doctoral degree. Since 2013 within the Social Sciences Institute, which is the largest research institute for social sciences in Slovenia and which operates at the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana, there is a centre for marketing and PR as a part of the public research infrastructure in Slovenia. The centre, among its research projects, now organizes the International Public Relations Research Symposium, BledCom (www.bledcom.com), which has been organized annually since 1994 at Lake Bled, Slovenia and is the oldest continuous annual PR research meeting relations in the world.

Work on the professional identity of PR in Slovenia was also discursive and conceptual. As the proto public relations term *stiki z javnostjo* was generally accepted in Slovene language to stand for the English term 'public relations', my colleagues and I decided to change that and replace it with another term, *odnosi z javnostmi*. A booklet on PR (Gruban et al., 1990) was published, the national professional association registered under the new title *Slovensko društvo za odnose z javnostmi* and a long march of change through the language started. The old term consists of two key elements, *stiki* (contacts) and *javnost* (the public). The new term consists of similar, but fundamentally different elements, *odnosi* (relations) and *javnosti* (publics). Explaining the difference between 'contacts with the public' and 'relations with publics' gave a platform for presentation of relational and pluralistic understanding of the profession. Eventually, we won. Books were published on *odnosi z javnostmi* (Gruban, Verčič and Zavrl, 1997; 1998), the subject, the chair and my professorship at the university are called *odnosi z javnostmi*, academic

journals in the Slovene language publish special issues on *odnosi z javnostmi* (Ašanin Gole and Verčič, 2000), and the research centre at the PR institute in social sciences is called *odnosi z javnostmi*. Eventually, the effort in building PR terminology in the Slovene language became so visible that funding was awarded from the Slovenian Research Agency for a project called the Terminological Databanks as the Bodies of Knowledge: The Model for the Systematization of Terminologies that has compiled a dictionary of Slovene PR with 2000 entries, explained and translated in English, with typical context and examples (Berginc and Verčič, 2013). Today it serves as a model for building Slovene terminologies for other professions.

In its modern period, PR practice in Slovenia was institutionalized in corporate, government and non-profit organizations. This was reflected in the exponential rise of PRSS membership.

Institutionalization of modern government PR started in 1993, when the government transformed the Ministry of Information into the Government PR and Media Office (which in original Slovene language was literally named Office of Information – *Urad za informiranje*). In 2007, the Government PR and Media Office was reorganized into the Government Communication Office.

Postmodern public relations (from 2010s on)

The global financial crisis that hit economic centres of the world in 2007 came to Slovenia a couple of years later, but when it hit, it struck hard. In 2014, Slovenia is still one of the EU countries most affected by it and was recovering slowly. Comparative analysis done as a part of the European Communication Monitor shows that PR practitioners in Slovenia were among the most pessimistic about their future among their European colleagues (Zerfass et al., 2013). There was a sense of general breakdown of social bonds (anomie) in the society and that PR practice has been damaged by erosion of professional standards of related practices (e.g. journalism) and of its own. Changes resulting from the rise of the Internet and social media were amplifying a feeling that pre-2010 social characteristics and communication practices have passed. From a 2014 perspective, the world before 2012 belongs to the history of PR in Slovenia. Contemporary public relations is confused, as is the world around it.

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10

Ukraine

Anastasiia Grynko and Katerina Tsetsura

Abstract: *Public relations (PR) in Ukraine is understood widely as a form of propaganda. As a part of the tsarist Russian empire in the 19th century and then of the Soviet Union for more than seven decades of the 20th century, the nation has been exposed to a variety of propaganda. After independence in 1991, many entering PR employment came from propaganda and journalistic backgrounds which led to PR being performed as one-way publicity. There was also emphasis on political communication as parties formed and democratic processes evolved. Since then, indicators of increasing professionalization such as professional bodies and education and training have evolved. As well, international PR agencies have entered the market in support of international brands. Transparency of relations between PR practitioners, media operators and journalist has been problematic.*

Keywords: media transparency; professionalization; propaganda; public relations; Ukraine

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Although some argue that propaganda and PR are similar, the contemporary understanding of PR differs from propaganda in the eyes of many Ukrainian academics and practitioners. Korolko (2000), for instance, argued:

Despite the fact that in their work public relations practitioners...use some methods that might confuse people, it is wrong to consider the term 'propaganda' as absolutely negative. Propaganda can be used for changing the predispositions and behaviors of people in a constructive way. What matters is whether the moral norms, civil rights of human beings, in a large, democratic meaning of these terms, are violated. (p. 127)

Pocheptsov (2005), however, argued that propaganda is a one-way manipulative strategy to influence public opinion, whereas PR is perceived as an approach to two-way communication, in which all parties have an opportunity to participate in conversations and to effectively argue on behalf of a specific group, person, or entity.

Today, the connection between propaganda and PR remains unresolved, and with the latest events in Ukraine and the conflict between Ukraine and Russia, which was happening at the time this chapter was written, the boundaries between propaganda and PR have become very blurred.

The history of PR in Ukraine is also affected by its journalistic past as many journalists started working in the field shortly after the collapse of the Soviet Union. However, they had very little understanding of PR, positioning it as publicity (Grynko, 2012). Thus journalists who switched to PR sometimes brought more confusion than clarity to the field.

There is agreement among Ukrainian scholars and practitioners that since 1991, the year of Ukraine's independence from the Soviet Union, PR has developed rapidly (Kucheriv and Odarich, 1993). As in many other countries of the former Soviet Union, early Ukrainian practices started with political consulting (Tsetsura and Grynko, 2009). In the middle of 1990s, several political consulting agencies turned to corporate PR as its popularity grew. Agencies focused on advertising and promotion of products and services also claimed to offer PR services at the time (Kulish, 2001). Some early client organizations were large multinational corporations just entering the Ukrainian market and were familiar with the idea of objectives-led PR and communication strategies. However, as most companies perceived PR as a subset of marketing or advertising, so in this early period PR was placed under the marketing function (Sukhenko, 2007).

Further economic growth and market expansion, along with new investment opportunities, boosted Ukrainian PR practice and theory development. Many agencies which were founded in Kiev in 2004–2005 quickly occupied the leading positions and hold these top positions to this day. Among them are PR-Service, Mainstream Communication & Consulting, Noblet Media CIS and PRP (a Weber Shandwick affiliate company), which were ranked in 2012, respectively, as the top four PR agencies in Ukraine in the inaugural ranking (Kontrakty, 2013). Before the financial crisis of 2007–2008, the annual PR budgets of large national and international companies in Ukraine ranged from US\$ 10,000 to US\$ 1,000,000 with typical annual budgets between US\$ 100,000 to 500,000 (Publicity Creating, 2007). After the crisis, however, the PR market sharply declined and recovered only towards the end of 2010 (PR Week Global Thinktank, 2014). However, the country still relies heavily on economical collaboration with Russia, which is troublesome, to say the least, at the time of writing (Jackson, 2014). The post-crisis market recovered by 2012, with the top three agencies reporting turnover between US\$ 5 million and 8 million (Kontrakty, 2013).

PR organizations

Today, the practitioners who position themselves as the leaders of the field can be divided into two groups: corporate/business PR practitioners and political consultants. Among most prominent members of the first group are Marina Starodubska (Managing partner, TLFDRD Ukraine Strategic Communications Consultancy), Oksana Hoshva (Director, Hoshva PR), Volodymyr Gaidash (Director of public relations, KM Core), Ludmila Krechmer (CEO, KEY Communications), Yaryna Kluchkovska (co-founder of the Ukrainian PR association) and Natalia Popovich (President, PRP Group). Among the best known members of the second group are Oleg Medvedev (Vice-President, PR Liga and political consultant), Denis Bogush (President, Bogush Communication), Taras Berezovets (CEO, Berta Group) and Valentin Korolko (Vice-president, PR Liga).

The Ukrainian PR sphere is represented by two professional organizations: the Ukrainian Public Relations League (UPRL) and the Ukrainian Association of Public Relations (UAPR). Their main goals are to develop the national market for PR and to improve cooperation between

practitioners and society and the media. UPRL was founded in 2003 to promote public relations on principles adopted by the international community, particularly on the basis of the International Public Relations Association's (IPRA) principles (PR Liga, 2013). Its main goals are to uphold a high level of professionalism, create a network for the exchange information and experience, and support a positive image and reputation of the profession among society, investors, employers, leaders of organizations and the Ukrainian government (PR Liga, 2012).

Also in 2003, the Ukrainian Association of Public Relations (UAPR) was formed. Since 2005, the organization has been an official international professional association (UAPR, 2006). Its mission is to introduce high professional standards into Ukrainian PR practice (UAPR). UAPR's founders identified four problems. There was no ethical and legislative control of PR practice, misunderstanding of PR's role and opportunities, inability to verify the professional standards and the absence of a standardized system of PR education (UAPR).

In 2008, with UAPR's assistance, researchers undertook research into developments in PR, particularly in relation to reputational management. Dubovyk, Bondarenko and Rozkoshnaya (2011) found that corporate PR activities had moved away from marketing. Many organizations, particularly banks, had created separate structural units, with most reporting directly to CEOs. From an initial non-systematic approach using mainly tactical methods, corporate PR had moved to the formation of long-term strategies supported by special budgets. So, toward the end of 2000s, public relations in Ukraine had become a strategic management tool. However, today's professionals still lack knowledge and understanding of PR methods (Tsetsura, 2012). Most measurements are related to short-term marketing indicators. Companies also pay much attention to assessing the communication process, such as media coverage, and look less at the results of their activity (Dubovyk, Bondarenko and Rozkoshnaya, 2011).

PR practices

The growing interest in PR practices and services, however, has not necessarily led to professionalism. In the 2000s, several full-service agencies continued to offer basic advertising and event planning services (Sukhenko, 2007). Clients put pressure on practitioners to measure the

value of public relations in the form of a return on investment (ROI) (Sukhenko, 2007). One of the most frequently used ways that clients preferred for ROI measurement was to present media relations and publicity efforts in terms of advertising value equivalence (Publicity Creating, 2007). This enforced a perspective that PR practice was mainly based on media activity.

The mismatch between what clients want and what agencies could deliver was analysed as the lack of clients' understanding of PR, clear ethical guidelines in Ukrainian PR practices, and accountability of professionals for their practices (Sidorenko, O. and Sidorenko, N., 1998; UAPR, 2006). There was also a deficit in the knowledge of reporters and editors what PR is. This was evidenced in the negative relations between journalists and PR practitioners in Ukraine (Baysha and Hallahan, 2004; Kulish, 2001; Ligachova and Ganzha, 2005; Pikhovshek, 1997; Willard, 2003). Recent changes in the media and commercialization of journalism have also affected the practice of PR and contributed to misunderstanding of the field and, worse, to media non-transparency and demand for payments and services for publication of PR materials (Chernov and Tsetsura, 2012; Grynko, 2012).

Media relations and media non-transparency

Because of the lack of knowledge and understanding of PR methods, Ukrainian practice has come up against the challenge of non-transparency, as known in Ukraine as *jeansa* (Tsetsura and Grynko, 2009; Grynko, 2012). Media non-transparency in the form of payment for news coverage has been actively studied (Ristow, 2010). Paying for publication of news releases and other publicity materials is a widespread practice in many countries (Stempel, 1984; Tsetsura and Kruckeberg, in press). In Ukraine, Grynko wrote that 'the recent studies revealed some of the conditions that cause the existence of non-transparent influence on media' (2012, p. 263). She argued that Ukrainian media and PR practitioners have experienced challenges similar to those in other Eastern Europe countries. These include limited freedom of speech, little room for advancement, heavy workloads, and inequality at work (Grynko, 2012). According to recent UAPR research in 2011–2012, the problem of non-transparency had become less significant:

The leading priorities of PR-activities during 2011 were corporate communications (83%), internal communications (80%), corporate social responsibility projects (79%), product/branding public relations (79%) and crisis communication (61%). It is important to note that placing material on a fee basis (had disappeared from the top five priorities. (2012)

These results illustrate that media non-transparency may be on its way out. In comparison, the previous year's research indicated that placing a material on a fee basis was on the fourth priority of PR activity in 2010–2011 (UAPR, 2011).

Role and function of PR

Another important question in the development of PR has been about the activities and functions of Ukrainian practitioners. According to a UAPR polls, they spend most of their time doing media relations for clients and employers:

For example, almost all [respondents] agree that public relations is (concerned with) organization of press conferences (98%), development and implementation of public relations strategies (97%), writing press releases (97%), communication with NGOs (90%) and participation in forums and conferences (84%). However, only some of them surmised that training for staff (41%), creating loyalty programs (47%) and development of corporate standards (48%) is also PR! (Cheburey, 2009)

Moreover, among the most frequently used criteria for evaluating of PR activities, respondents indicated amount of mentions in the media (78%), positive changes in corporate reputation (37%) and the change (growth) of corporate culture (34%) (Cheburey, 2009). Among the channels of communication that practitioners used in their daily work, 91 per cent of respondents named print media, 90 per cent listed online resources, and 67 per cent mentioned television. Some 61 per cent named both radio and the growth of social media usage equally along with their use of social media in everyday practice (UAPR, 2012).

Looking at the present day practices in Ukraine, it can be concluded that publicity has not only occupied the predominant role, but it is most often considered to be only valid function of PR. Ukrainian practitioners continue to cooperate actively with print media (newspapers and magazines) and online resources that have similar mechanisms of interaction.

Finally, these practitioners are not effective in cooperation with television and radio and do not understand the mechanisms of media), despite TV and radio relations being equal to social media usage (Grynko, 2012).

Research on practices by the European Communication Monitor in the Eastern European region (including Ukraine) found that media relations practices were most problematic. For example, 47.2 per cent of the region's practitioners admitted that they face many ethical challenges, compared with only 30 per cent of responses from practitioners in Western Europe (Zerfass, Verčič, Verhoeven, Moreno, and Tench, 2012). Moreover, the Eastern European region was the worst in Europe in terms of management, business, and communication skills and knowledge and needs more resources to improve each of these elements (Zerfass et al., 2012).

PR education

The vagueness of the definition of PR and its foundations undoubtedly affects the quality of training. Currently there are no national standards for PR education and training. In this section, the concepts of 'education' and 'training' are combined. Formal (academic education) and informal (trainings, workshops) are brought together in order to illustrate the vast market for education and highlight methodological and educational challenges. The entire body of knowledge in PR, which can be obtained through a traditional process of a university education, as well as through participation in training and seminars, in person or via the Internet (and by simply practicing) can be considered as PR knowledge (Horak, 2013). In Ukraine there are three categories: 1) academic or university education; 2) non-formal education, including the Internet training; and 3) vocational training.

The chronology of academic PR education started in 1993 when the first Department of International Communications and Public Relations at the Institute of International Relations of Kyiv National Taras Shevchenko University was established. The first national textbook, *Fundamentals of Public Relations*, was published in 1997 and, a year later, a Fundamentals of Public Relations course appeared in the education programme at the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (Horak, 2013). In 1998, the first commercial school the Kyiv School of Public Relations opened at the Institute of Sociology of NAS of Ukraine,

and, in 2001, the first department of the theory and techniques of public relations was established at the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (NaUKMA). Two years later, NaUKMA opened the certified specialty 'Public Relations' and in same year, the Department of Mass Information Activities of the Institute of Journalism at Kyiv National Taras Shevchenko University launched a new Advertising and Public Relations specialization (Horak, 2013). The first Master's programme in Public Relations Management started in 2010 at NaUKMA. According to the Osvita.ua portal, there are 15 universities training specialists in advertising and public relations in 2014 (Osvita, 2014). The underdeveloped national system of PR education has led to young professionals often receiving irrelevant higher education. Most university-level programmes are designed not for students but for practitioners due to PR's weak initial market development (Hritsuta, 2008).

PR education is relatively new so Ukrainian research on this topic is scarce. Among the Ukrainian scholars in the field are V. G. Korolko, O. Nekrasov, G. Pocheptsov, V. A. Moiseev and E. B. Tikhomirov. The systematic understanding of PR came to Ukraine from the United States and other Western countries through textbooks and research studies. The IPRA Gold Paper on public relations education (IPRA, 1990), with an introduction by the British academic/practitioner Sam Black, was first translated into Russian and then used as a textbook in Russia and Ukraine. It laid foundations for the early educational standards (Hritsuta, 2008). The US PR academic and theorist James Grunig and his co-researchers from the school of thought about the four models of public relations (Grunig and Hunt, 1984) have had the biggest influence on the development of theory and practice of public relations in Ukraine (Korolko and Nekrasova, 2009). This came about because many early scholars and practitioners from Ukraine travelled to conferences and internships in the United States to learn about PR theory and practice. At that time, they were exposed to the dominant theoretical approach of Grunig's approach to public relations. In addition, other Ukrainian practitioners received US fellowships, such as Fulbright and Muskie, to study at master's level. When they wrote applications, they asked to study with academics they recognized from textbooks or at universities they considered as prestigious places to study PR.

Analysis of the early PR courses has found that, in some instances, an unethical approach was promoted. It is hard to say how this happened or who was responsible. Some attribute the phenomena to those

creating programmes who sought to benefit financially from lucrative market opportunities at the time. For example, a 'Practical Spin-Doctor: How to Treat Reputation' course was included in the early educational programmes at major universities (Horak, 2013). Nowadays, such courses have been eliminated. However, the idea of 'spin' is still very much alive in the public perceptions of PR, particularly in light of recent events in Ukrainian politics and the Russian-Ukrainian conflict (Jackson, 2014).

Among the continuing education courses and programmes are the UAPR Academy, an educational project of the Ukrainian Public Relations Association. The project was designed specifically for practicing PR specialists and consists of six one-day interactive sessions, each of which features two or three experts who present information from their own industry practices. Since 2008, expert professional speakers at the UAPR Academy have represented more than 30 Ukrainian and international companies, including Yandex Ukraine, DTEK, Intermediacom, JTI, Concorde Capital, Helen Marlen Group, KM Core, life, TNK- BP Commerce. More than 100 professionals have gained new knowledge through these training programmes (UAPR, 2014).

In addition to academic and non-formal education, practical field knowledge programmes exist. These are specialized master classes and training sessions of skills and knowledge that can be obtained directly while working in an agency or company. In particular, many companies have internal training and workshops, meetings with more skilled specialists from other companies, and agencies to develop programmes and guidelines for beginners (Horak, 2013).

The features of the Ukrainian PR education system were shaped by its history. In the post-Soviet states, education developed from a highly theoretical scientific pedagogy with little emphasis on practice (Horak, 2013). PR is, however, rarely perceived or taught as a science; instead, most courses are very tactical in nature. This has meant that PR as a science in Ukraine is still at a very early stage and is constantly confronted with the delay in both technical and methodological areas of moving the field and the body of knowledge forward. PR still suffers from negative stereotypes posed by practitioners who are often referred to as spin-doctors and propagandists because of their behaviours.

There are mixed models of PR education in Ukraine. Some embody the American model which has greater emphasis on advertising and journalism. PR and advertising are seen as close disciplines; therefore, in many universities, the profession is presented as 'Advertising and Public

Relations' mimicking the new educational standard of the Russian Ministry of Higher Education. The national Ministry of Education recently announced the need for an all-Ukrainian education reform. As a result, the standards for PR education may change in the near future (Osvita, 2014). Thus, Ukrainian PR education has borrowed much from the West and has little innovation. Heavily influenced by its Soviet scientific and educational history and drawing upon American and British experience, PR education in Ukraine is still in an early stage of independent development and progress.

Conclusion

In this chapter, an overview of the history and current situation of Ukrainian PR has been presented. Media relations is the predominant practice model which emphasizes the relationship between practitioners and journalists from the print media as the most important one. With the difficult situation in Ukraine in 2013–2014, PR, political communication and political consulting are finding new ways to interact and interlock. As Ukrainian society moves forward, a new understanding of PR practice is juxtaposed with the old stereotypes of PR as political propaganda and manipulation. Contemporary PR in Ukraine faces many challenges: non-transparency (even though this problem may be significantly less evident compared with a decade ago), ethical dilemmas, misunderstanding of the roles and functions of PR, the lack of professional and management skills among professionals, and challenges in the area of PR education.

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