NATIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Series Editor: Tom Watson

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MIDDLE EASTERN AND AFRICAN PERSPECTIVES ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Other Voices

Edited by
Tom Watson

Middle Eastern and African Perspectives on the Development of Public Relations

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National Perspectives on the Development of Public Relations

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 world-wide view of the history of public relations freed from those influences.

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Tom Watson
Professor of Public Relations, The Media School, Bournemouth University

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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.

Tom Watson

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Contents

DOI: 10.1057/9781137404299.0001

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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 an 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 glace at international practices.

I am attached to the notion of 'other' both in its post-modern concept and as a desire to create a more authentic approach to the history of public relations. It was the UK

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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:

1 Introduce national perspectives on the formation of public relations practices and structures in countries outside Western Europe and North America;
2 Challenge existing US-centric modelling of public relations;
3 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

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(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).

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Nawaf Abdelhay-Altamimi, PhD, has more than 20 years of experience in Arabic journalism and corporate communications, having worked with leading media outlets and international corporates including *Asharq Alawas* pan-Arab newspaper in London, Qatar Airways in Qatar, Arab Radio and TV Network in Saudi Arabia and FlyDubai airline in UAE.

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Ray Mawerera is Lecturer on the Zimbabwe Institute of Public Relations's (ZIPR) two-year Public Relations Diploma Programme, and is Secretary of the ZIPR Advisory Board, a group set up in 2013 to provide counsel to younger practitioners holding office on the ZIPR Council. He is a former president of ZIPR, having served twice (1998–2000 and 2005–2007). Mawerera holds qualifications in journalism and public relations and has worked in senior corporate public relations positions in some of Zimbabwe's leading conglomerates.

Barbra Natifu is a PhD candidate in the Department of Media and Communication, Faculty of Humanities, University of Oslo. She has previously written conference papers and book chapters on the history of PR in her homeland, Uganda. Her approach to studying public relations as a social practice is embedded in communication research, historical analysis and sociological theory.

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* Aktaş Yamanoğlu, Özdemir and Gençtürk Hızal are co-authors of the first history of PR in Turkey, focusing on the institutionalization years from 1960s to 1980s (2013).

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Introduction

Tom Watson

Watson, Tom. *Middle Eastern and African Perspectives on the Development of Public Relations: Other Voices.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
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Middle Eastern and African Perspectives on the Development of Public Relations: Other Voices is the third volume in this series of six books on national histories of public relations (PR). The nations that comprise the ten chapters range from Turkey, at the northernmost, to South Africa, at the southernmost. There is little group commonality in their economies and political, religious and social make-up as they have been drawn from the geo-political and continental labels of 'Middle East' and Africa. For example, they do not have the common post-war impact of the Soviet Union and communism that so distinguished the nations of Eastern Europe in the second book of the series. However, there are themes that emerged and are shared by some nations.

The book has two chapters that comprise groups of nations – the Arab Gulf and Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The Arab Gulf comprises Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates and Oman which have a common religious background in Islam and have shown major economic growth since the 1970s. As the chapter shows, there are experiences in the development of PR which are similar, including the development of education, institutionalization, and restricted media and political environment. They, along with Egypt and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, also have analogous approaches to PR practice with regional religious and social influences that operate in parallel to the more international model offered by multinational agency groups that operate in the Gulf.

In southern Africa, Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe all show the influences of British models of PR practice which arose from colonial governmental public administration, as it did in Kenya, Nigeria and Uganda. These three nations are either neighbours of South Africa (Botswana and Zimbabwe) or close by (Zambia). They had different paths to independence but the British influence appears to have been greater than from South Africa, which did not emerge from its international isolation until the early 1990s. Ironically, South Africa has the most westernized PR sector with well-established education, professional bodies, government communication and agencies. The latter sector, agencies, has been spreading widely into central and eastern Africa as is evidenced in the chapter on Uganda, where the local PR sector has been under threat from South African agency groups and the ubiquitous international agencies for a decade or more.

The history of PR in Kenya can be broadly divided into two periods: pre- and post-independence. Before 1963 and independence, there is

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evidence that the British colonial governmental system encouraged the use of PR in sophisticated modes (i.e., more than public information dissemination) that included the building of relations between government and communities in order to facilitate dialogue and generate greater understanding of governmental policies. This appears to have commenced in the United Kingdom's Colonial Office soon after World War II and may have been widely applied in other colonies as well. The unearthing of papers in Kenya's national archives opens the door to further research.

Israel, because of its unique formation as a nation, has an historical development of PR that is different from that of other nations in this chapter and from most others worldwide. Collectivism, which characterized national politics and society for the first 30–40 years of its existence, inhibited PR's development. It was only with the development of a more individualist, liberal society from the 1980s onwards that PR began to flourish, but it still has a difficult existence in a nation whose expressions of nationhood allow less leeway than in Western nations. However, PR in Israel may have more in common with the nations that surround it because of continuing political tensions.

Turkey, as befits an ambitious nation, has long used PR techniques to promote national interests but the discipline and practice of PR has had a see-saw of understanding and respect in governmental communications, although the field has other characteristics such as professionalization, introduction of education and growth of an agency sector. The variable and varied understanding of PR and its roles is a factor that surfaces in several chapters, with none of the progressivism that is proposed in North American approaches to the history of PR.

Historiographic interpretations of the national histories show little consistency although three chapters – Egypt, Israel and Turkey – use periodization models. There is thematic analysis in another three chapters – Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe, Nigeria and Uganda – of the effects of British colonial public administrations, which is not surprisingly evident in the early histories of PR in those five countries, although it later became both more locally fashioned and more internationally influenced. Only the Israel chapter, which refers to Raaz and Wehmeier's (2011) 'fact-event oriented, periodizing and theorizing' approach, adopts a specific historiographic model. Perhaps this book will assist greater discussion and debate of historiographical approaches.

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As set out in the opening paragraph of this Introduction, there is no evidence of a single or common approach to PR's development. That is not surprising because of the vast distances and the range of cultures, languages and political systems that the book covers, but there are clusters of themes to explore further – Arab culture, British public administration, independence movements and the influence of international agency groups.

Reference

Raaz, O., and Wehmeier, S. (2011) 'Histories of Public Relations: Comparing the Historiography of British, German and US Public Relations', *Journal of Communication Management*, 15(3), 256–275.

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1

The Arab States of the Gulf

Badran A. Badran

Abstract: *The Arab Gulf region has a long history of traditional public relations (PR) practice expressed through hospitality, poetry, oratory, the* majlis *or* diwaniyya*, the mosque, emissaries and various local customs that prescribed internal and external relationships among tribes and between rulers and their subjects. It has developed strongly since the mid-20th century when mass media was rudimentary and sophisticated practice was almost non-existent, vague, misunderstood or defined by many in the region to mean protocol, hospitality and/or general services of various kinds. Today, modern PR practice thrives, supported by professional associations and extensive education. Although best practices still come from private practitioners, the public sector in most of the GCC is showing better understanding of the role that PR plays in nation-building, human development and global relations.*

Keywords: culture; hospitality; nation-building; public relations; *wasta*

Watson, Tom. *Middle Eastern and African Perspectives on the Development of Public Relations: Other Voices.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
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The Arab states of the Gulf included in this chapter are the United Arab Emirates (UAE), the Sultanate of Oman, the State of Kuwait, the State of Qatar and the Kingdom of Bahrain.* They are all members of a regional group called the Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf (commonly referred to as the GCC). Another GCC member that is outside the purview of this chapter is the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA).

According to the GCC Charter (1981), members share geographical, historical, political, social, cultural and economic characteristics. A common language (Arabic), a common religion (Islam) and strong kin relations among their citizens unite them. According to BuMetea (2013) these common characteristics allow scholars to study these states as one cultural unit. Politically, all are hereditary monarchies governed by ruling families. With the exception of Kuwait and Bahrain, which have elected parliaments, GCC states have appointed or elected *Shura* (Sulaiman, 1999) or consultative councils that advise governments but have limited or no legislative powers.

Because of these historical, political, social, cultural and economic commonalities among GCC members, conclusions drawn from published research about one country may be relevant to other GCC countries while allowing for individual distinctions and differences to be made explicit whenever appropriate. In addition, a distinguishing feature of the region is that many public relations (PR) agencies have worked regionally in multiple markets instead of limiting their operations to only one country.

This chapter reviews pre- and post-independence periods, as well as the period before and after the discovery of oil and gas, a major transformational event with huge, mostly positive consequences for the region and its peoples. With the exception of Oman (1651) and Kuwait (1961), the other GCC countries became independent in 1971. Oil discovery and export has taken place since the 1930s (Kuwait), the 1940s (Qatar) and the 1960s (UAE and Oman). Oil and gas wealth catapulted GCC countries from under-developed small societies with limited means to modern states with first-world infrastructures, enjoying high international political and economic standing, including some of the world's highest per capita incomes and welfare provisions for their citizens.

Awwadh (1994) argued that modern public PR in the Arab Gulf region has its deepest roots in the early civilizations of Mesopotamia and ancient Egypt. Awwadh maintains that the PR tradition was strong in the region

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both before and after Islam became the region's dominant religion. Abu Sunn (1986) stated the goals of public PR from an Islamic perspective are communication, persuasion and participation. Its characteristics are accuracy, clarity, quick response to public opinion and teaching by example.

Before oil

During the last century, the region's tribal roots and their patterns of social, cultural and political communication have influenced communication in the Gulf region. Scholars such as Qassem (1995) mention two traditional institutions in particular that have played critical roles in communication in the past: the mosque or Muslim place of worship and the *majlis* or *diwaniyya*, which is the people's public gathering place.

For Qassem, the mosque was more than just a place of Muslim worship. In the UAE, the mosque was an important central site where people met regularly to discuss daily affairs, as well as increase their worldly and spiritual knowledge by listening to sermons and attending religious lessons.

Kuwaiti sociologist Al Kindari (2002) argued the Kuwaiti *diwaniyya* (also called *majlis* in other countries) has played an important role as an informal channel for the dissemination and discussion of news among ordinary Kuwaitis and between them and the political-economic elite class of the country, represented by the ruler, senior officials and merchants. What was taboo in official media was permissible in the *diwaniyya*, he said, making it a powerful medium of information and opinion on the one hand and a democratic vehicle for decision-makers to interact with public opinion before reaching important decisions. Alanazi (1996, p. 242) describes its functions as idea exchange and public interaction and asserts 'local sheiks used the *majlis* to enhance their credibility and prestige among the people'.

Alanazi cites Mansfield (1981) who states 'poetry was the most popular art in the Arabian culture and a model for much of the public communication that appeared. Poetry was particularly important to the roving, non-permanent tribes of the region' (Alanazi, 1996, p. 240). According to Fakhri, Alsheekley and Zalzala (1980, p. 34), '[T]he poet was considered to be the press secretary of his tribe, attacking the tribe's enemies, praising its accomplishments and strengthening the fighters' morale'. This

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tradition is alive and well in the Gulf today. UAE Vice President, Prime Minister and Dubai's ruler Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashed Al Maktoum has written several Nabati poems praising the late founder and President of the UAE Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan and current UAE President Sheikh Khalifa bin Zayed Al Nahyan. Public praise through poetry is another cultural manifestation of PR use in the Arab Gulf region intended to honour and convey praise and appreciation to other poets and individuals (Al Maktoum, 2014).

The traditional practice of PR in the Arab Gulf region prior to the arrival of foreign expertise was limited to administrative and hospitality functions, such as following up contracts and other paperwork at government departments, making arrangements for visitors including airport pick up, hotel reservations, official luncheons and banquets, entertaining guests, and so on. A typical PR unit was also tasked with celebrating special events like the country's national day or an end-of-year recognition for employees (Badran, 1994; Ayish and Badran, 1997). Khamis Al Muqla, Chairman of Hill & Knowlton Strategies, President of Bahrain-based Gulf Marcom and a pioneer of PR in the Gulf characterizes these activities as 'limited protocol functions'. He points out a common mix-up between protocol functions and modern PR strategic functions of communication between an organization and its internal and external publics (Al Muqla, personal communication, 25 May 2014).

Even as late as the mid-1980s, there was evidence of confusion among UAE PR practitioners, and possibly in other GCC countries, about its definition and value. A survey of professionals working in 65 public and private organizations in UAE cities of Dubai, Sharjah and Abu Dhabi revealed that none thought that PR was a communication function. Foreign-owned private organizations were the most likely to have practitioners or top managers who understood modern PR. Although government agencies and others espoused the Western concept, they did not put it into practice. Overall, the study found that in the UAE, PR was 'vague, superficial and widely misunderstood' (Creedon, Al-Khaja and Kruckeberg, 1995, p. 65).

The beginnings: 1950s–1970s

During this period, indigenous mass media in the GCC were in their beginning stages although foreign radio and TV broadcasts were acces-

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sible by some. According to Rugh (2004), it was not until 1970 when Oman opened its radio transmitter, that every Arab state had indigenous radio broadcasting. As for television, it was not until Yemen TV went on air in 1975 that all Arab states had national TV capability. Rugh argues the Arab print media only reached a highly select audience because of widespread illiteracy, weakness of transportation and distribution systems at that time and censorship (2004, p. 9). Cinema theatres showing Indian, Western and Arab films were operating in several Arab Gulf countries during this period. Bahrain had its first cinema in the 1940s and Kuwait and parts of the UAE had them in the 1940s and 1950s. Examples include Al Sharqiyah Cinema in Kuwait, Al Watan Cinema established by Ali Al Osaimi in Dubai and Awal Cinema in Bahrain. Cinemas were considered an important advertising medium before television became dominant (Bahrain Cinema, 2014; Al Ktebi, 2014).

Ramzi Raad (2014), founder and chairman of the TBWA/RAAD regional network, former vice president and area director of the International Advertising Association (IAA) for the region and a pioneer in both advertising and PR in the Gulf region, termed the GCC markets in the mid-1970 as 'very basic.' 'Kuwait was the most advanced and multinational companies treated it as the test market for new product introductions in the region. The people of Kuwait were the first to show real signs of 20th century consumerism in the GCC' (Raad, personal communication, 26 May 2014).

Al Muqla contends that PR activity in Bahrain and the Gulf region started within the operations of foreign oil companies during the 1950s, namely, Bahrain Petroleum Company (BAPCO), Arab-American Oil Company (ARAMCO) in KSA, Kuwait Oil Company (KOC) and during the 1960s as in the case of Petroleum Development Oman (PDO). It rose in importance following the oil price rises and the subsequent economic growth in the 1970s. PR was already well established in Egypt and Lebanon before it arrived in the Gulf (Al Muqla, personal communication, 25 May 2014).

One of the first consultants to practice PR in Bahrain and possibly in the Gulf during the 1960s was Michael Rice, a founder of the United Kingdom's Public Relations' Consultants Association in 1969 and its chairman from 1978 to 1981. In addition to Rice, another practitioner who worked in Bahrain was a local man, Ahmad Abdul Rahman Fakhri, now retired. Fakhri and British partner James Belgrave later established Arab Consult (AC). AC offered PR services to the Bahraini and other

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Gulf governments years before Al Muqla and his partners established Gulf Public Relations (GPR) in 1974.

The Bahraini government acknowledged the importance of PR early on when it established a department for 'Public Relations and Radio' in 1956, with Sheikh Mohammed bin Mubarak chairing it. Before establishing government PR departments, the Bahraini government and other Gulf governments relied mainly on foreign affairs ministries and embassies abroad for their external relations.

Prior to working in PR, Al Muqla worked as a journalist in the early 1970s. In 1974, with Abdel Nabi Al Shu'la and Hassan Jawad Al Jashi, he established GPR in a small office in Government Street in Manama, the Bahraini capital, and offered all and any communications services including PR, advertising, publishing and design.

GPR's first large contract in 1974 was to plan and produce a PR campaign for Bahrain's aluminium company, ALBA. Its goal was to encourage more Bahrainis to work for ALBA through raising awareness of safety procedures after the company suffered several safety-related accidents. The three-month campaign used Bahraini media, such as *Akhbar Al Khaleej* newspaper, to reach job seekers in particular and the Bahraini public in general. Next, GPR worked with banks and clients in Bahrain, including the Arab Ship Building and Repair Yard. Work expanded in the next decade and included major clients such as Unilever. GPR's partners in other Gulf States included Yousef Darwish and Jassem Fakhroo in Qatar (Al Muqla, personal communication, 25 May 2014).

Raad described Bahrain in the 1970s as a 'base for multinational companies, advertising agencies and media who wanted to further tap the potential of the Saudi market and were finding it difficult to station their people in the Kingdom' (personal communication, 26 May 2014). The proximity of the two countries, even before the King Fahd causeway was opened in 1986, and the liberal lifestyle of the island made it much easier for Western expatriates to make it their base. Bahrain, he recalls, introduced colour TV into the GCC and its two government and independent TV stations became very popular amongst Eastern Saudi viewers. Qatar and Oman took more time to catch up (Raad, personal communication, 26 May 2014).

According to Raad, when Egypt became the first independent Arab state, journalists from other Arab states migrated to Cairo. They hoped to find freedom of speech and political tolerance. 'The Arab-Israeli war of 1948 was the rallying point of the Arab people, and the Egyptian press

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became conscious of the nation's saga. All these factors contributed to the flourishing of the Egyptian press and advertising agencies that were mushrooming around it. Then came the revolution of 1952 which abolished the monarchy and brought the military to power' (ibid.). Political changes in Egypt enabled Lebanon to surface as an oasis of media freedoms in the Arab world.

> Lebanese journalists in Egypt returned to their home country and were joined by many of their Arab colleagues. Beirut developed as the publishing capital of the Middle East. Lebanese publishers were regional in their thinking, so they forcefully supported the overall Arab cause. The Pan-Arab media concept became a reality as Lebanese magazines picked up circulation all over the Arab world. The Lebanese press experience led to the introduction of television in 1959. Obviously, this dynamic media climate helped advertising agencies to develop and mature. (The year) 1969 saw the birth of the regional advertising agency concept in the Middle East with the opening of branch offices of two Lebanese agencies in Kuwait. (ibid.)

However, the turning point in Middle East advertising history was in 1975 when 'the Lebanese civil war led to the exodus of the Arab media and advertising agencies' (ibid.). Magazines moved to London and Paris, and advertising agencies to Bahrain, Dubai, Kuwait, Cairo, Nicosia, Athens and Paris. 'The concept of Pan-Arab advertising agency networks became a reality and a necessity for the industry as a whole' (ibid.).

The presence of the world's biggest agencies in the Gulf indicated how rapidly the advertising industry in the region reacted to the accelerated economic growth. Arthur (1993) commented that 'today's advertising scene sharply contrasts with the one that unfolded 20 years ago when people with artistic pretensions opened advertising shops in the UAE, for example, producing artwork out of photocopy reprints' (p. 20).

On the back of the growth for commercial communications, various advertising agencies then opened PR units, among them Fortune Promoseven, Intermarkets and Impact/BDDO. David Wynne-Morgan, former president and CEO (Europe, the Middle East and Africa) of Hill & Knowlton, predicted in the early 1990s that the Gulf would be the fastest-growing market in the world for PR businesses (Arthur, 1993, p. 117).

Agencies involved in a variety of communication activities had been operating in the Gulf since the 1960s. Smaller shops existed prior to the 1960s and offered simple signage, outdoor advertising and product publicity. The period between the 1970s and 1980s saw a transformation

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from local and regional practices to international standards. The development of local economies stimulated by oil exports, the arrival of an experienced foreign workforce and the expansion of local media were critical factors. The 1990s and beyond saw the maturity of the public communication sector, with local agencies becoming affiliates of global conglomerates and ad agencies (Arthur, 1993).

Some Gulf agencies considered themselves as a 'full advertising agency' offering everything from concept to advertising campaigns. Other agencies' services included advertising plus a wide range of marketing, printing and PR. Their services included graphic design, sales promotion, event and exhibition organizing, media relations and research. Smaller agencies focused primarily on below-the-line activities such as sales promotions, direct marketing, in-store exhibitions and displays, trade shows, sponsorship, and merchandising. PR only became a standalone industry in later years (ibid., p. 137).

Early advertising and PR agencies

The pan-Arab networks 'played catalytic roles' (ibid.) in developing the media, heightening understanding of the advertising (and, by association, the PR) business. In later years, some agencies expanded, changed names and/or affiliations or closed.

Arab Advertising Agency (AAA), founded in 1937 by Syrian nationals Hassan and Souad Haikal, was one of the earliest advertising agencies in the Arab world. AAA opened an office in the KSA in 1963 and later in Beirut, Kuwait, Cairo, Bahrain and Dubai (Arthur, 1993; Raad, 2014).

Intermarkets, founded in 1961 in Lebanon by Erwin Guerrovitch and Raymond Hanna, moved to Kuwait in 1969 and subsequently to Bahrain, KSA, followed by Yemen and Jordan, thus becoming one of the early players in the region. Intermarkets Public Relations was a sister consultancy which became associated with the-then US-owned Burson Marsteller consultancy group (Arthur, 1993; Intermarkets, 2014).

The mid-1960s saw the establishment of agencies like Éclair-Kazan, which Rushti contends later became 'the second or third largest agency in the Middle East' with offices in Kuwait, Cairo, Beirut, Jeddah, Bahrain, London, Sharjah and two head offices in London and Paris (Rushti, n.d.). Another key player was the Madco Group established by Burhan Beidas in 1967. Beidas opened an office in Lebanon in 1969 and another

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in Dubai in 1973. Madco expanded in 1978 with offices in Bahrain, KSA and Kuwait. Lebanese agency Fortune Promoseven (FP7), which was established in Lebanon in 1968, opened its first Gulf office in Dubai in 1975. By the end of 1992, its operations included North Africa and Iran (ibid.).

The 1970s saw the establishment of more agencies like GMASCO which was established in Dubai in 1970 to service the Al Futtaim Group. It expanded from a below-the line small agency to a full-fledged marketing communication agency, especially with the introduction of a PR department and a digital department in the 1990s (ibid.). Impact BBDO, founded in 1971 by Alain Khouri in Beirut, opened an office in Kuwait in 1975 and another in KSA in 1986, then moved its head office to Dubai in 1992 (ibid.). In the mid-1970s, Bahraini nationals Khamis Al Muqla, Abdulnabi Al Sho'ala and Hassan Al Jashi established Gulf Public Relations in Bahrain. By 1979, GPR became Gulf Advertising and Marketing, attracting tie-ups with the Lintas and Saatchi & Saatchi advertising groups. Al Muqla subsequently founded Hill & Knowlton Strategies Middle East in 1985 (Al Muqla, personal communication, 25 May 2014).

Horizon Advertising (HA) was another venture established by Lebanese Rafique S'addeh in 1971 and opened a Kuwait office in 1975. Later, HA opened offices in Lebanon and Athens, KSA and Dubai when Marwan Rizk joined as a partner (Arthur, 1993, p. 138). Another significant player that appeared during this period was Publi-Graphics which was bought by Mustapha and Aziza Assad and Gabby Hayek in 1973. In the early 1990s, Publi-Graphics operated 17 offices worldwide, including in the Gulf. In 1974, Charles Homsy and Farid Chehab set up H&C which later became an affiliate of Leo Burnett and its name changed to Radius Leo Burnett (ibid., p. 140). In 1978, former *Telegraph* journalist Ian Bain established Bain Communications (BC) in 1978 in Dubai with a focus on PR and was chairman until 2004 (Bain's LinkedIn Profile; BBSH In Touch, 2006).

Transformative years: 1980s–2000s

One PR industry veterans of the 1980s was the Briton Nigel Perry. He arrived in Bahrain in 1982 to head up Gulf Public Relations, which was part magazine publisher and part PR company. Perry recalls the early period: 'It was small and it was difficult to get the company off the ground

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in those first years. This was partly due to the immaturity of the markets: what was supplied was sold' (Perry, personal communication, 26 June 2014). He argues there was little incentive to communicate during that period 'and, in fact, it was often discouraged. Censorship extended to even mild business issues' (ibid.). There were difficulties with basic communications infrastructure, a lack of media and a rapid and constant turnover of management.

> But things began to change. GPR tied up with the international PR firm Hill and Knowlton in major Bahrain and London exercises to launch the huge Arab Reinsurance Company, ARIG. I handled important work in the Gulf States for Boeing Aircraft Corporation in 1982 and 1983 and we took part in an international introduction for NCR of the world's first 32-bit computer in 1983. On this, I worked with Tarik Al Rujaib in Kuwait, GPR Qatar in Doha and Lintas in Dubai. (ibid.)

Sunil John, CEO of ASDA'A Burson-Marsteller, contended that, with the advertising industry gaining a foothold in the 1980s, PR became an extended arm of the advertising industry but its scope was limited (John, 2009). The 1980s saw new players including Adnan Ogilvy & Mather, founded in Dubai in 1980 and an affiliate of global agency Ogilvy & Mather. Its operations covered Oman, Qatar, Bahrain, KSA and Kuwait (Rushti, n.d., p. 65). The late Majid Al Ghurair founded Pangulf Publicity in Dubai in 1981 which was later renamed Bates Pangulf (Arthur, 1993, p. 139). Ostreads, founded by Alain Cordier in Dubai in 1985, later extended its operations to Dubai, KSA, Kuwait, London and Iran. The late 1980s saw the opening of Tamra, which was founded by Anis Al Jallaf, Tony Husseini, Ronnie Sequeira and Nasib Saab in 1989 in Dubai. Tamra operated as an affiliate of DMB&B in 1990 (ibid., p. 140).

Perry believes the PR industry in the Gulf Arab states took off in the 1990s. 'International companies came into the market, start-ups and in-house departments proliferated and Arab nationals began to take control of the message' (Perry, personal communication, 26 June 2014). John (2009) argues that during this period businesses started appreciating the importance of PR, especially with multinational agencies opening offices in Dubai, Jeddah and Bahrain:

> Public relations, as an industry, took concrete shape in the beginning of the new millennium, led principally by the opening of Dubai Media City, a free zone dedicated to media. This eased up the process of setting up firms and operating with more professionalism. It also came at the right time with

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> much of the Gulf region looking at huge infrastructure investments and foreign collaborations or acquisitions. This made PR almost mandatory for the big local business entities. Over the past years, the lead taken by Dubai in public relations has expanded to other countries in the Gulf region and the Middle East. (John, 2009, pp. 1–2)

The 1990s witnessed the establishment of TD&A, founded in the UAE in 1991 with a franchise agreement with the DDB Needham Worldwide agency (ibid., p. 140). Soon after, Joseph Ghossoub started Team Advertising in 1994, which, three years later, became an affiliate of Young and Rubicam. Ghossoub's Menacom conglomerate today includes PR firms ASDA'A Burson-Marsteller and Polaris (BloombergBusinessWeek, 2014; Menacom, 2014).

Qualified communication and media professionals during this period were rare. 'Talent was almost non-existent. So Arab and western expats, from widely divergent backgrounds, were hired to run the PR and advertising business. Personally, I hired a chemical engineer to work as an account handler at Intermarkets at that time' (Raad, personal communication, 26 May 2014).

The early regional PR consultancies were Bain PR, founded by Ian Bain as the first independent PR company in the region, and Gulf Hill and Knowlton, now H&K Strategies, co-founded by Saleh Al Mutlaq. Both were the main players in the early 1980s (Nahawi, personal communication, 18 May 2014). Over 25 years in the Middle East, Bain PR was the consultant to the Government of Dubai and several global companies, including General Motors (*The Telegraph*, 2013).

In the late 1980s and early 1990s notable regional companies were founded, including Strategies International (1987) and Headline PR (1991). More agencies were created in the mid-1990s, notably Asdaa PR, Orient Planet and Spot On. Marcom companies, such as Fortune Promoseven, Radius Leo Burnett, Impact and Memac, created or expanded their PR functions.

In the early 2000s numerous new regional agencies were created, including Active PR, Performance PR, Dabo & Co and at least 30 others. In the mid-2000s large UK and US groups including Bell Pottinger and Edelman created significant operations to work on large government accounts such as the US government in Iraq, government of Bahrain and others (Nahawi, personal communication, 18 May 2014).

Omani researcher Ahmed Al Shizawi claims that no studies exist about the development of PR in Oman (Al Shizawi, 2012). According to state-owned Oman Television, press in Oman did not exist prior to 1970, the date when Sultan Qaboos bin Saeed assumed power in the country. The only publication that existed before this date was a corporate newsletter, *Company News*, published since 1967 by state-owned Petroleum Development Oman. More than two decades later, Oman had 22 newspapers and magazines (Oman TV, 2014). By contrast, Kuwait's press developed rapidly in the 1970s and by 1979, Kuwait had at least seven newspapers and 16 weeklies and periodicals (Arthur, 1993, p. 37).

Hashar Almandhari, PR manager of Omani telecommunications provider Nawras, provides a historical perspective: 'In ancient history, Omani people used to sail for trading in different directions; they mixed with different people and cultures. If you think from this perspective, Oman already has a good history in ... public relations'. He added that more education and greater investment needs to be made to develop understanding of modern PR (Oman Vistas, 2009).

Theoretical constructs

Grunig and Hunt's four models (Grunig and Hunt, 1984) of practice are indicative of some forms of Westernized PR activity in the GCC countries. However, there are important Arab cultural traditions that affect communication with the indigenous people. A concept with widespread applicability in the Arab Gulf region is intercession, 'using an influential go-between' who acts 'on your behalf to obtain a favor, mediate a dispute or to speak for you' (Smith, 2013, p. 65). In everyday vernacular, Gulf Arabs refer to this as '*wasta*' which may be translated as 'clout' or 'influence'. It is 'arguably the most valuable form of currency in much of the Middle East' (Whitaker, 2009).

Other salient models include the personal influence typology which involves practitioners using various techniques such as hospitality, giving gifts and brokering influence to build lasting friendships with strategically placed individuals with the aim of seeking favours in return (Sriramesh, 1996). This is very common in the Arab World and an argument can be made that in many instances ethical lines are crossed. Curtin and Gaither (2007) suggested that the personal influence model 'may be particularly apt to describe public relations practices in the Middle East, where social systems are highly formalized and knowing a person's place in society is more important than developing effective media relations' (p. 27).

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The Western PR models which include publicity and one-way information dissemination are widely used. Types of two-way communication with varying levels of balance between the organization and stakeholder and publics have been introduced as PR has, in some cases, taken a more strategic direction. The successful PR campaign in support of Qatar's bid for the 2022 FIFA World Cup, which was led by international consultants with a strong strategic emphasis, is a case in point (BLJ Worldwide, 2013).

Professional organizations

The Arab Gulf region is home to several international, regional and national organizations representing practitioners. Since their establishment, these professional organizations have performed important roles in setting professional standards and continuing education for PR practitioners. The International Public Relations Association (IPRA) has an active Gulf chapter (IPRA-GC), which was established in 2003 and is based in Dhahran, KSA. It organizes training programs and an annual conference, and has a code of conduct for its 500 members who come from all GCC countries (IPRA-GC, 2014).

The Middle East Public Relations Association (MEPRA) was established in 2001 and is based in Dubai with membership from all GCC countries, especially among private agencies and practitioners. MEPRA is a self-governing and self-regulating body founded to set standards for the industry in the Middle East through its code of conduct, professional development opportunities for practitioners, student chapters for PR students studying at regional colleges and universities, an annual research conference in collaboration with UAE-based Zayed University and its annual awards. Recently, it introduced a mentoring program for new professionals (MEPRA, 2013).

In addition, GCC countries have national associations, such as the Bahrain Public Relations Association (BPRA), the Kuwait Public Relations Association and the International Public Relations Association – Gulf Chapter/Qatar.

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PR education

Creedon, Al Khaja and Kruckeberg (1995) provide an account of the history of the establishment of PR studies at the United Arab Emirates University in the early 1990s. The first university-level PR course in the UAE was offered in 1978 (Creedon, Al-Khaja and Kruckeberg, 1995, p. 61) and it has expanded widely since. It has largely been based on North American degree programmes. The history of PR education and its pioneers in GCC countries merits further study.

Today, all GCC states have colleges and universities that offer general or specialized degrees in mass communication, print and/or broadcast journalism, PR and/or advertising, digital production, multimedia and other specializations. Pedagogies reflect a wide spectrum of approaches with many institutions offering instruction in Arabic, English or both. In addition to national universities, some countries such as the UAE and Qatar have branches of foreign universities that offer similar programs. In all, 13 or more universities in the Gulf offer degrees in PR, strategic communication and corporate and media communication.

Conclusion

Like the wider Arab world, the Arab Gulf region has a long history of traditional PR practice expressed through hospitality, poetry, oratory, the *majlis* or *diwaniyya*, the mosque, emissaries and various local customs that prescribed internal and external relationships among tribes and between rulers and their subjects.

The region has come a very long way since the mid-20th century when mass media was rudimentary and modern PR practice was almost non-existent, vague, misunderstood or defined by many in the region as being protocol, hospitality and general services of various kinds. Today, it enjoys advanced and sophisticated media, trained and educated professionals, both national and expatriate, a global setting for business, tourism, sports, aviation and other fields where modern PR practice thrives along with advertising, promotion, special events and other strategic communication tools and, finally, professional associations with organizational, educational and ethical missions. This background is combined with an active pursuit by GCC countries for global image building and reputation management. Although best practices

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still come mainly from private practitioners, the public sector in most of the GCC is showing better understanding of the role that PR plays in nation-building, human development and global relations. Pioneer Khamis Al Muqla reflects that 'our generation has not lived the golden age of public relations yet. Public relations will play a much better role in our region in the future' (Al Muqla, personal communication, 25 May 2014).

Note

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2

Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe

Ray Mawerera

Abstract: *This chapter illustrates that the historical legacy of British colonial and public administration has influenced the approach of Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe to public relations practices and strategies, but without as much acceptance and understanding as in the Western nations from which they have arisen.*

Keywords: British; colonial; culture; language; professionalization; word of mouth

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The southern African countries of Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe are part of a cluster of countries in southern Africa whose history is so intertwined that it is difficult, today, to imagine them as separate nations. This is because of the strong colonial legacy that they share and was so effective that, in most of them, English has replaced indigenous languages as the official language of communication, especially in Zambia and Zimbabwe. The other countries are Malawi and Namibia and, to a much lesser extent, South Africa, where Afrikaner influence ensured British colonial rule was diluted and the Dutch-influenced Boer language competes with English.

Historically, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Malawi were governed together as the Federation of the Rhodesia (Zambia and Zimbabwe) and Nyasaland (Malawi). Respective fights for self-rule led to this 19th-century legacy being broken. Malawi, under Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda, was the first to attain independence in 1964 (Phiri, 2004) with Zambia, under Dr Kenneth Kaunda, following later in that year (Macola, Hinfelaar and Gewald, 2008). It was much more difficult in Zimbabwe, where white Rhodesians rebelling against their ancestral colonial governor Britain unilaterally declared themselves independent and, in 1965, proclaimed themselves as the new rulers of the colonized Zimbabwe, which had been called Rhodesia. Rhodesia was the name which acknowledged and honoured the contribution made by Cecil John Rhodes, the explorer who led the crusade to extend the British Empire in Africa and made famous his vision to create a rail link 'from Cape to Cairo': Cape Town in South Africa, the southernmost tip of the continent, and Cairo in Egypt, its northernmost counterpart.

It would take the indigenous Zimbabweans 16 years of bitter armed war to extricate themselves from the Rhodesians who, even in the face of sanctions placed by Britain as punishment for the Ian Smith-led Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI), created a flourishing African nation that was the envy of many. When the indigenous peoples finally wrested control after a violent, long war that claimed serious casualties on both sides, they renamed the country 'Zimbabwe', taking the name from the Great Zimbabwe ruins south of the country which was the bedrock of an earlier (15th) century empire (Raftopoulos and Mlambo, 2008).

It is necessary to refer to this colonial legacy in order to understand the communication dynamics of southern Africa. This chapter examines and discusses the history of public relations (PR) in three countries,

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Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe, and uses the impact of colonialism as a reference point.

It would not be difficult to appreciate why white Britons would have been comfortable in Harare, the capital of Zimbabwe, and major towns where suburbs and suburban street names and buildings bear British street and city names, such as Avondale, Marlborough, Belvedere, Highfield, Strathaven, Stortford, Bedford, Morecambe, Prince Edward and King George.

As noted earlier, indigenous Zambians and Zimbabweans converse amongst themselves in English, 'the Queen's language', even in the absence of those for whom English is a first language. Both countries boast a rich cultural and ethnic diversity that, as a characteristic, reflected the different languages and dialects. English created the opportunity to bridge the language and cultural gap between the different tribes and also communicate with the new visitors, including immigrant Asians, Italians, Germans and other nationals who came and stayed.

Zimbabwe's 2013 Constitution officially recognizes 16 ethnic languages, chief among them Shona and Ndebele (Parliament of Zimbabwe, 2013). Zambia has 13 officially recognized ethnic languages. Sign is now also recognized as a language in Zimbabwe, to cater to persons with voice disabilities. In both countries, therefore, English is the official language of communication, as it is also in Botswana although the latter does not have the language barriers of its counterparts to the same extent (see Botswana).

The colonial history of these southern African countries was, thus, responsible for the adaptation of British education systems across the board. This included study programmes and syllabi in various disciplines, to the extent that best practice in these countries has derived from the textbooks of the former colonial master. This chapter will illustrate that this historical legacy has influenced the approach to PR and communication practices and strategies, but without as much success as in the Western nations from which they have arisen.

In relative terms, the three countries are young nations. Thus the pace of their development, in terms of communication history in as far as it links to paradigm shifts in technology, still lags far behind developed world standards. Being poor economies also has a bearing on what is being achieved versus what could be achieved. Much more important, however, is an appreciation (or lack of it) of the scientific place of PR as a strategic business tool, and questions often arise whether PR is even considered important at all or relevant to socio-economic development.

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PR in Botswana

Botswana is a small nation, from a population point of view. Most of its more than 600,000 square kilometres of land, about 70 per cent, is desert. The inhabitants number just over two million, about the same number of people as can be found in the capitals of neighbouring Zambia and Zimbabwe. Bounded by South Africa, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe, Botswana is one of the wealthiest, most stable countries on the African continent. It does not have the serious language barriers of its neighbours, because it is mainly Tswana speaking, with a sprinkling of smaller minorities. English is the official language of business, and its diamond mining-driven economy is closely tied to South Africa (Infoplease, 2014a).

These close ties are significant, in particular, when one considers the state of the PR industry in Botswana. Despite having attained independence in 1965, the country does not have a formalized home-grown PR structure; hence the South Africa-based Public Relations Institute of Southern Africa (PRISA) was in 2014 making moves to set up a chapter in Botswana.

Botswana, however, does have a relatively small number of PR practitioners in a country where communication has been linear and one-way for a long time. This has been so to the extent that when the government announced its intentions to appoint government PR officers in 2008, the move was viewed with suspicion. Early in 2009, the government called a meeting of the new appointees to find out why information flow remained constricted. The main newspaper, *Mmegi*, commented that government PR officers were only going to be effective if they were not given 'window dressing' posts but were empowered and given information about what was happening in their respective departments (Bizcommunity, 2009). Traditionally, practitioners in Botswana have worked for private entities that had operations in the sub-region or other non-state actors, such as NGOs.

As a country with only one main television station, one major daily newspaper, two private radio stations and a sprinkling of other stations targeting mainly urban dwellers, Botswana does not have a history of PR, in the contemporary sense. A study of Internet usage amongst young people even went as far as inferring that youngsters in Botswana may have other matters on their minds than managing reputations or building organizational or person-to-person relationships: only 11 per cent of youths surveyed in 2013 use the Internet (Batane, 2013).

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PR in Zambia

The Zambia Public Relations Association (ZAPRA) groups PR practitioners together as a professional body with a mandate to promote professionalism, knowledge sharing and ethical conduct amongst its members.

ZAPRA's mandate and objectives are:

1. To promote general understanding of public relations and communications specialties and of the value of its practice and to establish and maintain professional status and dignity for public relations and communications practice amongst registered members of ZAPRA, employers and the general public.
2. To encourage the observance of the highest standards of professional conduct by registered members of ZAPRA, through adherence to the ZAPRA code of ethics and professional standards for the practice of public relations and all forms of communication management.
3. To protect the interests of all concerned in the event of any complaint of malpractice or non-adherence to the ZAPRA code of ethics and professional standards brought against a registered member, through the application of a set of disciplinary procedures.
4. To provide professional development programmes for the general benefit of registered members of ZAPRA and the public relations profession as well as any other services or assistance.
5. To provide professional development and personal networking opportunities for its countrywide membership and promote the professional practice of public relations and the various forms of communication functions at country level in liaison with public relations bodies outside Zambia.
6. To act as a legal entity to which all public relations practitioners and communications specialists in Zambia should be accredited. (ZAPRA, 2013)

PR as a structured function in Zambia goes back to colonial times, when it was mainly the preserve of the settlers who used PR tools delivered through government information officers. With the coming of independence in October 1964, the use of the government information department as a PR channel continued under the Ministry of Information

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and Broadcasting Services to propagate government programmes and policies. The implementation of PR best practice, however, remains the bane of the PR profession in Zambia. There is no PR industry to speak of as the few practitioners, mainly based in the Lusaka, concentrate on a single specialty, such as event management (organizing functions) or media relations.

PR practitioners in Zambia work mainly in government and non-state institutions, the private sector and as consultants. A number have journalism backgrounds, having worked for the state broadcaster, the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation, or print media. Apart from state TV, there are several other private television stations in Zambia, beaming principally from the urban areas and mainly from the capital of Lusaka. ZNBC also operates three radio networks and there are 24 other private radio broadcasters. Internet use is growing, with World Bank data in 2014 indicating 13.5 per cent of the population, mainly in urban areas, had access.

Modern PR practice is made complex in Zambia by the country's tribal and linguistic diversity. There are 13 languages; seven of them, including English, are recognized as official languages. Bemba, Nyanja and Tonga between them constitute the majority at 51.4 per cent of indigenous language speakers while another 22.5 per cent speak other languages that are not in the top five (Infoplease, 2014b). Literacy is, however, high in Zambia at more than 80 per cent of the people being able to read and write, making communicating in a more universally understood language such as English that much easier.

Ethnic differences, however, make a study of the local cultural nuances imperative and militate against generally accepted communication templates drawn from Western texts and best practice models. This is as true for Zambia as it is for the sub-Saharan African regions where the Bantu ethnic culture is strong and ingrained in the people, even despite exposure to Western practices. Communication is not viewed in the same structured way; it takes a more circuitous framework that is a legacy of cultural belief and ethnicity.

With colonization, Zambians learned to dress differently, talk differently and behave differently. Although there are many fewer English-speaking foreigners in Zambia today, the indigenous peoples still converse in that language and observe dress codes that include the jacket-and-tie, dinner suit and three-course menus at formal occasions.

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PR in Zimbabwe

Like its Bantu neighbours, Zimbabweans argue that they have always had cultural forms of PR. For example there are early San paintings that recorded historical activities, and drums were a significant medium to call attention to messages coming from leaders.

In Zimbabwe, radio, word-of-mouth and subtle music and poetry were used in the country's war of independence between the early 1970s and 1979. The American journalist Julie Frederikse wrote in her study of the war that there was a powerful medium of communication used by people who had never experienced modern forms of communication such as microphones and television cameras. 'The mass media had never asked their views. They had a means of communication of their own which they had never conceived of as "media", yet the message they received and communicated had a power and a relevance that the mass media never matched' (Frederikse, 1982, p. 40). The nationalists' objective was to disseminate the message of the justness of the war to the communities on whom the guerrillas depended for success. Whilst the war was fought on the battlefield, Frederikse contends that there was also large dependence and emphasis placed on winning the hearts and minds of these communities. This has been corroborated by the Zimbabwean author Alec J. Pongweni, who, in a later work, published a compilation of songs used to gain mass support during the liberation war years (Pongweni, 1982). Other works point to various traditional forms of communication in a polarized society, so that the history of PR in Zimbabwe, as defined by modern-day techniques, may not follow specific leads of time points or single trigger-events.

During the early days of PR in Zimbabwe, the primary function was the organization of corporate events. Gender bias at the time dictated that it was considered to be largely a female position and appointments were mainly based on organizing ability and appearance. Often these appointments were a reward for competent and pleasant secretaries. PR practitioners were often asked, as interviews with early practitioners indicate, what else they did besides organizing functions.

Unlike its neighbours, though, formal PR structures have existed in Zimbabwe since the early 1950s. These continued to grow with the country's development and growth, only getting interrupted by the internal strife, hyperinflation and chaos that followed independent Zimbabwe's

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land reclamation exercise in the 2000s. This is discussed further in this section.

Of all the countries on the African continent, Zimbabwe has the highest literacy rate, at well over 90 per cent (Zimstat, 2014). This is significant as it enables broad citizen involvement in communicating and progressing national programmes, policies and debates.

The Zimbabwe Institute of Public Relations (ZIPR) is the most prominent body of practitioner representatives. It continues activities started before independence in 1980 when the organization was the Rhodesia Institute of Public Relations, whose formation is dated to 1957 (Dickens, 1993). After independence, most PR practitioners in Zimbabwe became members of ZIPR.

An early ZIPR President, Judy Macdonald, sets out the history:

> The earliest record of formal public relations in Zimbabwe is in the 1950s when private companies started to employ people to handle their publicity. One such person was an early president of the then Rhodesian Institute of Public Relations (RIPR), John Rogers, who was employed by Central African Airways. John was a fellow of the Institute until his death in 1994.
>
> RIPR seems to have been formed sometime in the late 1950s although the only information on file dates back to 1966. This was when George Hindley got a number of colleagues together and they established the Rhodesian Institute of Public Relations.
>
> By 1970 there was a total of 75 members, fairly evenly split between the three grades of membership – Affiliate, Associate and Full.
>
> After Independence this number dwindled to around 50 but by 1986, when the name had been changed to the Zimbabwe Institute of Public Relations (ZIPR), it had grown to over 100 and by 1996 it was up to 300.
>
> In 1992, IPR changed its constitution to ensure that members had to go through an examination process before obtaining their full membership of the Institute. In the same year, ZIPR introduced an accreditation process for Full members. Accreditation is the professional designation awarded to public relations practitioners who possess those special qualities that characterise a true professional. ZIPR designates as 'Accredited' those individuals who have qualified for and passed both written and oral examinations on the basic body of public relations knowledge and have the ability to apply that knowledge in practice. Successful completion of the examination allows Full members to use the letters APR (Z) after their names.
>
> In 1994, ZIPR decided that it was time to update its constitution and at the same time introduced a new definition of public relations. (Macdonald, personal communication, 18 December 2013)

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Most practitioners, including those who are not members of ZIPR, work in Harare. The majority are in-house practitioners for industry and commerce entities. Relatively few operate private consultancy firms, most quite small and employing anything from one to four employees, mostly at junior levels. The larger PR companies, such as Spectrum, Hallmark and Words & Images, which all employed much larger numbers and more seasoned personnel at senior consultant level, were all affected by the downturn in Zimbabwe's economy in the 2000s and were forced to either close or reduce their levels of activity.

Zimbabwe's economic troubles also reduced the once-vibrant ZIPR to a less active body that has survived only thanks to an education diploma programme introduced around 1991 based on the Gold Paper, *Public Relations Education*, developed by International Public Relations Association (IPRA, 1990). Starting out as a one-year programme on PR education, this has grown to be a highly respected two-year diploma programme that was extended to non-ZIPR members. Its attraction was that it was the only programme designed and taught by practicing professionals, making it more credible than other courses offered by private colleges.

George Foot, a pioneering ZIPR president, said the Institute of the 1980s and 1990s was an active and well-supported organization, with a particular objective to share knowledge and practical expertise in the PR profession, and also to promote the concepts and use of PR in Zimbabwe. Among the highlights of that era were:

- making arrangements for the well-known British PR author, Frank Jefkins, to visit Zimbabwe and run a five-day course;
- organising for the IPRA Secretary General to visit and address an important seminar on the international state of PR;
- organising, with the Federation of African Public Relations Associations (FAPRA), an IPRA Council meeting in Zimbabwe, together with a FAPRA Council meeting, a PR educators' meeting and a two-day professional development seminar; and
- arranging for two IPRA Presidents to visit Zimbabwe, address PR practitioners and meet with business persons and government officials. (Foot, personal communication, 19 January 2014)

The ZIPR initiated a 'Communicator of the Year' Award (COTY). In 1981, while Foot was ZIPR President, the award was presented to (then) Prime Minister Robert Mugabe. 'The Award was based on his Address to the Nation shortly after ZANU (PF) won the first General Elections of a

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new, independent Zimbabwe, in which he stressed the themes of reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction' (Foot, personal communication, 19 January 2014).

Barbara Dickens, another former ZIPR president and Foot's colleague at the Spectrum consultancy, has chronicled other awards to promote excellence and professionalism (Dickens, 1993). Dickens, Foot and Jill Day were among several senior ZIPR members who also held IPRA membership and benefited from the international relationship, the outcomes of which were shared with other colleagues. Some of ZIPR's expertise in communicating the transition of the nation in the 1980s was used to assist the neighbouring PRISA as it geared for South Africa's change of government in 1994.

With elections out of the way (2014) and Zimbabwe looking forward to rejoining the international community of nations under a new dispensation, an effort to reinvigorate ZIPR has begun. The ZIPR Council was assisted by a Council of Elders, known as the ZIPR Advisory Board, and made up of seasoned practitioners, all of them former presidents of the Institute since Zimbabwe's independence.

Conclusion

The landscape within which PR practitioners in southern Africa are operating has changed dramatically, in line with global trends. Technological advancement and new forms of communication, including 'citizen journalism' via social media, demands that practitioners need to develop new skills and take more strategic approaches if they are to maintain their relevance.

The countries of the region are still reticent about their use of internationally accepted PR practices. In many organizations, the managerial role of PR is often missing, even ignored. There is an inclination towards 'sugar coating' and accentuating the positives, completely sweeping 'under the rug' any negatives that may affect the organization.

Where organizations compete fiercely for market space, codes of conduct or ethical standards may interfere with what can be done to achieve corporate objectives. This affects the use of PR in a way that benefits the organization only. Marketing and advertising still reign supreme, despite questions about their credibility. Even in those disciplines, practitioners and researchers still meet stumbling blocks when

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campaigns that have been successful elsewhere in the world appear not to have the same impact locally.

The future of PR in sub-Saharan Africa depends to a large extent on how much understanding there is of the operating environment, particularly from a cultural point of view. Perfectly sound principles that work well in Western markets have, historically, often failed and left experts nonplussed. Any success stories are overwhelmingly overshadowed by unexplained difficulties in executing perfectly reasonable and well planned campaigns.

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3 Egypt

Khayrat Ayyad and Ahmed Farouk

Abstract: *This chapter traces the history and development of the public relations (PR) profession in Egypt, taking the economic, political and cultural contexts into consideration. Four main stages are identified to trace the history of PR. The first stage covers the period from 1952 to 1971, which witnessed the emergence of the PR profession. The second deals with the 1970s in which Egypt moved towards economic and political liberalization. The third traces the period from 1981 to 2000, which witnessed the expansion of mass media and academic developments. The fourth discusses the first decade of the new millennium. Challenges and opportunities for PR profession are also dealt with.*

Keywords: developments; Egypt; history; public relations

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The term 'public relations' (PR) was familiar to most Egyptians during the final three decades of the 20th century. However, PR-like activities were known in ancient Egypt where some forms of agricultural communication can be traced to pharaohs who sought public support (Agwa, 1982). They used the facades and walls of temples to draw symbols that reflected economic and cultural activities (Algalab, 2011). Alanazi (1996) has claimed practices similar to press agentry were practiced as early as 2000 BC. The link between activities in those times and contemporary PR was not direct (Keenan, 2003).

Development of PR practice

For most of its modern history, Egypt has been formed by two main factors: the national and the international. Nationally, the mark was the dominance of the state over society. Geography and demography have made centralist authoritarianism an Egyptian tradition. More recently, the tendency has modified and moderated since the middle of nineteenth century and especially during the politically liberal era from 1923 to 1952. After the 1952 revolution, Gamal Abd Al-Nasser brought many institutions under state control. When Anwar Sadat came to power in 1970, an open door policy, controlled democratization, alliance with the West and reconciliation with Israel were the four cornerstones of his regime (Ali, 1988; Ibrahim, 1988).

Internationally, the development of Egypt has occurred under the shadow of conflict with external powers. First there was Mohammed Ali's conflict with Turkey to gain independence for Egypt from Ottoman Empire in early nineteenth century. It was followed by the protracted conflict for independence from Great Britain from 1881 to 1952.

To trace the history of PR, it is relevant to consider economic, political, cultural and media circumstances in Egypt in the last five decades. These represent characteristics of society and should be recognized as factors and restraints affecting PR's practice. The following section establishes four stages of the history of PR in Egypt.

First stage: emergence of the profession (1952–1970)

Under Nasser's leadership from 1952 to 1970, Egypt adopted a socialist system in which major industries were nationalized. The political

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system, banking, most of industry, much of commercial activities, most education, professional and labour unions and even the religious institutions were brought under state control. Political parties were barred and political opposition was not tolerated, with hundreds of opponents imprisoned. During most of the Nasser administration, Egypt was aligned with the Soviet Union. Nasser was also a strong proponent of pan-Arabism which led to the formation of the United Arab Republic comprising Egypt and Syria from 1958 to 1961 (Ibrahim, 1988). Major accomplishments and activities during Nasser's presidency included nationalization of the Suez Canal in 1965, the building of the High Dam on the Nile and the resulting changes in electrification and agricultural practices (Keenan, 2003).

The Egyptian media, under Nasser, and broadcasting, in particular, were state-owned and operated. Dabbous (1994) points out that the Egyptian media, especially the press, have had a long struggle to maintain influence on policy-making. In 1960, the press was nationalized under the Publications Law which allowed the publication of a newspaper only via a permit from the Arab Socialist Union, the sole political party (Publications Law 156, 1960). The role of the press in the 1960s was to mobilize public opinion strongly towards the government's ideology. The final breakdown of press credibility occurred in 1967 when it overestimated the power of the Egyptian army, which was decisively defeated by Israel (Dabbous, 1994).

Nasser's rule did not establish an environment where open expression and the democratic principles necessary for two-way flow of information could flourish. For the PR profession, his legacy was of stifled growth of an open communication system thus limiting it to government propaganda campaigns (Keenan, 2003).

During this stage, some features and developments related to PR profession can be identified:

State Information Service

Founded in 1954, the State Information Service (SIS) is the official public relations and information agency of Egypt. As part of the Ministry of Information, it is the government's public information organ and press agency. In addition to the Cairo headquarters, SIS has 64 local offices and 32 media offices abroad. It launched its own web site in September 1996 (www.sis.gov.eg), which is a major source of online information. Besides offering information on current affairs, it also provides facts and

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data on Egyptian civilization, history, culture, economics and politics. It also offers online audio and video transmissions. SIS also facilitates foreign media correspondents working in Egypt through its Foreign Press Center.

Emergence of television

TV transmission, which is under government control, began in 1960 with just one channel. During earlier years, it depended mainly on foreign programs, mostly American and British. Immediately after the 1967 war, British and American programs became unacceptable due to the break in diplomatic relations with both countries (Ayyad, 2001). The broadcasting system in Egypt has been usually owned and managed by the government. In 1947, the Ministry of Social Affairs performed this control. In 1963, a presidential decree was issued, transferring the Egyptian broadcasting organization to the control of the Ministry of National Guidance. This was followed by three laws that transferred the Egyptian Broadcasting to the Radio and Television Union, an apparatus theoretically independent of the government (Dabbous, 1994).

PR organizations

The Arab Public Relations Society (APRS) was founded in Egypt in 1966 by Professor Mohamed Al-Gohary as the first PR association in the Middle East. Since its formation, APRS has been an active member of many international PR bodies such as the International Public Relations Association (IPRA). APRS founded the Egyptian Institute of Public Relations in 1967 which focused on organizing training programs. Its objectives were to develop awareness of PR concepts and values; introduce qualifications for PR practitioners; create and implement a code of ethics of PR practices; encourage scientific research and field studies in PR; provide technical and moral support to PR practitioners; and build awareness of media relations.

Second stage: towards liberalization (1971–1981)

When Nasser died in 1970, he was succeeded by his vice president, Anwar Sadat. Under Sadat, Egypt began to liberalize politically and economically, at least initially. In the early years of his presidency, many

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political prisoners were released and restrictions on political parties eased. Censorship was reduced for a short period and some press freedom restored. However, in 1977, as a result of harsh criticism by opposition newspapers about negative effects of the economic open-door policy introduced by President Sadat in 1974, there was a clampdown on this openness. Regulations were reinstated to restrict criticism of the government. There was reduced openness and reduction of the free flow of information that had characterized the early Sadat years (Keenan, 2003).

The multi-party system was officially introduced in 1976 although Sadat restricted the number of parties to three (Ibrahim, 1988). In 1980, new legislation was passed dealing with the authority of the press and the rights and responsibilities of journalists, by which the press came under state control (Press Authority's Law 148, 1980). The press in this period lost the degree of freedom it had enjoyed in the late 1970s and turned instead to a state-controlled instrument for managing public opinion.

During this stage, some features and developments related to PR profession can be identified.

Economic and political liberalization

The impact of these political and economic developments upon the PR profession was limited. Most PR practitioners were unqualified and mainly had marketing backgrounds. Practitioners found difficulties in distinguishing between publicity and advertising. Field studies indicated that awareness of strategic role of PR was not recognized by higher administration in many organizations as they looked at PR as a tool of executing protocol tasks, publicity functions and secondary roles (Hussain, 1981). So the main PR activities being enacted were handling reception duties and organizing events, visits and trips. The tasks of PR are not performed on scientific basis and most activities were reactive (Hussain, 1980).

Media relations

With the expansion of mass media and openness of public sector organizations to Western culture after mid-1970s, the desire of these organizations to gain access to mass media in order to promote policies and plans and to respond to media coverage led to the formation of media relations departments and employment of spokesman. New health, population, education and environment policies led to more interest in media relations and managing media campaigns. This demand led to expanded PR employment and contracts with external PR advisers and specialists in the fields (Kirat, 2007).

Media relations during this period was, however, mainly ineffective. In part, this was because media gatekeepers insisted on compensation for granting access to their audiences. It was also an indication of the lack of respect for the profession and the low influence that PR practitioners had in designing organization communication strategies. The situation of low credibility was probably linked to the minimal authority that most Egyptian PR practitioners had when handling media questions. They had to seek approval for responses from superiors and directors, which took weeks or months (Spiers, 1991).

Emergence of academic schools

PR as an academic discipline started with the establishment of Faculty of Mass Communication (FMC) at Cairo University in the early 1970s with three academic programmes in journalism, broadcasting and PR. From the beginning, teaching PR in Egypt encountered problems. PR was taught solely from an academic viewpoint. Few graduates had work experience (Addington, 2006). Later, Abd-Albary (2005) found that the teaching of PR in Egypt needed an overhaul because most Arabic textbooks were outdated.

During the late 1970s, FMC started Master's and PhD programs. PR research during late 1970s and early 1980s concentrated on PR for public sector organizations.

Third stage: supporting environment (1982–2000)

After President Sadat's assassination in October 1981, Hosni Mubarak came to office and was president until April 2011. There was a national consensus to support the new president with ample time to deal with the regime's crisis. President Mubarak's freedom of action was constrained by domestic and foreign factors. Domestically, there were massive economic and social problems, democratisation and Islamic militancy, which was supported from outside Egypt. Externally, there were peace processes with Israel, particularly completing troop withdrawals from Sinai, and the relationship with other Arab countries (Quandt, 1993).

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The Mubarak era saw Egypt's re-emergence as a force within the Arab world. After losing favor among much of the region as a result of Sadat's peace with Israel (Vatikiotis, 1991; Ali, 1988), Egypt also took a leadership role among Middle East countries in siding with the West during the Gulf War (Keenan, 2003).

By the end of 1980s, Egypt had six legal political parties, in addition to the semi-legal Muslim Brotherhood. All opposition parties favoured greater democratization, amendment of the constitution and abolition of emergency laws in existence since 1981 (Eilts, 1988; Ibrahim, 1988). Two general elections held in 1984 and 1987 led to some of the largest-ever representations of the opposition in the People's Assembly (Ali, 1988). However, the plural political system in Egypt remained based on relatively limited political participation (Vatikiotis, 1991). An outcome of the democratisation process was a proliferation of more organized and assertive social, intellectual, professional and business syndicates and associations. Local private sector initiatives grew, and the government began to regulate private sector activities and stimulate domestic and foreign capital formation. The end of the 1980s witnessed a spate of legislation aimed at economic growth and development, as well as social reform.

The implications of these developments for PR included the following:

Expansion of mass media

During this period, mass media in Egypt witnessed major developments in both quantity and variety. By the early 1980s, there were seven major national daily newspapers, five morning and two newspapers, which distributed across Egypt and most Arab countries (Eilts, 1988). For the first time since the revolution in 1952, new private newspapers entered the Egyptian market and offered new channels for communication between organizations and their publics. The new entrants, however, had small circulations and influence in comparison with the main national dailies (Amin and Napoli, 2000).

During the 1980s, television also expanded to seven channels; two national and five regional. Later, in 1997, Media Production City (MPC) was established with 23 studios and facilities to produce 8,500 hours of TV programs and 100 films per year. MPC was the base of Egyptian and Arab specialized TV channels which started in the late 1990s. The Egyptian Satellite Channel (ESC) went into operation in 1990, covering

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Africa, the Arab world and the Mediterranean. In 1994, a second satellite channel, Nile TV, broadcasting in two foreign languages, English and French, was launched (General Institution of Information Yearbook, 1995). Four years later, Egypt launched the communications satellite, Nilesat 101, with 18 TV channels. The success of Nilesat 101 led to the launch of a second satellite, Nilesat 102, which beamed down more than 100 digital channels.

Expansion of privatization and competition

During the 1990s, the government started a privatization policy which required intensive efforts to persuade employees of public sector companies that the new policy would not affect them. The competition among private companies and firms increased in order to attract customers in a new free market. These companies established PR departments to manage relations with mass media, investors and employees. There were some signs of advances in the understanding and sophistication of PR during the late 1990s. These included the use of two-way communication principles by the Egyptian government and the tourism industry in developing PR approaches in the wake of terrorism incidents in 1997 and the launching of a successful telecommunications industry during that same period. There was recognition that most organizations had multiple publics each requiring individual attention and evidence that PR was emerging as a function distinct from marketing (Zaklama, 2001).

Entry of international PR

As multinational corporations entered the Egyptian market, international PR firms, including Brodeur Worldwide, Hill & Knowlton and Weber Shandwick, entered into affiliation agreements with Cairo agencies. Newly privatized Egyptian businesses also set up in-house operations and applied PR as more than just a marketing tool (Keenan, 2003).

The Egyptian government recognized the importance of PR campaigns to build and polish its image abroad. In 1989, the Egyptian government signed an agreement with a Washington, DC based lobbying agency named Bannerman & Associates to handle relations with the US Administration. This agreement lasted till 2007 and led to a so-called strategic dialogue between the two countries, which paved the way for Egypt's military involvement in the Gulf War in 1991 alongside the US-led Western alliance.

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Expansion of PR publications, journals and graduates

Three peer-reviewed journals have been published, two of them by Cairo University. The first was the *Egyptian Journal of Communication Research*, founded in 1989 and published in 39 volumes. The second was the *Egyptian Journal of Public Opinion Research*, founded in 1997 and published in 16 volumes. The third was the *Journal of Media Research*, founded by Al-Azhar University in 1995 and published in 19 volumes. Recently, two more peer-reviewed journals have been started. The first is *Arab Journal of Media & Communication Research*, set up by Ahram Canadian University in 2013, and the most recent is the *Journal of Public Relations Research*, founded by the Egyptian Public Relations Association, which published its first volume in 2014.

Since the 1980s, large numbers of graduate students have sought to work in PR. However, they faced obstacles in finding jobs because they lacked practical training and experience. Many organizations and companies still mixed PR with marketing and advertising and did not recognize that PR needs to be practiced and managed by specialists.

PR scholars and professionals

The 1980s and 1990s witnessed the publication of a large number of books on PR principles, management strategies, campaign planning and case studies. PR academic programs, by then, were offered at 13 national and private universities. Some of the pioneer scholars in Egypt during this period were Ali Agwa, Samir Hussain and Rasem El-Gammal. They carried out pioneer field studies and published books that have supported PR's development in Egypt.

Hussain carried out two field studies on PR practice in Egypt and summarized the main obstacles confronting the new profession (Hussain, 1980, 1981). Agwa published three books covering principles, functions and process of PR. These books were quoted in nearly all studies and researches subsequently carried out by researchers in Egypt and Arab countries (Agwa, 1982, 1985, 1993). El-Gammal also published significant books emphasizing new and recent trends in PR (El-Gammal and Ayyad, 2005; El-Gammal, 2006).

A well-known, pioneer PR professional in Egypt is Loula Zaklama, the founder and manager of RadaResearch and Public Relations, the nation's leading marketing and PR company based in Cairo. She developed marketing and communication strategies for Egyptian and

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multinationals companies such as IBM, Daimler Chrysler and Cadbury Egypt. Ms Zaklana is a board member of international professional associations and was elected as the president of the International Public Relations Association (IPRA) in 2006. She also received the Atlas Award International Lifetime Achievement from the Public Relations Society of America in October 2007 (Zaklama, 2007).

Fourth stage: ICT and hyperspace (2001–now)

Egypt introduced access to the Internet in October 1993 through the Egyptian Universities Network and the Egyptian Cabinet's Information and Decision Support Centre. The public first gained access in 1996, but the technology did not really take off until 2002, when the government introduced a free Internet program, whereby anyone with a telephone line and a computer could access the Internet for the price of a local call (Freedom House Report, 2008).

In 2000 only 0.7 per cent of Egypt's nearly 67 million people were Internet users. Due to the successful implementation of the free Internet strategy in 2002, Egypt had the largest Internet market in Africa with more than five million users by early 2006. In 2008 this number increased to nearly ten million users representing 12.9 per cent of the population (MiniWatts 2009). In 2012 Internet penetration in Egypt stood at more than 35.6 per cent of the total population, leaving Egyptians with the second highest penetration rate in Africa, only after Nigerians (MiniWatts 2013). Under its e-access initiative, the government and a number of private organizations organized programs including free PCs for citizens and free Internet services nationwide to promote computer literacy (Ford, 2007).

Two events that showed the rising reputation of PR in Egypt took place in 2006. The first was the international conference of IPRA held in Sharm El-Shikh. This conference provided significant opportunities for PR practitioners from Egypt and abroad to network and share experiences around the most relevant topics and challenges facing the PR industry. The second event was the annual conference of the International Association of Media and Communication Research (IAMCR) which took place in Cairo in July 2006. It was organized by the Journalism and Mass Communication Department of the American University in Cairo. These two main scientific events encouraged researchers to

DOI: 10.1057/9781137404299.0007

carry out field and analytical studies to trace new trends in PR and to investigate how the new media can be incorporated into PR practice. Research carried out during the first decade of the 21st century showed that most organizations had their own websites, which were utilized to support PR objectives. Some of the conclusions arrived at were as follows (Ayyad, 2009a,b; Farouk, 2006, 2010):

- Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) considered the Internet as one of the most significant communication tools available to them and have used their websites to discuss serious issues and obstacles confronting socio-economic development.
- The vast majority of profit and non-profit organizations in Egypt used their websites in a strategic manner and to introduce themselves to key stakeholders. Interactive communication and feedback facilities, however, were not implemented widely.
- Communication officers in different organizations used websites to contact their members and publics via e-mails, to provide information and to build relationships with the mass media. They believed that their websites enabled them to overcome restrictions of accessing mass media and government censorship.
- Many organizations have used their websites to manage corporate reputation. Information on corporate performance and factors such as identity, personality, culture, brands and image was incorporated widely in these websites.

Cultural context of PR practice

Egyptians on the whole believe that their country represents one of the oldest civilizations in the world; that it is the oldest and most experienced in the region (Vatikiotis, 1991). Sullivan (1994) argues that Egypt has a strong sense of self-worth and self-respect and thus a developed appreciation of its own way of doing things, whether it is Islamic, Egyptian or Arab. Since 1952, Egypt fluctuated between Arabic, national and Islamic identity. Under the Nasser regime (1952–1970), Egypt had strong attitudes towards pan-Arabism. When Sadat came to office in 1971, he began, gradually, to emphasize Egyptian affairs. Egypt's ideological orientation became progressively more national. This trend continued under the Mubarak regime till the late 1980s when he built close relations with some Arab countries, particularly the Gulf countries.

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Despite having many of the institutional forms of a Westernized secular state, Egypt remains an Islamic state in form and essence; just as its society remains faithful to traditional religious beliefs and practices despite more than a century of evolution towards secularism (Kepel, 1985). The traditional Al-Azhar religious institution, which was founded in 972, is gaining strength within the society. The government is using this prestigious religious institution to promote the more moderate Islamic ideas on the one hand and to fight the more violent religious groups on the other (Olsen, 1988).

Apart from the traditional and official Islamic institutions, there are other organizations and groups. The most famous is the Muslim brotherhood (MB). Although MB has no officially recognized status as a political party, it has tried to work within the legal political system of the country and has enjoyed de facto recognition since entering into coalition politics under Mubarak. In the 1984 general elections, MB gained eight seats in the Parliament. In the 1987 elections, this number increased to 40 seats, representing the largest single opposition group in the Parliament (Shaikh, 1992). After the 2011 revolution, MB found itself the only organized political force left in the country. It introduced itself as the only group that stood for moderate Islam, and Mohamed Morsi, who represented MB, won the presidential election in 2012 but was overthrown in the following year.

It seems that Egyptians are connected to Arab and Islamic couture. As part of this culture some core values are incorporated with Egyptian culture such as commitment to religion, devotion to the group, resistance to change and recognition hierarchal order (Al-Kandaria and Gaither, 2011). It may be argued that these values have implications for PR concepts and practices in Egypt in comparison with Western concepts. Two main points may be implied in this argument.

On one hand, scholars of PR in Egypt recognize and understand Western concepts of PR and teach PR courses as it is basically taught in Western countries. On the other hand, PR practitioners in Egypt are trying to apply what they have been taught in universities without taking cultural situations into account. Arab and Western scholars (Zaharna, 1995; Hiebert, 2005; Al-Kandaria and Gaither, 2011) have addressed the cultural values that should be taken into consideration. According to Zaharna (1995), PR practitioners should apply communication tactics and persuasive tools related to Egyptian publics and clients' culture. They should concentrate emotional appeals more than logical appeals,

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use symbols more than accuracy, emphasize relationship within social context more that measurable actions and value aural words and group experience above written words and individual experience.

Challenges and opportunities for the PR profession

Field and academic studies in Egypt conclude that the PR profession is still facing many challenges in the 21st century. These include:

- The term 'public relations' still suffers from misunderstanding among practitioners and administrative leaders in many organizations. While PR activities in many organizations are limited to reception, hospitality and organizing events, tasks like strategic communication, crisis management, media relations, investor relations and issues management are not applied widely.
- Graduates of PR programs lack training opportunities. Academic curricula need revision to apply new trends in the PR discipline in Western countries and support practical skills for students.

However, scholars of PR in Egypt are optimistic about the future of the profession. There are many changes in economic and political environment that may represent supportive factors to the profession:

- With the new political landscape after the 25 January 2011 revolution, there are opportunities to adapt and apply political marketing strategies for new political parties and groups, which may support the PR profession.
- Recent research and evidence indicate that new media and social networks played a significant role in the 2011 revolution (Attia et al., 2011). For example, Facebook users represented more than 40 per cent of the total number of Internet users in Egypt in 2012 (MiniWatts, 2013). All political parties and groups are using new media and social networks to address their members and pass messages and instructions. Islamic parties such as Al-Noor and MB organized new media training courses to their members. For the first time, the Egyptian Army appointed an official spokesman in 2012 to feed mass media with news and information and handle media coverage. He was the official and only source of information related to the Army.
- Increasing development of mass media and new media and social networks offers ample opportunities for organizations to reach their

publics and use new PR strategies and tactics. At present there are 54 satellite TV channels; 23 state-owned and 31 private. There are 16 daily newspapers, of which eight are private. In 2012 Internet penetration in Egypt stood at more than 35.6 per cent of the total population, estimated to be 83.6 million (i.e., nearly 30 million people) (MiniWatts, 2013).

- During the past decade, Egyptian civil society and NGOs gained more power and have opportunities to influence social, economic and political awareness. These may provide an opportunity for PR to perform new tasks.
- Provided the political and security situation in Egypt remains stable, economic experts indicate there are promising economic and investing opportunities which may lead to rising competition among different enterprises. They represent a rich environment in which to develop the PR profession.

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4
Israel

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Abstract: *The following study discusses the linkages among political, economic and media changes which significantly influenced the role of public relations in Israel. It demonstrates how the collective-individual theme serves as a fundamental factor in understanding the profession, its goals and its ethics in historical and contemporary perspectives. The increasing individualistic nature of the Israeli society created the need for practitioners to refine their public relations capabilities and to adapt their skills to an altering social climate.*

Keywords: capitalism; collectivism; individualism; Israel; pluralism

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The public relations (PR) field in Israel is growing rapidly. Partnerships and affiliations of local agencies with international PR firms, such as Porter Novelli and Hill & Knowlton Strategies, are common (Triwaks, personal communication, 1 May 2014; Yeshua-Lyth, 2000). Several practitioners and media consultants have become key figures and even celebrities (Rahav, 2013; Menschenfreund, 2013). In 1994, nine per cent of Israeli businesses were working with PR firms, while in 1999, 40 per cent were doing so (Zafrir, 2000). In the 2000s there was a rapid increase in the number of PR firms in Israel, from 194 in 2001 to 464 in 2014 (IfatInfor, 2014; Shechtman, 2006). The Israeli PR Association (ISPRA) consists of 400 members, although the total number of those who practice PR is much higher (Limor, Leshem and Mandelzis, 2014). According to the chairperson of ISPRA, Itzik Kagan, the estimation of the total number of PR practitioners in Israel for 2014 is approximately 4,500 (Kagan, personal communication, 26 June 2014). Nowadays, politicians do not act without first consulting with strategists and public opinion polls have become common in the public discourse (Caspi, 2011; Tal-Saranga, 2001; Peri, 1995).

The recent development of PR studies in Israel's academia is an additional indicator of significant changes. Today, many PR courses are taught in leading academic institutions, where there is increasing interest in PR research as well (Lahav and Avraham, 2008; Lehman-Wilzig and Seletzky, 2010). The Hebrew University's Department of Communication and Journalism, together with the University's Program for Foreign Studies, established a collaborative program in which students study strategic communications, PR and marketing. Bar-Ilan University offers five courses in public relations for undergraduates, including an introduction to PR, contemporary issues in PR and crisis communication, as well as related courses such as nation branding and public diplomacy for graduate students. A new program of Strategic Communication and Public Relations for graduate students was established at Haifa University in 2010, offering a large spectrum of courses in PR.

This was not the case during the first decades of the State of Israel, when PR agencies barely existed and received very little attention in the academia as well. This chapter elucidates these changes and places them within the context of a single, integrative theme which illuminates and links the different elements which emerge from Israel's PR history.

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Literature

Scholars seeking to trace PR history in Israel would find the task nearly impossible. The majority of research in Israel, innovative in itself, focuses on contemporary issues in PR (Lahav, 2014; Avidar, 2013). The rare exception to this lacuna is the wide-ranging project of Toledano and McKie (2013). In their book, these authors present a panoramic view of the emergence of PR in Israel, including the timeline prior to the establishment of the State of Israel. They analyze the political, cultural, economic and technological factors which have contributed to the formation of the field and provide insights into many aspects of the evolution of PR in Israel. According to the authors, the nation-building theme ruled Israeli discourse and thereby impeded the development of Israel's PR industry. Another exception to the dearth of historiographical work on Israel's PR is the text book *Public Relations: Strategies & Tactics*, in which the second chapter is devoted to the history of the field in the world and in Israel (Limor, Leshem and Mandelzis, 2014). This study adds to these foundations.

Methodology

The past two decades may be considered the golden age of PR history. The increasing interest regarding the emergence of the field and a vigorous debate over the various historiographical approaches reflect this vivid process (Bentele, 2013; Holtzhausen, 2013; Lamme, L'Etang and St John, 2009; L'Etang, 2004; Watson, 2014). One debate focuses on historiographical approaches to PR studies. Scholars differentiate between three main methods: fact-event oriented, periodizing and theorizing (Hoy, Raaz and Wehmeier, 2007). While the first concentrates on gathering facts and story-telling in chronological order, the second is focused on supplying a clear structure and division of different eras on a historical timeline. The third method is considered the most sophisticated, as it seeks to identify historical patterns within the facts. This study relies on Raaz and Wehmeier's (2011) depiction of the theory-oriented attitude as 'the most appropriate version of PR historiography in the academic world' (p. 261).

Development of a theory-based historiography must be based on the story-telling phase. This is consistent with Raaz and Wehmeier's (2011) claim that the fact-oriented method is crucial for obtaining historical

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understanding in the two higher levels of historiography. On the basis of this rationale, although the story-telling stratum of Israel's PR history has previously been represented in several sources, it will be further addressed in order to suggest a prevailing theme which connects together many disparate elements.

PR historians working to reveal the historical traces of the profession commonly face the dilemma of how to define the time span they seek to depict. In the case of Israel, one may identify indications of PR from as long ago as the days of King Solomon – 'Give her of the fruit of her hands; and let her works praise her in the gates' (Proverbs, 31:31; M. Dayan, personal communication, 8 April 2014) – or many years later in the 19th century, when Theodor Herzl used PR to promote the revolutionary idea of a state for the Jewish people (Eshkol, 1992; Naor, 2010; Toledano, 2005). This chapter aims to focus on the years from the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 to date. The study is based on a triangulation of methods. It combines qualitative content analysis of written material such as newspapers, letters and other documents with in-depth interviews with PR veterans.

The case of Israel

The nature of PR in Israel has been dramatically transformed over the years. In the early 1960s the number of PR practitioners in Israel could be counted on one hand (Triwaks, personal communication, 1 May 2014). During the 1970s, there were a little more than ten PR firms and no more than 100 practitioners in a population of three million. PR as a profession was focused on the public sector, and the main clients were governmental entities. Government spokesmen were largely dealing with ongoing advocacy, and the dominant functions of the practice at the time were propaganda and nation building (Toledano and McKie, 2013). 'Judging by the frameworks of the government's propaganda instruments, it can be assumed that the Israeli government is imbued with 'media consciousness' in all its institutions,' wrote a journalist in the 1960s, 'Today you will not find a governmental office or institution, which did not appoint an official spokesperson, a press officer, a head to a public relations and publicity office' (Nissan, 1966, p. 32).

During the first two decades of the state, PR services in the-then negligible private sector was part of the advertising industry and provided as

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free service or as a bonus to advertising agency clients. This gave rise to many ethical issues in cases where companies bought advertising space on condition that the newspaper wrote about them in its news sections. Moreover, there were journalists who wrote PR material for companies as freelancers while simultaneously holding a journalism position (Dayan, personal communication, 8 April 2014). Eventually PR sections within advertising agencies became problematic, as clients felt frustrated over the agencies' perceived inability to control or navigate the message (Toledano and McKie, 2013). PR practitioners, on the other hand, realized that their services were significant enough to operate as an autonomous profession. Gradually, independent PR agencies were established in the 1960s and the 1970s, offering mainly tactical services rather than broader strategic thinking and planning for clients (Triwaks, personal communication, 1 May 2014). Practitioners produced media events and press conferences and sought to gain the media's attention, but were less involved with strategic communication and management (Dayan, personal communication, 8 April 2014). In the 1980s and the 1990s there was a clear broadening of the scope of PR agencies as a result of changing conditions, which will be addressed later (Limor, Leshem and Mandelzis, 2014).

The PR field's maturation can be seen in the emergence of a professional association and ethical codes. The Israeli PR Association (ISPRA) was established at an early stage in 1958 by spokespeople and practitioners from public institutions such as the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and the Central Bureau of Statistics. Interestingly, when it was established, there were fewer PR practitioners in Israel, but proportionally most of them were part of the association. In contrast, today, out of an estimated 4,500 practitioners, only approximately 400 are registered in the association. This gap indicates a troublesome situation in which people that are less qualified and professional and less committed to ethical standards enter the field, thus damaging its prestige (Zafrir, 2000).

To meet these new challenges, the Israeli PR Association drew up a code of ethics in 1987. It evolved from the experiences of practitioners and aimed to provide general standards of ethics for the profession in Israel. The code conforms to the International Public Relations Association's ethical code (Dayan, personal communication, 8 April 2014). For example, an earlier common practice of airline companies or tour destinations providing Israeli journalists with free flight tickets for PR objectives was forbidden in the ISPRA ethical code (Amitay, personal

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communication, 13 April 2014). Due to the dynamic nature of the field in Israel, the code of PR ethics is expected to be updated in the near future (Kagan, personal communication, 26 June 2014).

The attempt to identify an integrative theme to explain the evolution of Israel's PR leads to three different paths which all point in the same direction: the emergence of pluralism, the evolution of capitalism and media development.

Emergence of pluralism

From its establishment, Israel has confronted acute security challenges and its internal and international politics have been profoundly influenced by the dominance of the national security discourse. Israel has been involved in a protracted conflict with the Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank and as well as with its other neighbors. Occasionally, the conflict became violent and Israel has had to cope with terrorism, military operations, diplomatic entanglements and boycotts. This dictated a need for propaganda and PR at a very early stage.

The intense situation in the young fragile state created a society which sanctified values such as solidarity and unity (Yadgar, 2004). 'United we stand' may be considered a leading slogan in the consciousness of the Jewish people throughout their history (Toledano and McKie, 2009). Unity was not only accomplished spontaneously and naturally among Israelis, but was monitored by official and governmental institutions (Rozin, 2011).

Israeli politics during the first three decades of the state were dominated by the Labor Movement and its Labor Party, Mapai, which was led by David Ben-Gurion, Israel's first Prime Minister (Bar-Zohar, 2003; Mann, 2012). It was a concentrated, powerful system and pluralism as a value was very limited in its scope and not encouraged. Since pluralistic values and the capability to share ideas are inherent in PR, the political situation in the first decades, internally and externally, created high barriers for its development in Israel (Coombs, 1993; Heath, Waymer and Palenchar, 2013). Gradual changes have occurred in Israel's politics which have significantly altered the social atmosphere and context. The dominant Labor party, Mapai, gradually weakened (Peri, 2004). The Yom Kippur war of 1973 created a more critical public stance towards the government and encouraged social and political protest groups to struggle for recognition (Etzioni-Halevi and Livne, 1977). These were the first measured steps of promoting pluralistic elements among Israeli citizens. In 1977, for the first time, the Labor Party no longer held the political reins. This had a great impact on shaping Israel's politics, as it demonstrated that the political system had become more mature and dynamic, and that changes and exchanges of ideas, thoughts, and approaches were indeed possible (Eisenstadt, 2004). This may be considered the very basic and necessary condition for any emergence of PR in a democracy.

Evolution of capitalism

The economic component may have been the most influential factor determining the development of PR in Israel. In 1949, the Ministry for Supply and Rationing regulated food consumption. Israel was a poor young state struggling to survive (Rozin, 2011). The main precepts of the economic system subjected civilian effort to national goals and the improvement of national prosperity. Increasing private capital was considered egotistical and inferior to the values of self-abnegation for the common good. Social and economic entities belonged to wide collective systems which played a major role in the economy (Eisenstadt, 2004). Jewish manual labor was a central social value, highly esteemed and appreciated (Toledano, 2009). Ben-Porat argues that from the outset, there was a bourgeois class in Israel and that unofficially and perhaps even secretly it won the support of the government, which understood the importance of a bourgeois class in a developing country. However, the socialist rhetoric had greater impact than actual practice, causing many to assume wrongly that the country was socialist (Ben-Porat, 1998).

According to this argument, the private sector's development in Israel was delayed not as a result of conditions on the ground, but as a result of 'branding' certain professions as lofty and sublime, with other professions considered inferior and subordinate to them. The bourgeoisie was the most distant and alienated social category in the local culture. In the social climate nurtured by the intellectual elites of the labor movement, the assumption was that common good should lead the agenda (ibid.). Obviously, in such a climate, PR was not likely to thrive. Gradually, Israeli society matured and capital elements grew stronger and became more legitimate in Israel's economy (Ram, 2001).

In 1985, an economic stabilization program was introduced to counter hyper-inflation. Its objectives included reducing the scope of the public

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sector in the overall size of the Israeli economy. Because of the growth of the private sector, competition became more intense and the need for PR strategists grew significantly (Zafrir, 2000). The peace process in the 1990s between Israel and the Palestinians had a significant influence on Israeli markets as well, creating many new business opportunities with international actors (Toledano and McKie, 2013).

Israel experienced a consumer revolution. Between 1950 and 1996, per capita private consumption increased by four per cent annually, and in 1996, it was five and a half times higher than private consumption in 1950. In 1995, there were more than two and a half million outward tourism departures of people traveling from Israel, in comparison to 1970, when only 154,000 departures were recorded. Emerging from the austerity era in the 1950s, Israel became a more affluent society, symbolized by the 'Subaru syndrome', a phrase used to describe the influx of Japanese cars that flooded Israel in the 1970s (Ram, 2001). Today, Israel is considered a highly developed industrial and technological state. It is a member of the OECD and one of the most globalized states in the world. It has been labeled the 'start-up nation' because many Israeli companies are listed on the NASDAQ technology stock exchange, second only to the United States (Senor and Singer, 2011). The economic prosperity transformed Israel into a consumer society, much more open and much more critical about nearly everything. Companies had to pay more attention to customers and public opinion. The technological boom needed PR to recruit both investors and customers. Competition between brands became more intense and businesses and companies were in need of strategic thinking of how to approach, influence and connect different audiences with their messages (Dayan, personal communication, 8 April 2014; Y. Amitay, personal communication, 13 April 2014).

Media development

Revolutions in media systems also significantly influenced PR's expansion in Israel. The media experienced substantial changes in both character and structure. Once an extremely mobilized and patriotic press, Israeli journalism gradually turned more critical and investigative; to the point where it could be considered attack journalism. The attitude towards the newspaper *Ha'olam Ha'zeh* may serve as a good example. *Ha'olam Ha'zeh*, founded in 1937 and closed in 1993 due to financial difficulties, was edited by Uri Avneri, who was considered a non-conformist left-winger who refused to

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be part of the mobilized media. He criticized Prime Minister Ben-Gurion, the Labor movement and even the intelligence services, which were Israel's great heroes at the time. Avneri was condemned by many Israelis who despised him for damaging the young state through his critical journalism (Erel, 2006; Meyers, 2008). As the years passed, this non-conformist newspaper shaped standards for a more critical independent media.

For many scholars, the turning point was the 1973 Yom Kippur war, after which journalists realized that had they been more willing to publicize warning signs about a possible war, many lives could have been saved (Goren, 1976; Schiff, 1996). Another significant datum point is the 1990s, when the new media developed. This increased the competition among media outlets, thus creating greater motivation among journalists to uncover and publicize scoops and scandals about the players in Israel's government and private companies (Vujnovic et al., 2010).

Apart from changes in character, Israel's media map also experienced major changes in structure and scope. In the early 1960s there were only two radio stations, no television (TV) broadcasting, several party-affiliated newspapers and only three independent newspapers. Alternative sources of information were not a common phenomenon and the competition between journalists was minimal. Public TV broadcasting began only in 1968 (Caspi and Limor, 1999). Today, the media is mostly commercial, multi-channeled, less dependent on politicians and much more competitive and investigative. Israeli society is now considered one of the most connected societies in the world (Gilboa, 2008). Another outstanding phenomenon which developed in parallel to the increasing privatization of the Israeli media was the emergence of media moguls, who have become a powerful elite in Israel's society. At first, the moguls were mainly wealthy Israelis who invested in media outlets. However, with the growth of globalization, foreign investors began to own parts of the Israeli media, changing the orientation of the content. As Caspi notes: 'The entry of new entrepreneurs accelerated the transition from socially-oriented media which was apparent in the first decades, to an economy-oriented media which are ruled by the logic of market forces' (2007, p. 164).

The collective-individual theme

A fundamental theme which may explain PR's evolution in Israel within the context of the three aforementioned components of political,

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economic and media development was the delicate balance between collective and individual values in Israeli society. Similar to the progressive attitude in PR historiography, a common argument among scholars is that an inherent aspect of the evolution of a democratic society is often its change from a collective-based democracy to an individual-based one (Inglehart, 1990; Sandel, 1998).

In Israel, 'During the state's early years, the regime largely adhered to the formal components of democracy. Decisions were made by the principle of majority rule. But the regime paid too little attention to democracy's substantive components, the respect for the rights of citizens and minorities' (Rozin, 2011, p. 193). In a gradual process, as Israel became a more mature sovereign state, the social climate dictated a demand for embracing liberal values, which frequently collided with collective values (Almog, 2004). This was the case in a large social protest against the cost of living in Israel in 2011. Individualism has many manifestations in society and can be traced in the three aforementioned sectors of politics, economy and media. In the political realm, there was a clear change from a partisan to a personal political system (Gilboa and Katz, 2000). This was stimulated by primaries within the parties, direct elections of the prime minister in 1996 (which was abandoned after the 2001 elections) and a general atmosphere of personalization of politics (Galili-Zucker, 2004; Katz, 1999). This led to a dramatic increase in the number and activity of media consultants to politicians (Limor and Leshem, 2013).

The change in the balance between collective and individual ideas was apparent in the economy and media as well. Privatization and economic considerations created many more platforms in which the customer and not the citizen were positioned in the center (Ram, 2001). Lifestyle and leisure culture became more legitimate and popular (Liebman, 2001). This was also reflected in the taste of the media consumers in Israel. Israel's television Channel One, run by the Israel Broadcasting Authority, which produced many programs related to the state's collective values, was largely abandoned by the Israeli society, which flocked to the commercial channels and to consumer-oriented content. Today (2014), there is a debate in Israel over the very existence of public broadcasting.

This altering social atmosphere changed the balance between the scope and progress of governmental-public PR and the private sector PR. 'Beginning as a collective that placed national and communal needs first,' argues Rozin, 'it gradually became a society in which individuals sought – and expected the state to allow them- individual freedom, a

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steadily rising standard of living, and personal fulfillment' (2011, p. xi). In a society in which individualism becomes a core element, legitimacy is granted to lifestyle concerns, private capital and leisure culture.

This is not to say collectivism no longer exists in Israel. The government has recently conducted several PR campaigns to recruit Israeli citizens to conduct advocacy for Israel in the world. However, most of these campaigns drew very little attention from Israelis, who nowadays are more focused on their standard of living than on contributing to the collective. Still, the historical 'United we stand' slogan remains central in the conscience of the Israeli society (Yadgar, 2004), and the tension between citizen versus consumer remains relevant. However, the balance between the two philosophies has undoubtedly shifted towards individualism. As a result, there is an increasing demand for sophisticated strategic public relations.

Two paths, one history

Changes in Israel's politics, rapid economic growth, the sharp rise in the standard of living and significant changes in the media created increased demands from both the public and the private sectors for reliable and useful information and accounting, which led to a substantial growth in the need for PR services. The public and the new consumers have become much more critical and perceptive and are less willing to accept official information and media coverage at face value. In order to meet these new demands, many new PR firms were established, and existing ones opened new specialized departments.

When analyzing PR history in Israel, it is clear that there is a major difference between governmental or public institutions and private entities. Collective concepts have dominated governmental institutions throughout the state's history. A considerable amount of the data regarding the historical and current perspectives of public PR practices deals with Israel's public diplomacy and nation building internally and externally. The gap between the government's approach and its audiences is apparent. Within the private sector, the shift to a more individualist Israeli society stimulated a rapid evolution of PR, whereas in the case of the public sector, the evolution was more moderate and gradual and to some extent, public sector PR has become more defensive in order to maintain its relevance in Israel's society. Indeed, as Raaz and Wehmeier

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(2011, p. 257) claim, 'one has to accept that there can be no single, unified history of public relations, but only multiplicity of histories'. In the case of Israel, it seems there is a need to differ between two paths of the historical evolution of PR: the governmental and public sector path on the one hand and the private sector path on the other hand. Despite the fact that the sectors are inherently related and that undoubtedly both sectors mutually influence each other, it seems that analyzing these two different paths of histories separately and then integrating them may provide a more thorough explanation of the development of PR in Israel. Such an approach will also better reflect the on-going tension and balancing between the two core values of collectivism and individualism struggling for dominance in Israel.

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5
Kenya

Dane Kiambi

Abstract: *This chapter traces the practice of PR from pre-independence Kenya to the 21st century. It emerges that the practice of PR is closely tied to major national events and to social, cultural, political and economic forces. PR roles as understood by the pre-independence colonial government: keeping the public informed on government development projects, assessing public opinion and advising government, endearing government to Kenyans and building the awareness of Kenya abroad have continued to modern-day Kenya.*

Keywords: colonial; independence; public administration; public information

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Analysis of the history of public relations (PR) in Kenya must be based on major historical events that, positively or negatively, shaped the country. As will be shown, the status of PR in Kenya is closely tied to key events that took place mostly after Kenya attained independence from Britain in 1963. Much of this chapter is based on historical documents obtained from the Kenya National Archives and Documentation Service, scholarly articles and interviews with current practitioners.

Although it will focus on key events that took place from mid-20th century, specifically from 1963 onwards, there will be a brief discussion of PR practices during the years before independence. A review of key events in Kenya's history from independence to date, and a subsequent discussion of the role that PR played in these events, highlights the social, cultural and political forces that helped shape PR practice. The chapter begins with a discussion of PR and PR-like activity before independence in 1963.

PR in pre-independent Kenya

Kenya became a British East Africa Protectorate in 1895 and was declared a colonial state in 1920 (Ochieng and Atieno-Odhiambo, 1995). The British colonialists recognized the importance of fostering good interpersonal communication and social relations with indigenous Kenyans, Indians and Arabs (Mbeke, 2009). Indigenous Kenyan communities practiced PR-like techniques during communal events. Local communities had their spokesperson, adviser and master of ceremony. Tactics such as song and dance were used to communicate an important message or to keep guests entertained during a gathering.

Songs and dances were used by the Agikuyu, one of the indigenous communities in Kenya, to express an emotion or message of goodwill towards others. Routledge and Routledge (1910, p. 111) state that 'by song and dance they give expression to their emotions... expresses general sentiments of amity on behalf of all in a song of high pitch'. Boys would fill gourds with small objects to form a rattle that communicated a particular message, and 'inscribe on the gourd the story of their journeyings' (Routledge and Routledge, 1910, p. 112).

Few dances could have been planned for amusement only. 'Dances were an essential and significant part of many ceremonies, or, in the case of a dance such as the *kibaata* were organized either to assemble

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the people to hear some important pronouncement or as a preliminary to a raid on an enemy tribe' (Leakey, 1977, p. 392). The use of song and dance to assemble people was similar to a contemporary PR/presentation action of employing dancers to entertain guests before the official start of a ceremony.

Those appointed to speak at community gatherings were not only expected to be intelligent but eloquent. 'Intelligence is much prized, and so is eloquence,' and upon eating a banana and beetle, a man 'finds himself gifted with many words every one hangs on his utterance, his arguments are overwhelming' (Routledge and Routledge, 1910, p. 206). (A beetle was thought to carry some 'power of conviction' and the appointed speaker would insert the beetle in a banana and eat it after drying it in the sun.) The requirement by the indigenous Agikuyu people of Kenya that a speaker be intelligent and eloquent can be compared with some of the characteristics that present-day PR practitioners seek when selecting the appropriate speaker for an event.

Strict guidelines were put in place to deal with an individual or group that stole someone else's cattle. Cattle are still one of the most prized possessions particularly among members of the Maasai community. Wagner (1956, p. 104) discusses how Bantu communities went about compensating someone whose cattle had been stolen. 'The payment of cattle in restitution aims primarily at restoring equilibrium in the "assets" of the two persons involved. It is, that is to say, a compensation rather than a fine' (ibid., p. 104). Compensation is an accommodative crisis response strategy in modern-day image restoration efforts, and research recommends that it (compensation) be used in situations where there is a high attribution of crisis responsibility on the organization (Coombs, 2015).

At the height of the fight for independence in Kenya in the late 1940s and 1950s, relations between indigenous Kenyan communities and the colonial British administrators were at an all-time low. In 1944, the Kenyan African Union (KAU) was formed to champion the struggle for independence. In 1947, Jomo Kenyatta became the KAU leader (Furedi, 1989). The campaigners for Kenyan independence formed the Mau Mau group in 1952, and in the following year, Kenyatta was jailed for leading the Mau Mau movement. He was released from jail in 1959, and in 1961 he assumed the presidency of Kenya. In 1963, Kenya attained independence and became a republic in 1964 with Kenyatta as its first president.

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Cautious not to intrude in local cultures mostly during the period when Kenyans started fighting for independence, the British relied on the 'indirect rule' policy in which traditional rulers operated within an established British framework. The British framework recognized the importance of 'good interpersonal relations ... maintenance of relationships and the importance of communication' between the British and traditional rulers known as chiefs (L'Etang and Muruli, 2004, p. 217).

The British used PR with a view to building mutual understanding between the white settlers and the local people. In a memorandum dated 1947, *Public Relations Work in the Colonies*, the Chief Secretary to the colonial government describes PR as 'the art of establishing and maintaining within a community a spirit of fellowship and co-operation based on mutual understanding and trust' (Chief Secretary, 1947, p. 1).

Assuming the colonial government practiced PR as they defined it, it can be deduced that the British civil servants were aware of the importance of PR in helping build relationships with local communities.

Before venturing into the aims of PR in the colonies, the memorandum sought to distinguish between public relations, propaganda and publicity. While publicity was a 'technique of presenting the activities of a government in or business organisation in a favourable light,' the memo presented a much broader role for the concept of PR since it entailed creating and maintaining relationships among community members based on mutual understanding (ibid.).

The aim of PR in the colonies, the memo states, was to 'develop mutual understanding and trust among all sections of the community in each colony ... and to develop a closer association between the people of the Colony and the local government, so as to make the people accept the Government as "their" Government' (ibid.). The memo noted that 'a positive public relations policy' was needed to persuade the locals to be responsible for their own affairs and to have them accept that the government was 'their' government (ibid.).

Part of the proposed 'positive public relations policy' would include the granting of a 'new constitution, the development of a new system of local government and the appointment of local officers to senior posts' (ibid.). The proposal to give a new constitution, develop the local government and employ local people could be classified as proactive PR strategies that the British were using in order to develop a closer association with the locals.

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The memo went on to urge senior colonial government officials against continued use of 'autocratic control' on the local people. Instead of applying 'autocratic control' techniques, the memo urged government officers to 'accept and act on the idea of consultation' with the people one worked with (ibid.). Such consultation would entail the government officer discussing government plans with the local people before the plans are executed. Consulting the public on government initiatives would convince the locals that the responsibility for the initiative did not exclusively belong to the government but to them (the local people) as well.

PR, the memo continued, would also play a key role in enabling good race relations between white settlers and local people. Breaking down racial barriers would require mutual confidence between the government and the local people, where the latter 'are not merely passive co-operators in or critics of the Government's policy, but active partners taking a positive share in the formation of policy' (ibid.). To eradicate racial barriers, PR strategies must be sought and applied in order to arouse the interest and initiative of the local people, and evoke enthusiasm towards government projects.

Another key role for PR would be to inform 'the government of trends in public opinion' (ibid., p. 2). The memo advocated the need for the PR officers to have access to police officers and district officers so as to accurately assess public opinion towards the government.

Regarding the qualifications of the head of the Public Relations Department, the memo stated that 'he must have a sympathetic approach to the public, he must have feelings for the colonial people, and he must believe in the future of the Colony' (ibid.). In addition, he should be a person of some seniority, 'with administrative ability, with a flair for publicity, and with a sincere and sympathetic approach to his work' (ibid.). Although the PR officer need not concern himself with policy formulation, he should be present when important policy matters are being discussed.

The analysis of the memorandum by the Chief Secretary to the colonial government identifies four key roles of PR in the colonial government: to assist the white settlers build mutual understanding and relationships with the locals; to persuade the locals to accept the local government as theirs; to advise the government on the state of public opinion; and to improve race relations with the locals.

The memorandum also demonstrates that the colonial government differentiated between propaganda, publicity and PR. It also

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emphasized that for relations between the locals and the white-dominated colonial government to improve, there must be proactive PR such as appointing locals to senior government positions, development of a new system of local government and a new constitution. The proposal for these three proactive strategies is indicative of the extent to which the British colonial officers were convinced that publicity without genuine concrete action by the colonial government would fail. The strategy to employ locals to senior government positions was, however, a dishonest ploy since the colonial settlers ruled indirectly through them.

A letter from an Acting Information Officer, based at the Kenya Information Office in Nairobi, responding to the memo states that the Department of Information had already adopted the proposed policy. (It is not possible to decipher the Officer's name from his signature on archived correspondence.) The officer noted acceptance of PR's governmental definition, the need to build mutual understanding and trust among all the communities in the colonies, the need to consult the people before executing a policy, and the need to keep the government informed of every action taken by the colonial government (Acting Information Officer, 1947).

The response is notable for positioning PR's role as 'assisting in the provision of mechanical services for mass education', arranging 'frequent press conferences' which have 'an opportunity for full and frank discussions' and supporting information distribution and publicity about the colony abroad (ibid., p. 1). The unnamed officer countered prevailing local governmental views that the head of a PR department should be a trained journalist and implicitly agreed with the Chief Secretary's characteristics for the appointment. However, the work of information staff was not to break down racial barriers, as proposed in the Chief Secretary's memo (ibid.). It is apparent from this proposal and the civil servant's response that PR was understood as being more than information dissemination and publicity. This set the base for PR's future development and implementation in the latter days of colonial government and into the independence era in 15 years' time.

The next part of this chapter will focus on other major events that took place in Kenya after independence in 1963, discuss the role that PR played in them and consider whether PR strategies and practices, as understood and practiced by the colonial government, were inherited by the incoming nationalist government.

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PR in post-independence Kenya

Following independence in 1963 and the naming of Jomo Kenyatta as first president of Kenya, the country embarked on building the young nation. Kenyatta articulated the urgent need to fight what he referred to as the three enemies of development: ignorance, poverty and disease. An analysis of documents from the Kenya National Archives indicates that PR played pivotal roles such as building positive relationships between officials of the new government and the public, shaping the image of Kenya locally and abroad and repairing the image and reputation of the government following a crisis.

Upon the setting up of various government ministries and the appointment of ministers, top government officials corresponded on governance issues. The need for government PR was a topic put forward by the Ministry of Information, Broadcasting and Tourism. This is illustrated by contemporary communication between top government officials.

Shortly after independence in 1965, the permanent secretary/accounting officer to the Ministry of Information, Broadcasting and Tourism requested the senior press officer in the ministry to initiate plans to establish the Department of Public Relations in the ministry. In response, the senior press officer, P. L. Wangalwa, proposed a department which, he suggested, was manned by a 'well trained officer in Public Relations' (1965, p. 1). That the Permanent Secretary asked the Press Officer to initiate the department further indicates that government officials differentiated between publicity and PR.

In a communication to fellow Permanent Secretaries, P. J. Gachathi, the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Information, Broadcasting and Tourism, wrote that, for the new government to maintain its overwhelming public support, 'continuous attention must be paid to public relations. It is not enough for our policies to be correct. They must be seen to be correct' (1966, p. 1). Implicit in the statement was that PR was expected to take the important role of building relationships with the public. Gachathi also noted that 'just as the financial and security indications of a line of policy are considered at an early stage and borne in mind throughout the operations, so also should the public relations side of any government activity be remembered' (ibid.).

The permanent secretary's memo, *Government Public Relations: The Need for Public Relations*, also urges government ministries and departments to use PR officers to 'provide quick and correct answers about his

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ministry's policies and activities at all hours. He must be available for providing immediate information to counter false or misleading reports' (ibid., p. 3).

Besides using PR to cultivate good relations between the young government and the public and managing crises, the government of Kenya also relied on it to manage overseas image. A letter from the Kenyan Ambassador to Egypt, Ochieng Adala, urged the Ministry of Information to provide the embassy with PR material since 'the demand for material, and particularly pictorial, on wild life, scenery, activities, etc., about Kenya is far too great over here' (1966, p. 1). Building the awareness of Kenya among international publics was, as today, an important international PR strategy.

In 1969, two major events changed Kenya for the worse. On 5 July, the charismatic nationalist leader and Minister for Economic Planning and Development Tom Mboya was assassinated by an unknown assailant in downtown Nairobi, Kenya's capital city. The killing of Mboya, who hailed from the Luo community, was widely blamed on President Kenyatta and his government. The grapevine and the media insinuated that top government officials, mostly from President Kenyatta's Kikuyu community, had murdered Mboya because of his rising popularly and possible interest in the presidency. These allegations have never been proven.

Following Mboya's assassination, the resentment that had been building between members of his Luo community and the president's Kikuyu community became full-blown. Earlier in 1966, Kenya's first vice president Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, also a Luo, had resigned from Kenyatta's government following ideological differences with the president. Mboya's death was a catalyst that led most Luos to view themselves as threatened by the Kenyatta government.

Talk of members of different communities, particularly the Kikuyu, gathering secretly at night to take oath and pay their allegiance to their community and President Kenyatta surfaced in the media. The alleged oath-taking at Kenyatta's home at Gatundu in central Kenya widened the rift between the Kikuyu and Luo communities and was a prominent incident that led to the tribalism that continues to exist among Kenyan communities.

Following these two incidents, the government applied PR techniques to minimize their negative impact on government operations and image. P. L. Wangalwa, who was promoted from senior press officer to PR officer in the Ministry of Information, was advising the government on

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its responses. Five days after the Mboya assassination, Wangalwa wrote to his permanent secretary proposing ways to repair the damage on Kenya's reputation. He warned that 'tribalism and other 'isms thrive on confusion and rumour and we must face squarely the crisis which the death has brought to Kenya' (Wangalwa, 1969a, p. 1). He suggested the preparation of a booklet with facts on Mboya's achievements, speeches and pictures which would be distributed to the public and media locally and abroad. His request was approved by the permanent secretary.

In response to the extensive rumors of oath taking and the emerging tribalism, Wangalwa proposed that President Kenyatta addressed the nation live on television and radio to clear his name over claims of oath-taking at his home. To further restore confidence in Kenyatta as the president of all Kenyans, Wangalwa proposed that the president undertook a 'meet-the-people' tour across the country to dispel the rumors and convince fellow citizens that his government had their interests at heart.

In his memo *Presidential Public and Press Relations*, Wangalwa proposed that Kenyatta borrowed a strategy from his Tanzanian and Ugandan counterparts, Julius Nyerere and Milton Obote, respectively, and made courtesy calls to the villages. Instead of addressing them, he should take questions from the crowd. In addition, he proposed that the President visited dissatisfied parts of the country such as those in Luo areas and spend 'two to three weeks ... and receive disgruntled delegations led by area politicians' (Wangalwa, 1969b, p. 1). He claimed this strategy would help quell the anti-Kenyatta rumors.

In a letter addressed to the Permanent Secretary in the Office of the President, Attorney General, all Permanent Secretaries and provincial commissioners, the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Information noted that the 'primary challenge to nationhood existed in the tribal, racial and even religious divisions of the society wrested from colonialism', and called for coordinated use of government PR machinery to tackle these problems (Gachathi, 1968, p. 1). Exactly how the PR departments addressed religious and racial divisions is not clear because there were no archives to inspect on this issue. In addressing tribal divisions, though, Wangalwa's strategy for the President to personally lead visits to disgruntled communities was heeded and Kenyatta travelled across the country.

Summarizing the role that PR played in immediate post-independent Kenya, it emerges that middle-rank officers in the new government were

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aware of the important roles that it could play in building a cohesive country devoid of tribal, religious and racial divisions. The analysis also shows that new government ensured each ministry had a PR officer. By 1968, five years after independence, virtually all the ministries had staff with clearly defined PR roles (ibid.). There was a clear understanding of the role of PR vis-a-vis that of the press office. PR's role was to build mutual understanding between the government and the people, minimize the damage to government during crises and promote a good image of Kenya abroad. The role of the press office was to provide publicity to activities being undertaken by government ministers.

Following Kenyatta's death in 1978, his Vice President Daniel Arap Moi was sworn in as president. Moi went on to rule Kenya for 24 years until he left power in 2002 following a constitutionally mandated two-term limit, a provision introduced in 1992 after the first multiparty general election. The next section addresses PR in Kenya during the Moi era. It goes on to discuss PR during the periods of the third President Mwai Kibaki and his successor, Uhuru Kenyatta.

PR in the post-Kenyatta era (1979–now)

Upon coming to power, Moi promised to follow in the footsteps of his predecessor. Moi's 24 years in power have been described as a period when the country had little socio-economic and political progress. This was mainly because of the increase in tribalism, nepotism, stifling of political dissent, official corruption and unattractive environment for businesses (Steeves, 2006). From 1969, Kenya was a de facto one-party state until 1982 when the ruling party Kenya African National Union (KANU), under Moi, made itself the sole legal party in Kenya. Until the early 1990s, KANU party delegates reappointed Moi as president unopposed through acclamation in order to curb opposition (Wanyande, 1995). The kind of control witnessed in the political arena 'extended to organizations within civil society such as mass media, women's organizations and ethnic welfare associations' (ibid., p. 57).

In 1991, a group of former Moi loyalists-turned-critics formed an opposition to agitate for multiparty democracy in the country. With his hold on power under threat, Moi responded ruthlessly with the police and other government functionaries detaining without trial, assaulting, maiming and assassinating his opponents (Ogolla, 2011). One of Kenya's

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worst corruption scandals was perpetrated in the early 1990s when President Moi was facing his first competitive presidential election. The country is estimated to have lost billions of shillings of public funds which were allegedly used to fund Moi's presidential campaign (Chege, 2008; Mwangi, 2008).

Moi's authoritarian government left little room for anyone holding a divergent opinion. To most businesses including the mass media, the state assumed 'the right to control and to expect unchallenged obedience' (Wanyande, 1995, p. 58). Authoritarianism 'as it relates to the mass media ... lead(s) to distortion of information and in some cases, the deliberate disinformation of the public. It also aims at keeping the public ignorant' (ibid., p. 59).

The growth of PR during Moi's regime was severely limited by his government's obsession with controlling information for the public. Alfred Ng'ang'a, a leading PR practitioner, said Moi's government 'muzzled public information by channeling all government information via the Presidential Press Service (PPS)' (Ng'ang'a, personal communication, 2 June 2014). All dissemination of government news for the public was vetted by the PPS and relegated Public Relations Officers (PROs) in government ministries to the technical roles of gathering and writing news about government initiatives. The important role of deciding what would be broadcast or printed was bestowed on the head of PPS. 'It was not possible for the public information officers in the ministries ... to decide what would be broadcast. In institutions like the military, it was unthinkable that there would be a spokesperson' (ibid.).

The need to censor public information had emerged during the Kenyatta presidency (Ogolla, 2011). 'The formative years of Jomo Kenyatta's presidency were briefly but broadly attended by national political goodwill, but this spirit waned following the regime's alienation of potential adversaries' (ibid., p. 80). The fallout between Kenyatta and his former vice president Jaramogi Oginga, a Luo, led Kenyatta to create 'a coercive state, where opposition was systematically crushed, often violently' (ibid.).

PR's envisaged roles in the young country, such as keeping the public informed on government's development projects and helping endear the government to the Kenyan people, were jeopardized by the stifling of public information. Upon coming to power in 1978, Moi deepened control of information.

Although Moi's government monitored and distrusted journalists and PROs, a few determined private sector PR practitioners continued

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to promote the profession. In 1991, the International Public Relations Association (IPRA) held a professional development and educators' conference in Nairobi (Opukah, 1992). Under the theme 'The Pace of Change – Africa's Public Relations Challenge', it attracted practitioners and educators from around the globe.

The next section will discuss the status of PR during the government of Mwai Kibaki. President Kibaki, a well-known economist and anti-corruption crusader, was elected in 2002 after beating Moi's chosen heir, Uhuru Kenyatta. Unlike Moi's presidency, Kibaki's tenure as president has been hailed as the time when Kenya recorded great socio-economic and political progress. Murithi Mutiga, a columnist with Kenya's *Sunday Nation* newspaper, observed: 'On the economic front, he was a considerable success, and the huge middle class which has made Kenya one of the main places major multinationals want to set up shop on the continent is his legacy' (2014, p. 8).

Unlike Moi, Kibaki did not muzzle public information and was not suspicious of international companies wanting to do business in Kenya. During his presidency several international PR firms including Hill & Knowlton and Burson-Marsteller opened offices in Nairobi. Kibaki's government also created the position of government spokesperson and hired Dr Alfred Mutua, a former communication professor. Mutua held a media briefing every week and more when a crisis that required the public be kept informed. His briefing sessions demonstrated a spokesperson that was free to provide information that the media wanted.

Public information officers in government ministries also were free to brief the media. For the first time, the military had three spokespersons who kept the public informed of any operations the military was carrying out in parts of the country and in Somalia where they were sent to combat al Shabab, the al-Qaeda linked terrorist group. Kibaki's government increased the use of external PR services to publicize government projects, notably national health care campaigns. During the constitutional referendum of 2005, the government had PR-led campaigns on important aspects of the new constitution. For political campaigns, Kibaki and his successor Uhuru Kenyatta separately hired PR advisers to manage the message strategy for their campaigns.

Alfred Ng'ang'a argues that PR's growth in Kenya is tied to the politics of the day: 'Local PR practice has particularly evolved with the respective political transitions. These transitions have also tended to encourage economic growth which in turn fires demand for PR services' (Ng'ang'a, personal communication, 2 June 2014). Ng'ang'a credits the Kibaki administration for liberalizing Kenya's politics and the economy which in turn led to a thriving PR practice: 'Before the 2002 Mwai Kibaki electoral win PR services, now aptly named Public Information Services, within government were virtually nonexistent' (ibid.).

Following the liberalization of the economy by Kibaki's government, some industries such as telecommunications, especially mobile phones, grew rapidly. Ng'ang'a, an account manager at Gina Din Corporate Communications and in charge of the Safaricom telecoms account, noted that 'the entry of telecommunication firms in the early 2000 provided a previously unseen platform to harness PR services. From such humble beginnings, the demand for PR services has significantly grown both in the public and private sector' (ibid.).

Professionalization and education

The Public Relations Society of Kenya (PRSK) was launched in 1971, and its membership has grown steadily. Like other national PR organizations, it has a secretariat and an executive committee elected by its members. It also established a code of conduct, which it regulates (PRSK, 2014). Another indication of PR continued growth is the increase in the number of colleges and universities offering degrees in PR. There are at least ten private and public colleges, and universities that offer majors in the subject.

Conclusion

This chapter has sketched the status of PR from the pre-independence Kenya to the first decade of the 21st century. PR's evolution, it has been demonstrated, is closely tied to major national events and to social, cultural, political and economic forces. The struggle for independence provided an opportunity for the use of PR services by the white colonialists. The use of PR strategies and tactics to build better relationships between the colonialists and the local people, endear local people to the colonial government, engage with public opinion and improve race relations between the whites and other communities is a near complete match for the social and political roles of PR in modern-day

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Kenya. There appears to be a continuum of the roles of PR from pre-independent times to the present time. Jomo Kenyatta's government of 1962 inherited PR practices from the colonial administration. Kenyatta's new administration initially followed the colonialists' model: relying on PR to endear Kenyans to it and see the government as theirs, assess public opinion and advise the government officials accordingly and publicize Kenya abroad.

Jomo Kenyatta's desire to consolidate power by silencing political dissent through intimidation, detention and assault was, however, the harbinger that led his government to abandon well-intentioned PR roles. Although there was a slump in the practice of governmental PR during the Moi government's 22 years in power, there were strategies and tactics used which were borrowed from the Kenyatta administration. Kenyatta and Moi, for example, used their visits across the country to show their closeness to the common person. However, Moi's omnipresence in the state media and tours across the country led to his regime becoming unpopular among a sizeable population of Kenyans. The cold reception that Moi received in many parts of the country showed that the public could differentiate between his publicity stunts and proactive PR strategies and tactics.

The practice of spending weekends in rural areas, using state media to endlessly broadcast the president's itinerary, and stifling public information for more politically correct material ended in 2002 when Mwai Kibaki took over. Instead, Kibaki focused on rebuilding institutions that had been run down by the Moi regime while also initiating new projects. Although he rarely traveled upcountry or appeared on state-run media, Kibaki left power with higher popularity and endorsement of his work by Kenyans. From this analysis, it is apparent that the roles of PR, as understood by the pre-independence colonial government, have continued in its practice, by the early Kenyatta and later Kibaki governments.

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6
The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

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Abstract: *This chapter sheds light on the history and the development of public relations (PR) in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA). Systematic Western style PR was introduced in Saudi Arabia in the late 1930s when international oil companies started to explore the Saudi desert (Alanazi, 1996). Since then, and especially over the last 40 years, PR has kept pace with the nation's economic, social and political developments. The profession has advanced rapidly but still suffers from barriers, such as the lack of qualified graduates, inadequate budgets and the lack of awareness among decision-makers about the roles of PR (Alanazi, 1996; Alkadi, 2007). Moreover, authoritarianism, centralization and complex hierarchical structures in Saudi organizations still influence many aspects of PR in KSA (Al-Shohaib, Al-Kandari and Abdulrahmin, 2009).*

Keywords: education; developments and obstacles; practice; public relations; Saudi Arabia

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Public relations (PR) has been practiced in the Arab Middle Eastern countries for a long time. Some scholars argue that it can be traced back to early Babylonian culture and the ancient Pharaohs who used persuasion to convince others to agree with their personal and societal ambitions (Freitag and Stokes, 2009; Al-Tohami and Al-Dakoki, 1980). Al-Badr (2004) contended that PR in the Middle East can be traced back at least 4,000 years 'as evidenced in a cuneiform tablet found in Iraq resembling a bulletin telling farmers how to grow better crops' (pp. 192–193). Diab (2011) suggests that

> the Arab tribes have practiced aspects of public relations and diplomacy since the days of pre-Islam and, by virtue of the circumstances and facts of various environments, which prompted them to interact in the relations of peaceful cooperation, both at the domestic level, between the Arab tribes in their interaction with each other, or at the external level, with neighbouring peoples. (p. 68)

Alanazi (1996) adds that the open market and annual festival in the Arab Peninsula before Islam, known as 'Souk Okaz,' served as an example for a PR event, where Arabian tribes' poets and speakers competed for glory in demonstrations and competitions with other tribes. Others scholars trace PR's history in the Middle East back 1,400 years to the era of the Prophet Mohammed's with its dissemination of new messages, the new religion, and thus a new way of thinking, behaving and living peacefully with others (Kruckeberg, 1996; Aldemiri, 1988).

Ghassob (2002, cited in Badran, Van Slyke Turk and Walters, 2003) dates the PR business in the Arab world more recently to the 1930s. It is argued that it began in the Levant as a simple industry, catering to basic needs. PR then spread to the Arab Gulf countries when the Lebanese civil war in the 1970s forced many PR practitioners to flee to Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates and elsewhere.

Abu Osba'a (1998) noted that the Arab world began to pay more attention to PR and show more interest in its benefits only in the last three decades when private business and public departments started to hire staff and establish specialist departments, international agencies established offices in the region and more university faculties across the Arab world started to teach the subject (Kirat, 2005).

PR in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

Career and professionalization theory asserts that an occupation attains professional status when it has a systematic theory, professional authority,

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sanction of the community, a regulatory code of ethics and a professional culture. Therefore, this chapter explores the history and the development of the PR profession in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA), across three levels: the practice, education and professional associations.

Some studies (Al-Hazmi, 1990; Hussain, Noori and Radhi, 1992; Alanazi, 1996; Alharbi, 2001) suggest that the 'Western model' of PR has a short history in the Middle East and was introduced in Saudi Arabia only in the late 1930s, when international oil companies started to explore the Saudi desert. During that period King Abdel-Aziz al-Saud also employed PR methods to expand his domain from the central Arab region of Najd, where he ruled from 1902 onwards, to encompass the entire Arabian Peninsula and establish the modern Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (Alanazi, 1996). The story of the nation's economic, social and political development has been presented to the Saudi people and the outside world by the Saudi government through communications methods. In 1932 the Saudi Arabian Oil Company (Saudi Aramco) established a PR department within its operational headquarters in the country's eastern province. The new department was assigned two tasks: To train Arabs employees to work with Americans; and to teach Americans staff to understand, respect and adapt to Saudi culture (Freitag and Stokes, 2009).

Other researchers and scholars suggest that PR's beginning in Saudi Arabia was with the establishment of the first governmental cabinet of ministers in 1953. However, in those early stages, it was not practiced as nowadays and was called 'Information' or 'Reception' (Al-Badr, 1992; Alkadi, 2007). The PR departments in governmental institutions then practised three models:

1 Hail and Farewell model: The functions and responsibilities of the PR department in this model were focused on hospitality and greeting. The efficiency of the department was determined by the level of satisfaction of management and the guest.
2 The Government Transactions model: PR staff were tasked to arrange completion of government transactions, such as the issue of licenses, visas, work permits and other paperwork.
3 Media Relations model: Employees focused on media relations activities. (Algalab Bedear, 2011)

Many top Saudi managers at that time did not understand the meaning and practices of PR (Al-Badr, 1992; Alkadi, 2007). Mohammed Alhizan,

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dean of the Media College at Al-Imam Mohammed ibn Saud Islamic University, has commented that

> this confusion is caused by a number of reasons such as that there is no real PR education in Saudi universities as it is now not effective and does not cover different PR skills and issues. In addition, there is a lack of media awareness among decision makers. They hardly open PR departments and, when they do so, the role is usually restricted to issuing a newsletter on whose cover the chief executive shakes hand with the employees. (Cited by Alkadi, 2007)

The role of PR increased between 1977 and 1989 in Saudi organizations (Al-Hazmi, 1990). In a study of governmental communications, Sieny (1979, cited by Alanazi, 1996) reported that all 24 ministries analyzed practiced some form of PR. In June 2012, the Council of Ministers in Saudi Arabia urged all government departments and service organizations to appoint spokesmen to provide the media with necessary information and clarifications. The Council also urged public organizations to respond to media queries and open channels of communication and cooperation with the media.

In terms of PR agencies, 'Saudi Arabia has a very young public relations industry. The first public relations agency was only established in 1992, commented Yahya Hamidaddin, managing director, partner and founder of Adalid Public Relations Agency' (cited by Ghouth, 2014). Nowadays, the Saudi market is witnessing an increase in the number of PR companies through the opening of new agencies which are launched for the first time or through established international agencies opening offices in Saudi Arabia. It is estimated that there are more than 210 local, regional and international agencies providing PR services in Saudi Arabia (Saudi Arabia Business Guide, 2014). Major international agencies or their affiliates such as Asda'a Burson-Marsteller, Hill + Knowlton Strategies, Ketchum and MEMAC Ogilvy all have a presence, as do regional players, including TRACCS and DABO & Co, and local agencies such as Tihama Advertising and Public Relations Company, Landmark Events & PR, AFKAR PR and Adalid Public Relations (PR Week, 2014).

A recent survey among 50 PR experts to assess the current status and future direction of the PR industry in KSA (Arab News, 2013a) found that 92 per cent of the participants had a PR department within their organization. To develop the PR industry, the survey indicated that the industry was already in a development phase but needed further improvements. Some 95 per cent of respondents proposed making PR a pivotal industry that influenced companies' actions and policies.

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Responding to questions on implementation of the development process, 50 per cent considered that the PR industry needed to develop a clear strategic direction in order to ensure effective progress, while 60 per cent proposed developing a scientific methodology for PR.

Hani Okaily, head of communications for the Saudi Atomic Energy Authority, described the current status of PR profession in KSA:

> PR in Saudi Arabia is evolving at a rapid pace. Initially PR was seen as simply media coverage and protocol, but nowadays corporations and government entities are spending more time and money on the whole spectrum of communication aspects, from CSR to public affairs and crisis and issue management. (PR Week, 2014)

Like other members of Arab societies, patterns of collective communication dominate in Saudi Arabia, therefore PR professionals, local government staff, journalists, and multinational corporations prefer using interpersonal communication for public information campaigns and activities (Sriramesh and Verčič, 2009; Abdelhay, 2008, 2013). Abdelhay (2013) found that PR practice in KSA shares characteristics with practices in both developed and developing countries. Nevertheless, Abdelhay (2013) has identified two characteristics of public relations models practices in KSA. Instead of Grunig and Hunt's (1984) original public relations four models, the two international public relations models, the personal influence model found by Sriramesh (1992) in India and the cultural interpreter model found by Lyra (1991, cited by Grunig et al., 1995), in Greece are the most frequently practiced models. Abdelhay (2013) also found that practitioners tend to practice the other international models more as these two models suit or fit the type of culture and business environment dominant in both countries. Abdelhay (2013) found that the cultural interpreter model is widely practiced in KSA, where PR agencies are using locals as token account handlers and translators, along with that, the personal influence model is also highly practiced because PR professionals, local governments, and multinational corporations still prefer using interpersonal communication for public information campaigns and activities. Zaharna (1995) asserted that Arabs prefer one-on-one communication for most aspects of life. For them, the communication process is more than a conduit for information exchange; it represents a social ritual in which the display of feelings and expressions is important and cements the grounds for warm relationships and

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kinship on which business relationships are often based (Weir, 1993; cited in Al-Shohaib et al., 2009).

Abdelhay's (2013) findings matched Kruckeberg's (1996) earlier research which examined PR models practice in the Arab countries in contrast with the models practiced in the United States and Western countries. Kruckeberg (1996) suggested that many values of Middle East culture were distinctly non-Western and that Middle East culture in some ways does not lend itself to Western PR practice. He asserted that

> the models used in that geo-political region are not identical to U.S. models, or to those in other Western countries. In particular, Moslem culture heavily influences much of Middle East practice... research that examined select internal departments and public relations agencies that were reputed to be high-quality and professional in the United Arab Emirates suggested that public relations firms used one-way asymmetrical press agentry and public information models of public relations. Meanwhile, qualitative research suggested that internal public relations departments in most of the government units most closely resembled a 'two-way symmetrical' model or, at the least, a 'mixed-motive' model. (Kruckeberg, 1996, pp. 181–189)

Moreover, Vujnovic and Kruckeberg (2005) and Zaharna (1995) found that Arab PR models focused on relationship-building, rather than persuasion, and PR processes applied communication as a social ritual, rather than communication as transmission of information. It involved interpersonal communication, rather than mass communication.

PR education

Rapid economic growth, industrial development and significant growth in the country's service sector has increased demand for highly-qualified PR professionals (Abdelhay, 2013). Education courses in KSA range from in-service training by employers and within government ministries to formal university degrees and post-graduate courses. According to Al-Habeeb (2007), King Saud University in Riyadh was the first university to establish a PR degree program in 1976. Al-Habeeb (2007) reviewed the curricula for media departments in four important universities in Saudi Arabia: King Saud University, King AbdulAziz University, Umm al-Qura University and Imam University. He found that the media department in each university includes journalism, PR, radio and television, and marketing communications and advertising program. Many PR programmes are

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taught as part of a BA degree in communication, mass communication or journalism. Some universities also teach PR to complement other disciplines such as marketing and business management. Beside courses provided by Saudi universities, short courses are offered by development agencies, professional institutes and private colleges.

In his study of PR textbooks used in KSA's universities, Attaleb (2005) found they were mostly outdated and did not meet the needs of students and researchers. The texts lacked adequate contextual coverage, recent trends and development in PR and the influence of IT and social media. Abdelhay (2013) also highlighted this issue and noted that Arabic PR literature suffered a lack of books and journals in Arabic language. Those published were mostly journalistic articles, published articles in academic journals or unpublished academic theses and dissertations. Most PR literature written in Arabic language had poor and/or outdated theoretical perspectives and, frequently, content from Western books that was copied and poorly translated.

Saudi women in PR

As Saudi women strive to excel in the PR field, their society's norms and traditions put obstacles in their way. In Saudi culture, a woman's primary role is to be 'a nurturing mother and a loving housewife' (Balaa, n.d.), and 'it is difficult to even prioritize the long list of challenges facing Saudi women, which range from their political and legal disenfranchisement to their curtailed liberties and restraints imposed by their legal guardians' (Al Mohamed, 2008). Women's lack of mobility is a major point of contention in the kingdom, as they are not allowed to drive a car. They are not allowed to travel abroad by airplane without the express permission of a male guardian and their right to travel internally, without a guardian's permission, is subject to the arbitrary approval of airport personnel. When it comes to civil rights, women were not permitted to vote in Saudi Arabia's first elections for municipal councils, yet a number of women put their names forward as candidates and expectations are high for women's inclusion in future elections (Crystal, 2005). Moreover, PR's perception and image as a profession is not accepted widely; therefore Saudi women are not encouraged to join the field.

Nevertheless, Saudi women have entered PR, encouraged by successful experiences of pioneer practitioners. Most have not ventured into the

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private sector and prefer to work with government and charity organizations (Arab News, 2013b). Samar Fatany has made significant contributions and has been involved in activities aimed at fighting extremism and enhancing women's role in serving society. She has published three books: *Saudi Perceptions & Western Misconceptions*, *Saudi Women towards a New Era* and *Saudi Challenges & Reforms*. Another leading practitioner is Sarah Al Ayed, associate director and managing partner of the Saudi Arabia office of the TRACCS network. She is also the vice president of the International Public Relations Association – Gulf Chapter (IPRA-GC). In February 2014, the women empowerment initiative of Alwaleed bin Talal Foundation, 'Hama', sponsored the PR and media diploma in partnership with the Riyadh Chamber of Commerce and Industry (RCCI). The diploma is a one-year academic program that aims to enable Saudi female professionals to enter the media and PR. Its curriculum includes communications tools, PR management, media planning, media campaigns, media impact, social media and media relations (Arab News, 2014).

PR professional groups and associations

Professional groups cannot be formed in KSA without prior governmental permission; therefore KSA-based PR practitioners join professional groups or associations in other countries or those operating internationally such as:

- The Arab Public Relations Society (APRS): The society was established in 1966 in Cairo. It was recognized internationally in 1969 by the International Public Relations Association (IPRA) and the European Public Relations Confederation (CERP) (Algalab Bedear, 2011).
- The Middle East Public Relations Association (MEPRA): Located in Dubai, it was formed in 2001 by a group of PR agencies to raise awareness of the discipline to a broader audience and to set themselves apart from the market by their adherence to international standards and ethics (MEPRA, 2014).
- The International Public Relations Association – Gulf Chapter (IPRA-GC): This regional chapter of the IPRA-GC was initially formed in 2003 with the support of Saudi Aramco. It has more

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> than 350 members from GCC countries including Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar, Kuwait, UAE and Oman with headquarters located in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia (IPRA-GC, 2014).

In spite of the absence of local associations, Saudi practitioners are active within those regional and international associations. For example, Mohamed A. Al Ayed, chief executive officer of the TRACCS agency network, has been engaged in PR practice in the Middle East for more than 20 years. He came to prominence in 1998 when establishing TRACCS in Jeddah. In 2005, as part of his mission to promote the PR industry across the region, Mr Al Ayed organized and chaired Saudi Arabia's first Public Relations Forum, which attracted approximately 400 leading practitioners. Other leading practitioners are Abdulaziz Abdullah Al Manie and Faisal Al-Zahrani. Mr Al Manie has been a member of the Chartered Institute of Public Relations (United Kingdom) since 1997, and Mr Al-Zahrani has served as president of IPRA-GC.

Obstacles

The lack of qualified graduates, inadequate budget allocations to PR departments and the lack of awareness among decision-makers towards the PR function (Al-Badrani, 2014) are not the only obstacles facing Saudi practitioners. National researchers have found that social and structural factors such as authoritarianism, centralization and strict complex hierarchical structure in Saudi organizations have influenced many aspects of PR (Al-Tarah, 1995). KSA's most significant cultural and societal force has come as a result of the influence of Islam which is so prevalent in the daily life of Saudis. Islam pervades almost every aspect of life: laws, education, food, clothes, daily routines and even conversations are all strongly influenced by Islam. At the same time, Saudi Arabian culture is centred on tribal or nomadic culture.

To better understand the link between PR and culture, scholars have explored the relationship of Hofstede's (2011) dimensions of culture in comparison with Grunig and Hunt's four models of public relations (1984). They find that these cultural dimensions influence individuals' as well as societies' communication. According to Hofstede's index, Saudi Arabia scores high on the power distance dimension (2011, p. 95) which means that people accept a hierarchical order in which everybody has a

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place and which needs no further justification. Saudi Arabia is considered a collectivistic and a masculine society. It scores (ibid., p. 80) on the Uncertainty Avoidance dimension and thus has a preference for avoiding uncertainty. Saudi Arabia is also classified by Hall and Hall (1985) as a high context culture where people are deeply involved with each other; PR practitioners have emphasized the interpersonal relationship building function since the field opened decades ago and still practice this aspect. Sriramesh (2009) asserts that democracy increases the opportunity for public opinion to influence social system decisions and actions, and therefore PR as a profession can be directly related to the public opinion empowerment advancements. In contrast, the already mentioned factors of authoritarianism, centralization and complex hierarchical structure in organizations was found to negatively influence many aspects of PR in Saudi Arabia (Al-Shohaib, Al-Kandari and Abdulrahim, 2009).

Conclusion

The history of PR in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is inseparable from the history of the modern state. It is closely associated with the discovery of oil and the subsequent economic boom. PR practice has grown strongly during the past two decades due to factors such as increasing public education, the growing impact and pervasiveness of mass and electronic media and the growth of economy. Nevertheless, due to the absence of a political system that guarantees free media and freedom of expression in the manner that practitioners in democratic societies enjoy, PR practitioners in Saudi Arabia may keep facing many obstacles that hinder their work.

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7
Nigeria

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Abstract: *The key events, institutions and personalities that combined to define the ecology of public relations (PR) practice in Nigeria are connected to its colonial history. Yet, the dominance of the economy of that country by the government and the commitment of corporate bodies to social responsibility as a PR strategy provide a unique lens to examine the evolution of public relations in Nigeria.*

Keywords: Nigeria; PR; public relations history; social responsibility

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The history of public relations (PR) in Nigeria is intricately intertwined with its colonial history. While attempts have been made to trace the national history of PR to traditional diplomatic and communication practices that predate colonialism (Daramola, 2008; Oso and Ayankojo, 2001), the key events, institutions and personalities that combined to provide the ecology of public relations practice in Nigeria are connected to the colonial history of that country. Located in West Africa, Nigeria became a country following the amalgamation, 100 years ago, of the Northern and Southern Protectorates by Lord Lugard, the British colonial governor, in 1914. The amalgamation brought about the political integration of about 350 different ethno-linguistic nationalities into a single, large country bordering the Republic of Benin in the west, Cameroun in the east, Chad and Niger in the north (Ibraheem, 2003). Nigeria has a population of 171 million, of whom 45 per cent are below 15 years, and its growth rate is 3.2 per cent. The country consists of 36 states, a federal capital territory and 774 local government areas (LGAs), each with significant degrees of autonomy (World Population Review, 2014).

PR history in Nigeria is generally viewed through the narrow lens of information management and the opening of PR departments by some multinational corporations (MNCs). Otubanjo and Amujo (2009) have argued that modern PR practices began with the establishment of the first newspaper in 1859 by Henry Townsend, a British missionary. However, this assertion is not generally accepted (Ibraheem, Ogwezzy-Ndisika and Akanni, 2014; Daramola, 2008; Oso and Ayankojo, 2001). Otubanjo and Amujo (2009) highlighted four periods in the development of modern PR practices in Nigeria. These were eras of public relations broadcasting, political propaganda, public information and professionalization. Ibraheem, Ogwezzy-Ndisika and Akanni (2014) have responded that although this study provides a periodization model that documents important historical periods in the emergence of PR, the Otubanjo and Amujo (2009) historical narrative confines the country's PR history to the evolution of methods of information management.

There is a lack of consensus as to the exact time PR started in Nigeria (Ibraheem, Ogwezzy-Ndisika and Akanni, 2014). However, because Nigeria came into being in 1914, this chapter aligns with the position of those who traced the beginning of PR to the early 20th century. It focuses on key developments that shaped the evolution of PR. The first part discusses the pre-independence history. The second part discusses the development after independence until the start of the Nigerian civil

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war in 1967. The third part discusses the development post-civil war up until 1990. The fourth section discusses post-1990 history and the effect of globalization on Nigerian PR. The final section draws important lessons from the evolution of PR practice in that country.

Pre-independence PR

Daramola has traced the beginning of organized PR in Nigeria to 1924 when Major Lawrence Thorp, a colonial information officer, organized a Nigerian exhibition during Empire Day in London where he 'used propaganda and information to publicize the nation's involvement as well as mobilise Londoners to visit its stands' (Daramola, 2008, p. 67). However, the use of PR in a systematic way started in Nigeria following the beginning of hostilities during World War II with the establishment of the Information Office under the leadership of D.C. Fletcher in 1944. 'At the peak of that global conflict in 1940, the British colonial government in Nigeria felt the need for an organ to create a favourable local image for its war efforts. Consequently, it established the first Information Office in Lagos with the aim of disseminating war news' (ibid., pp. 67–68).

The Information Office was renamed Public Relations Department during the tenure of Harold Cooper, following the adoption of the Richards Constitution in 1947. The department introduced regular press briefings and issued frequent news releases. It also published magazines such as the *Nigerian Review* and the *Children's Own Newspaper* (Daramola, 2008). Regional offices were opened in the Western (Ibadan) region in 1947 and, a year later, in the Northern (Kaduna) and Eastern (Enugu) regions. The Public Relations Department became the Nigerian Information Service in 1954 and is the predecessor of the present-day Ministry of Information. By 1954, 14 out of 33 senior officials of the Department were Nigerians. Some leading practitioners employed by it included Peter Enahoro, Sam Epelle, Ade Thani, Wale Fashanu, Millicent Douglass, Cyprian Ekwensi and Ayo Lijadu (Daramola, 2008).

In 1950, the Electricity Corporation of Nigeria (ECN), now the Power Holding Company of Nigeria (PHCN), pioneered the establishment of a PR department in a government parastatal. Dr Samuel Epelle became the Public Relations Officer (PRO) of the Nigeria Railway Corporation (NRC) in 1956. In the same year, Scott Emuakpor became the first PRO

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of the University College Hospital (UCH) Ibadan. The Nigeria Ports Authority (NPA) hired Alex Akinyele as its first PRO before the nation's independence in 1960 (Daramola, 2008).

In the private sector, the United African Company (UAC) established the first Information Office in Nigeria in 1949. Headed by Charles Newman at inception, the office was mandated to supply company news to produce buyers and merchants. It transformed to a full-fledged Public Relations Office in 1960. A year later, Otunba Ojora was appointed the first Nigerian PR adviser at UAC. Because of its pioneering position in the private sector, UAC's PR department served as a springboard and training ground for some of Nigeria's pioneering practitioners. Importantly, two early presidents of the Nigerian Institute of Public Relations (NIPR; formed in 1963), Alhaji Ikhas Yakubu and Mazi Mike Okereke, and the first NIPR Registrar, Dr Adekunle Salu, were former UAC PR advisers (Otubanjo and Amujo, 2009).

Other notable pioneers in the private sector include the British Bank of West Africa Limited (now First Bank of Nigeria Plc), which established a PR department in 1956. Barclays Bank Limited (now Union Bank of Nigeria Plc) set up a department a few years later (Otubanjo and Amujo, 2009). PR practice in pre-independence Nigeria was characterized by information dissemination and publicity activities of the colonial government offices, the information dissemination activities of public and private sector organizations that had been established by British private interests in Nigeria. Thus they laid the foundation for the dominance of British values and institutions in the development of Nigerian PR.

Post-independence, until the 1967–1970 civil war

In the period following independence from October 1960 until the civil war between 1967 and 1970, the growth of PR in Nigeria was fostered by the government through the Ministry of Information, public sector organizations, multinational corporations (MNCs), private sector organizations and a new PR professional body. Banks, industries and MNCs are among the earliest to set up in-house PR units (Daramola, 2008).

For the government, the newly created Ministry of Information, headed by Chief Otunba Theophilous Shobowale Benson (known

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as TOS Benson) as the Minister of Information in Nigeria from 1959 onwards, carried out the information dissemination function. The Ministry produced several publications such as the *Nigerian Handbook*, and *Nigerian Magazine*, which were aimed at providing information about the newly independent nation. Radio and television broadcasting were also employed to enhance communication between the government and the people. The thrust of government information policy was limited to consolidating the gains of independence and promoting Nigeria's unity (Daramola, 2008). In the decade leading to independence, the new nation's largest ethnic groups, Hausas and Fulanis in the North, Yorubas in the West and Igbos in East, had some degree of autonomy through regional governments. This autonomy led to unequal developments in the region and fierce assertion of regional identities over and above national identities. The concern after independence was how to forge a sense of national identity that transcended regional identities (Ibraheem, 2003).

In the private sector, two leading French companies, SCOA and CFAO, established PR units in 1962 and 1965, respectively, to help them challenge the British monopoly of the Nigerian market (Otubanjo and Amujo, 2009). Shell BP Petroleum Development Company opened its PR department in 1969. It was charged with ensuring the free flow of information among the company, local communities, mass media and commercial organizations (Olusegun, 2006). While Shell was not the first MNC to set up a PR departments or unit in Nigeria, it played a significant role in the development of PR, as its Head of Public Affairs for the East, Sofiri Bobo Brown, later became the President of the NIPR between 2001 and 2005 (Ibraheem, Ogwezzy-Ndisika and Akanni, 2014). Two British private companies, Cadbury and John Holt, and similar large business organizations also established PR operations during this period (Otubanjo and Amujo, 2009).

To promote ethical standards, Dr Sam Epelle, Alex Nwokedi, Aduke Alakija, Theo Awobogu, Kunle Ojora, Wilton High and Dan Agbakova came together in the first initiative that resulted in the establishment of the Institute of Public Relations in 1963, initially as the Public Relations Association of Nigeria (PRAN). Epelle also wrote the first PR book by a Nigerian, entitled *Essentials of PR*, in 1967. In 1969, the name of the professional body was changed from PRAN to the NIPR (Daramola, 2008).

NIPR attained charter status in 1990 with Decree 16 which is now a law (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1990). The Law mandated NIPR to

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regulate the practice and direct the development of PR as a profession in Nigeria. It also made it illegal to practice PR, under any title without NIPR certification. By virtue of this law, NIPR gained the power to register members, regulate the practice/development of the PR profession and monitor professional conduct through an established Code of Ethics and Professional Conduct regime. The law allows standard academic and professional qualifications for admissions into the Institute (NIPR, 2014).

As a country, the decade of 1960–1970 was critical to its survival. Following independence from Britain, there was agitation by some ethnic groups to go their separate ways (Ibraheem, 2003). This created a lot of tension and eventually led to a civil war that was fought between 1967 and 1970. The civil war significantly influenced the development of PR in the following decade. PR activities grew appreciably among military, paramilitary and law enforcement organizations. Similarly, private organizations increasingly adopted the social responsibility dimension in support of the national government's developmental objectives after 1970.

Rise of professionalization and social responsibility, 1970–1990

The outbreak of the civil war and the need for regular updates on the war necessitated the reorganization of the Directorate of Public Relations in the Nigerian Army in 1968. The Directorate was headed by Brigadier General Sotomi who attended a PR training programme at the Institute of Public Relations (United Kingdom) in the following year. It sponsored men and officers to enroll at higher education institutions in Nigeria in order to study PR and mass communication (Otubanjo and Amujo, 2009). The Army Directorate of Public Relations also gave birth to the Nigerian Army School of Public Relations and Information, a specialist school saddled with the responsibility of training officers from the Army, Navy and Air Force in PR and information management skills.

The Nigerian Navy established its Directorate of Naval Information in 1973 with the appointment of Commodore O.A. Oladimeji as the first head. Also, in the same year, the Nigerian Air Force set up its first Information Department. These directorates were responsible for promoting

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a positive image for the services among the public (ibid.). The Nigerian Police began to enlist PR officers into a Police PR Department in 1971. The first set of 10 officers was appointed at Assistant Police Superintendent grade. Bara Heart was the first head of Police Public Relations Department. He rose very quickly to the position of Commissioner of Police in 1975 (Ajai, 2007, cited in Otubanjo and Amujo, 2009).

After the civil war, Nigeria witnessed an unprecedented economic boom driven by the rise in global oil prices, the country's biggest foreign exchange earner. Several PR consulting firms were established in the 1970s and 1980s to meet the growth in the volume of commerce and establishment of business ventures. Among them were Rod Publicity, Clarkson Corporation, Bloomel PR Practitioners, Progan Promotions, Good Contact PR Services, Mike Okereke Consulting and Johnson and Associates (Otubanjo and Amujo, 2009).

Between 1979 and 1983 when Nigeria was governed by a civilian administration, there was also considerable development in governmental PR activities. Although the Federal Government had the advantage of controlling a well-established Ministry of Information, the political dispensation allowed the autonomous control of information channels at the state level. The party in power in each state used government information machinery to promote its own interest. During this period, President Alhaji Shehu Shagari appointed liaison officers in all the states of Nigeria not only to ensure the implementation of Federal Government programmes but also to publicize the activities of government (Daramola, 2008).

Following the overthrow of the democratically elected Shagari government on December 31, 1983, the new military rulers countered the negative image of military rule among Nigerians by embarking on some PR activities that have become standard governmental communications practice (Ibraheem, Ogwezzy-Ndisika and Akanni, 2014; Daramola, 2008). Among them are regular press briefings on the state of the nation that allow top government officials to meet the press and report in details on activities, policies and programmes of the government. At the state level, many Governors introduced 'meet the people forums' with the aim of communicating with the populace at the grassroots or the local government areas (LGAs). The Ministry of Information created additional departments, divisions, agencies and other units so as to be able to project government's image and to publicize its policies and programmes (Daramola, 2008).

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In 1983, a new professional body was established with the inauguration of the Public Relations Consultancy Association of Nigeria (PRCAN). It was established to bring together all image-making firms, standardize PR counselling services and encourage the provision of value-adding communication services to corporate organizations (Daramola, 2008). PRCAN promoted these goals through workshops, seminars and conferences. Since then, membership of the association has grown and it is becoming increasingly difficult for PR firms to operate in Nigeria without PRCAN membership (Otubanjo and Amujo, 2009). Unlike NIPR, PRCAN has limited its membership to consulting firms only.

The introduction of the structural adjustment programme by the Ibrahim Babangida administration and the economic liberalization that followed from 1986 led to the privatization and commercialization of state-owned corporations and the creation of an open market economy. This led to the emergence of a new crop of PR consulting firms that specialized in communication to support marketing strategies. Among those emerged were the Quadrant Company, JSP Corporate Communications and CMC Connect Lagos. These firms offered professional services in all aspects of PR processes including corporate advocacy, event management, community relations, employee relations, financial relations and marketing public relations (ibid.).

The growing demand for PR was serviced by an expanding training and educational sector offering specialist training. A leader has been NIPR which offered certificate and diploma programmes. Its programmes were fashioned after the United Kingdom's Institute of Public Relations (now CIPR) advanced certificate and diploma awards.

Many marketing and mass communications faculties of universities and polytechnics in the country also responded to the clamour for skilled PR professionals by offering full- and part-time degrees and modules in their undergraduate and postgraduate programmes. Amujo and Melewar (2011) have identified 20 Nigerian higher education bodies in which PR is taught in some form or other. Three universities run degree programmes in PR, two run Master's programmes and one runs an MBA in PR. Other universities include PR modules within media and communication degree programmes. Polytechnics also run PR modules within mass communication programmes. The Nigerian Institute of Marketing offers PR within its marketing certificate and diploma programmes (Otubanjo and Amujo, 2009; Daramola, 2008).

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Globalization and post-globalization: 1990 onwards

The impact of globalization and the increasing intensification of relations between different countries also had a significant impact on PR's advance in Nigeria from 1990 onwards. The opening up of the economy due to privatization and liberalization led to increased partnership between Nigerian PR firms and their counterparts abroad. Until recently, most partnerships have been between Nigerian firms and their UK counterparts. Several larger PR firms are affiliated to multinational networks (Otubanjo and Amujo, 2009). For instance, JSP Corporate Communications has been affiliated to Hill & Knowlton. Similarly, Sesema PR is affiliated to Edelman PR. International agencies such as Porter Novelli and Fleishman-Hillard have made affiliate deals with Nigerian firms such as Corporate and Financial, The Quadrant Company and CMC Connect. International affiliation has exposed national agencies to international best practices. It has also delivered exposure to international standards, new thinking and trends underpinning global PR practice which is a critical competitive advantage (Sudhaman, 2010).

Evolution of PR practice environment

The development of PR in Nigeria has been influenced by four specific factors, starting with the government dominance of the economy. Pratt and Ugboajah (1985) suggested that in situations where the business environment was dominated by the government, businesses are required to support its objectives. The implication is that organizational PR activities are tilted towards being demonstrably socially responsive to national development objectives (Pratt and Ugboajah, 1985). This is apparent in key economic sectors such as oil, banking and telecommunications. With respect to the oil sector, for instance, the PR strategies adopted by Shell Oil in Nigeria, which is 55 per cent government owned, have emphasized social responsibility (Ibraheem, Ogwezzy-Ndisika and Akanni, 2014).

The second factor is the media environment. Terrestrial TV has been dominated by three broadcasters: government-run NTA, Channels TV and AIT. Satellite TV has high penetration among urban audiences leading to the strong popularity of international broadcasters such as CNN, BBC News, Sky News and Africa Magic. Radio is also important for rural audiences. Press media, meanwhile, is particularly strong

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in the South with *The Guardian* newspapers considered as the most authoritative and influential media among the political class. *ThisDay* and *BusinessDay* are well regarded as the most authoritative for business audiences, while *The Punch* is the most circulated daily news title. Digital media influence is also growing in the country (Sudhaman, 2010). Thus, the Nigerian PR market is driven by traditional promotion and social investments through events and other activities around those investments.

The third factor is efforts by the government and corporate bodies to confront negative publicity and reputation. Oil companies such as Shell, Mobil and Chevron invested millions in PR firms to defend their national and global reputation. The reputational crisis in the banking sector in the past five years (to 2014) has attracted much public scrutiny and led to increased PR activities by these organizations (Sudhaman, 2010).

The fourth and final factor is the nature of Nigerian PR practice in the country. Badmus (2013) identified three trends. The first was that practitioners in developed countries are well respected and given the free hand to make recommendations on how best to deploy PR tools to achieve an objective or solve a problem, while in Nigeria the client is 'king' and most times dictates what is to be done. Second, PR practice in the developed world is preventive and proactive in nature, while Nigerian practice is mostly curative and reactive. Third is the dominance of the profession by quacks without the requisite academic qualifications, training and experience. Despite regulation by the NIPR, PR in Nigeria is still an all-comers affair without barriers to entry (Badmus, 2013).

Conclusion

The history of PR in Nigeria has been influenced by its colonial history. The institutions, personalities and practice are linked to those of the United Kingdom, the former colonial power. The NIPR derived its name, objectives and training programmes from its older counterpart in the United Kingdom, the now-Chartered Institute of Public Relations (CIPR). The key personalities who came together to form the NIPR were trained in the United Kingdom and several PR firms are affiliated to UK consultancies. Yet, despite seeming British dominance of PR development in Nigeria, the dominance of the economy by the government and the social responsiveness of corporate organisations to the national

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development goals of the government are factors that clearly separate Nigeria from the British PR tradition.

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8
South Africa

Chris Skinner and Dalien Rene Benecke

Abstract: *The history of public relations (PR) in South Africa is as exciting and challenging as the evolution of South Africa from an apartheid state to a fully fledged democracy in 1994. In its early years, it mirrored the practice of PR as it developed in the Western world with largely unilateral communication by governments and corporates dominating practice supported by powerful media networks. Today, with the advent of social media, the dynamic challenges of two-way communication, openness and transparency have provided unique opportunities to elevate PR to new levels of relevance and importance.*

Keywords: change agenda; PRISA; public relations; social media; unilateral communication

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With a population of more than 50 million people (according to the 2012 census), South Africa is recognized as the economic 'powerhouse' of the African continent with the highest gross domestic product, $US 357.2 billion (World Bank, 2011). It has one of the world's most advanced constitutions, an independent judiciary, free press and a multiparty political system. The country has been a constitutional democracy since 1994 and the 1996 Constitution Act of the Republic of South Africa is the result of 'a long and inclusive negotiation, carried out with an acute awareness of the injustices of the country's non-democratic past. It is widely regarded as one of the most progressive constitutions in the world' (O'Connor and Falconi, 2005, p. 43).

South Africa also enjoys an efficient, diverse and modern communication infrastructure. Mobile communication has increased from 17 per cent of adults in 2004 to 76 per cent in 2010 (International Telecommunications Union). Today, out of 50 million South Africans, 29 million use mobile communication – more than listen to radio, which was previously the most popular medium of communication. South Africa is also growing into one of Africa's major media centres. Since 1994 there has been relative media freedom in the country. This, however, may be affected by a proposed Protection of Information Bill and Media Appeals Tribunal.

It has become a partner in BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and now South Africa). Through this economic alliance it is hoped that South Africa, its communication strategies and public relations (PR) practice will become a 'new force on the continent, where public relations exponents will become more innovative with strong communication leadership qualities' (Rensburg, 2013, p. 859).

Despite all these achievements, poverty, unemployment and political strife and insecurity have remained problems. They will have to be addressed more assertively by the government, led by the African National Congress (ANC), which retained power in the May 2014 elections.

Background to the development of PR

The development of PR as part of the social and economic development, as well as its establishment as a fully fledged strategic management function in business and industry, has not yet been comprehensively documented and researched in South Africa.

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According to Lubbe (Lubbe and Puth, 1994) two approaches can be taken when reviewing the historical development of PR in South Africa. The first is the systems approach that illustrates the increasing scope of PR practice in conjunction with the political, social and economic development of the country and, secondly, the structural approach that depicts the professionalization of PR in terms of the establishment of professional bodies. It is in the latter case that the only published material is available and in the records of the Public Relations Institute of South Africa (PRISA), particularly over its formative years 1960–1990.

Malan and L'Estrange, who wrote the first South African PR book in 1965, reported at the time:

> The first positive step towards the development of practical public relations in South Africa was taken by the Government in 1937. Prime Minister, General J B M Hertzog, realized the need for an organisation to disseminate official information and created the Bureau of Information as a division of his department. During the War years 1940-45, the work expanded and it became the State Information Office in 1947. (1965, p. 9)

The first PR officer in the Republic was appointed in 1943 by South African Railways, while the first public relations consultancy office was opened in Johannesburg in 1948 (Malan and L'Estrange, 1965). In 1961 the Department of Information was established, which absorbed not only the Information Office, but also the information services of the Departments of Bantu Administration, Coloured Affairs and Indian Affairs, with F. W. Waring being appointed as the first Minister of Information. In addition to the Department of Foreign Affairs and Information, Malan and L'Estrange reported later that there were

> public relations divisions in the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Forestry, the Defence Force, the SA Police and the General Post Office, while the SA Airways, the SA Railways, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), the South African Bureau of Standards (SABS), the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) and the Atomic Energy Board all have public relations departments.
>
> Today, commerce and industry, local government and charitable organisations all have their public relations department. It is estimated that there are about 800 public relations practitioners in South Africa serving organisations such as the gold mining groups, the oil, tobacco and fertilizer companies, the wine industry and breweries, municipalities, universities, government departments, government boards and government sponsored industries, such as the iron and steel corporation (ISCOR) and oil (Sasol). (1981, p. 10)

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Drawing parallels with other countries however, it was believed that PR had an even greater role to fulfil. 'With the Republic's diversity of races and complex problems, the profession of public relations should help to establish bridges between all our peoples to enable them to communicate with one another. This would inevitably lead to understanding and co-operation and so help to ensure a future of peace and prosperity' (Malan and L'Estrange, 1981, p. 11). This ideal, however, was not achieved until 1994 when the first democratic election was held.

Politics, social and economic influences on the profession

During this earlier period prior to 1994, the PR profession was strongly influenced by the political, social and economic developments that occurred under the ruling Nationalist party that came to power in 1948, and whose power and influence spanned close on 50 years. This led to increasing isolation that was reflected in a more rigorous and authoritarian approach to individuals and organizations that were seen as a threat to the government's policy of apartheid. In an attempt to justify and promote the policy both locally and internationally, substantial resources were invested in state institutions, particularly the Department of Information. The state even went to the extent of trying to buy specific newspapers, locally and internationally, as well as supporting individuals and organizations to try and influence public opinion. However, as a result of an increasing level of activism and condemnation of its policies both within the country and overseas, dramatic changes took place in the early 1990s with the release of political prisoners like Nelson Mandela, the unbanning of the ANC and its emergence as the leading party to win a landslide victory in the first democratic elections held in 1994.

Rensburg says in this context that

> the term public relations has been both misused and misunderstood since the early 1950s. It continues to be incorrectly associated with propaganda, press agentry, and manipulation, and it is often confused with advertising, marketing and promotion. Practitioners are still suspected of disseminating incomplete, distorted, and biased information, and being the faceless image brokers and spin doctors for rich and powerful individuals, politicians, causes, and organizations. (2009, p. 332)

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This image of PR in its early years has been difficult to shake off and still influences people's perceptions of the discipline.

PRISA's role in the development of PR

The Public Relations Institute of South Africa was founded with 23 members on 19 February 1957. George Hindley was elected chairman and was followed by Ken Andrew in 1958. Phyllis Lean started training activities with Jacques Malan who served four times as president and published South Africa's first PR handbook with Tony L'Estrange in 1965. Women were always involved in PRISA affairs but it took the Institute 37 years to elect its first woman president, Zarine Roodt, in 1994.

Celebrating the first 15 years in 1972, PRISA's journal *Communika* stated 'the key to the success of any professional institution is the solidarity of its members. Equally the institution must be seen by its members and its public to be professional' (cited in Communika, 1997, p. 1). Membership grew slowly with only 40 members by 1960. By the early 1980s, it had increased to 600 (Malan and L'Estrange, 1981). In 1986 Alan Cockle, the Institute's first executive director, introduced affiliation of students which was in line with the practice of other PR professional associations worldwide. Some members objected, but it created a financial base for professionalization. PRISA's professional development programme was introduced during this time and membership grew to more than 3,000 by 1989, including student members. In 1989 Cockle resigned and Margaret Moscardi (previously the Institute's secretary) became the new Director of Services and Administration. She joined Anna-Mari Honiball, who had been appointed in the same year as Director of Education. This proved to be a turning point in the fortunes of the Institute and, with these two women at the helm, PRISA continued to expand its membership and educational programmes in the 1990s.

Reflecting in 1992 on milestones, Margaret Moscardi, writing in *Communika*, highlighted events such as the recognition of PRISA by IPRA in 1957; PRISA's first Gold Medal awarded to Professor Chris Barnard in 1968; the launch of the Institute's magazine *Communika* in 1970; and the opening of PRISA's first permanent office in 1970 in Braamfontein. The First All-Africa PR conference, in collaboration with PR Society of Kenya and IPRA, titled 'Communication with the 3rd World', was held in 1975, and the PRISA Code of Conduct was accepted by members as the ethical

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guide for PR practice in South Africa. In 1977 the Association welcomed its first black members, the Consultants' Association was formed and the first edition of the Body of Knowledge published.

In 1982 a new PR Handbook was produced by Chris Skinner and Llew von Essen, with the tenth edition published in 2013. It is used throughout Africa as a leading educational text on PR practice. A special PR Council (PRCSA) was inaugurated with a High Court judge, Justice Steyn, as chairman in 1985 and, in 1992, the PR Council became the Accreditation and Ethics Council for the association. In 1994 Zarine Roodt became PRISA's first woman President. In 1995 PRISA's Consultants' Chapter was formed and a new constitution was accepted which promulgated an executive board and council as the policy-making body.

At PRISA's 40th anniversary celebrations in 1997, President Viccy Baker commented: 'Public relations is today recognised as an essential business tool - especially as technology is increasingly making it clear that good business can no longer be conducted in the absence of good communications' (*Communika*, May 1997, p. 1). About post-1994 political and social changes she said, 'We have also committed ourselves to transformation, to make us as a body more representative of our members and of the country' (ibid., p. 1).

> Later celebrating its Golden Jubilee in 2007, PRISA CEO Margaret Moscardi reflected: From one windowless office in downtown Johannesburg, shared with the Institute of Personnel Management, a membership of 400 and a part time secretary (me), PRISA grew into an institute with a sophisticated registration system and education services. Today it has a membership of 2500 and offers practitioners and students career and professional development opportunities. (*Communika*, May 2007, p. 10)

She also highlighted other achievements such as education programmes, professionalization and policy alignment with government initiatives such as the Skills Development Act and Skills Levy (Government Gazette, 1998).

In 2012, PRISA's 55th Anniversary provided another review of its performance over time. Zarine Roodt researched the views of fellow former PRISA Presidents who served from 1994 to 2011. Those interviewed were Anthea Johnston, Sej Motau, Margaret Rowe, Kate Bapela, Merle O'Brien, Mixael de Kock, Victor Sibeko, Samantha Louis and Professor Ronel Rensburg (Roodt, 2011, p. 19). Their overall response regarding the post 1994 status of PR in South Africa recognized it as a

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globally recognized entity. This international status of PR in South Africa was confirmed by Johanna McDowell, past-president of IPRA during an interview in May 2014 (McDowell, personal communication, 27 May 2014). They all confirmed that major opportunities in terms of globalization exist together with national and international networks which can be activated. Social media were mentioned as presenting an opportunity to reach broader and diverse communities (specifically youth) but that it will not replace mainstream media because technology and access are defined by economic status. It was also agreed that South African PR is in need of a professional board with formal registration procedures, along with a well-defined scope of practice in order to sophisticate and redefine the profession. This pre-requisite to professionalization was also confirmed by Bridget von Holdt, President of the Council for Communication Management (CCM) and founding member of the PRCC, during an interview in May 2014 (von Holdt, personal communication, 27 May 2014).

The respondents in the Roodt study also highlighted the external and internal challenges facing PR in South Africa which include a lack of credibility, 'invasion' by other disciplines, political appointments in key communication positions, lack of knowledge, experience and skills with limited strategic focus and use of too much 'technical' language (Roodt, 2011, p. 22). They also felt that PR, marketing and advertising bodies should merge into one regulatory inter-disciplinary community council. This suggestion was addressed with the formation of the CCM whose purpose is uniting the industry, developing a body of knowledge, lobbying with various governing structures and pursuing excellence in practice, education and training (PRISA, 2014).

In summary, the PRISA presidential study (Roodt, 2011) identified a crisis of credibility as well as crises of relevancy, legitimacy and reputation, which Roodt suggested can be addressed through (i) knowledge and a reference base in PRISA, (ii) adhering to the principle that institutional responsibility should not be taken on as the PR profession's responsibility and (iii) by using strategic business language instead of tactical language (ibid., p. 28).

Roodt further challenged the industry to look at itself from outside and inside. From an inside perspective she suggested efforts to improve PR's credibility by ensuring ethical, knowledgeable, value-driven strategic practices were delivered by registered practitioners. Practitioners, commented Roodt, should also adhere to PRISA's professional code of

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conduct, act as role models for young professionals and manage the declining trust of the media and uneven stakeholder engagement. From an outside perspective, practitioners should keep abreast with global demands, environmental changes and ensure strategic business acumen.

These challenges remain and are at the forefront of championing the PR profession into fulfilling a key role in the new digital age. With greater transparency and openness, public relations can play an even greater part in the transformation of society both in South Africa and beyond the borders into Africa. It does, however, require a greater understanding on the part of both practitioners and clients of the need for high ethical standards in everything that they do.

Higher education's role in developing the profession

According to Rensburg (2013) strenuous efforts have been made by practitioners, academics, and PRISA to stress the academic nature of the many activities that PR comprises (Cullingworth, 1990; Mersham, Rensburg and Skinner, 1995; Nel, 1993).

Many universities in South Africa offer PR as a specialization area in communication science courses or as part of marketing courses. The University of Pretoria offers a degree course in communication management with a specific focus on PR while the University of Johannesburg has introduced a degree in strategic communication. Most colleges and Universities of Technology offer diplomas, certificates and courses in PR. PRISA itself has made a major contribution by first offering an initial Basic Principles course, followed by Public Relations Practice and Public Relations Management courses. A Community Relations and Development course was introduced in 1995, followed in 1997 by a three-year Diploma in Public Relations. In 2014, some 3,000 first-year students registered for PR and other communication related qualifications.

International developments

Since the advent of a new democratic age in South Africa in 1994, the PR profession has mirrored and reflected some of the dramatic changes the country has witnessed over the past 20 years. Celebrating its Golden Jubilee in 2007, PRISA, as a founder member, welcomed the Global

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Alliance for Public Relations & Communication Management (GA) to South Africa for the 4th World Public Relations Festival in Cape Town. This gave some 200 international delegates the opportunity to see the progress being made in all spheres of public and private enterprise in South Africa as well as networking with fellow practitioners from Africa.

Membership of the Global Alliance has brought benefits to PRISA members, including reciprocal recognition of qualifications and registration, including Accredited in Public Relations (APR) recognition, exposure to global best practice as well as contact with top practitioners and their thinking. In 2004, Sej Motau was the Chair-elect and Margaret Moscardi became treasurer of the Global Alliance. Today PRISA is represented on the Global Alliance Board of Directors.

PRISA is also a key member of the African Public Relations Association (APRA) which represents some 20 African countries, and in 2005 Kate Bapela was elected as FAPRA (now known as APRA) southern African representative. These African links are being encouraged at all levels to help improve the continent's overall image and reputation and to encourage investment in the continent as a whole. Prominent South African consultants serve on the APRA board and advise and educate practitioners from other African countries.

PRISA also has links with other international bodies such as the International Public Relations Institute (IPRA), where South Africans have taken a leading role, the International Association of Business Communicators (IABC) and country bodies such as the United Kingdom's Chartered Institute of Public Relations (CIPR) and the Public Relations Society of America (PRSA) among many others. These links have resulted in an increasing number of international projects, including the annual Generally Accepted Standards (GAP) study being commissioned by the GA and conducted by the University of Pretoria as well as the PR landscape study conducted by the University of Johannesburg.

Some additional achievements in the New Millennium have included PRISA ISO9000 certification – the first professional association to achieve this international status; the Global Alliance formalizing APR recognition agreements with South Africa, Zimbabwe, Australia, New Zealand, United States and Canada. Sej Motau, PRISA's first black president, later became the chairman of the Global Alliance and PRISA representatives Chris Skinner and Gary Mersham played a major role in drafting the global ethics protocol. Collaborations with government

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departments focused on Continuing Professional Development (CPD) programmes and partnership with the Services SETA focused on skills development for the public relations sector.

Conclusion

In an African and global context, South Africa is relatively advanced in the practice of PR. It owes this largely to the leadership of PRISA, through its past presidents, individual members and a vibrant corporate and consultancy sector. In this it has also been backed by substantial investment made by government through the Government Communication Information System (GCIS) to promote a broader and inclusive social vision for the country.

Since its creation in the 1950s, PRISA has moved from organizational development to inclusive membership, leadership transformation and focus on education, training and research. In particular it has endeavoured to contribute to the new social and political order in South Africa since 1994.

In 2012 PRISA was accredited by the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA), which recognized it as the professional bedrock of the PR industry in South Africa. Currently PRISA has around 1,000 senior members and an estimated 3,000 students studying PR in universities and private colleges every year.

Since 1996 it also has built up a successful consultancy sector, the Public Relations Consultancy Chapter (PRCC). Although its membership is small with approximately 50 members, it hosts the PRISM Awards competition embracing 30 company and six individual categories whose overall winner is entered into the annual IPRA Golden World awards. In recent years these entrants have also achieved top international honours.

PRISA was also a founding member of the Global Alliance for Public Relations and Communication Management and helped draft its international code of ethics, thus demonstrating its active involvement internationally in PR matters.

With the formation of the BRICS alliance, of which South Africa is the newest member, there may be new opportunities for PR in a changing political, social and cultural landscape. South African practitioners, now at the cutting edge of social change, are well placed to take advantage of

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these new challenges and opportunities. The PR profession thus has the opportunity to 'come of age.'

The authors acknowledge the assistance given by PRISA in the compilation of this historical review and the access given to their files from 1957 to 2014. In particular, the special anniversary issues of *Communika* 1997, 2007 and 2012, compiled by Anthea Johnston, were most illuminating and helpful as were the discussions held with leading PR practitioners in the field.

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9
Turkey

Melike Aktaş Yamanoğlu, B. Pınar Özdemir and G. Senem Gençtürk Hızal

Abstract: *Identifying five stages of development, this chapter periodizes the development of public relations (PR) based on its journey in public and private sectors, academia and professionalization. Despite all efforts since 1960, 'public relations' is a term and concept that has limited understanding in the Turkish public sector being reduced to a technical activity. In the private sector, some campaigns have strongly strategic characteristics of best practice but the majority of practitioners operate tactically to achieve short-term goals with heavy emphasis on media relations.*

Keywords: globalization, governmental communication, 'new times', periodization, professionalization, public administration, Turkey

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In the current millennium, the field of public relations (PR) in Turkey is robust, with profitable agencies having international partners, corporate communications departments both in private and public sectors, academic courses offered in more than 30 higher education institutions and various professional organizations. Considering that modern PR started in the 1960s in Turkey, the field has achieved its current status relatively fast. The standard discourse, which emphasizes America-centric progressive improvement, falls short of explaining the Turkey's case. PR in Turkey has followed a distinctively different development path that was affected by the socio-economic and political transformations experienced by the country.

The historical roots of PR in Turkey were grounded in social reforms and politics. Following the War of Independence, the Republic of Turkey was founded in 1923 to change the nation from its Ottoman Empire past into a European-style society. The transformation was supported by extensive reforms executed to establish a modern state. Although PR as a term was not defined in Turkey at that time, there were significant communication activities during the early years of the republic that resembled it. Starting from the establishment of the new Kemalist regime, the government utilized these activities to inform citizens in order to gain public support and consent. However, modern PR emerged and was institutionalized from the 1960s onwards, initially in the public sector. University-level education also followed this process. It was not until 1980s that PR attracted vast attention among private sector companies. In this chapter, following the periodization historiographic approach (Raaz and Wehmeier, 2011), the progress of PR from the 1960s until today (2014) is evaluated under different developmental stages. Through identifying and contextualizing facts and events, pathways of PR's evolution are analysed with respect to public management, private sector, education and professionalization.

PR as a subfield of public administration: 1950s

The development of PR was characterized by the framework of the political, economical and cultural conditions in Turkey during 1960s which gave characteristics to it. The discipline flourished within the public administration concepts that had been imported from North America and Europe. The transition from the understanding of 'administration'

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to 'public administration' in 1950s has critical relevance to PR. The introduction of the term came in the translation of Marshall E. Dimock's book *Public Administration* (1954a). A section of the book, titled 'Regulation of Public Liaisons', focused on the management of citizen relations (Aktaş Yamanoğlu, Gençtürk Hızal and Özdemir, 2013).

PR thus first attracted attention as a sub-chapter in a publication in the field of public administration (Dimock, 1954a,b; Abadan, 1955; Geray, 1960; Soysal, 1968). In these academic texts, PR was considered as a novel way, method or technique of making public administration more effective. In this process, it was conceptualized as the practice of 'establishing contact or communication' (Aktaş Yamanoğlu, Gençtürk Hızal and Özdemir, 2013) with the public within the framework of the ruler-ruled relationship. The 'public' was a general category that referred to the community of citizens. In the process of seeking a Turkish counterpart for the term, within the ambit of public administration, it was called 'public liaison' (ibid.).

Institutionalization: 1960s and 1970s

Although PR's emergence within the concept of public administration took place in 1950s, it is possible to see practical reflections during the 1960s. The political climate, based on participatory policy, was introduced by the 1961 Constitution and was accompanied by the concept of planned development, which is the economic understanding of the term. These changes made it possible for the first implementation of PR methods in the field of public administration.

During this period, PR was configured to make public administration more effective and develop citizen-government communication. For the purpose of improvement of citizen-government relations, it was planned to establish independent PR units within public administration organizations and also a central organization to coordinate PR efforts and to develop policies and strategies (TODAİE, 1966, 1972). Despite these plans, no effort to centralize PR efforts in public administration resulted, although some PR units were established in public institutions and establishments. These units experienced serious problems in employing PR personnel, drawing the boundaries of their field of activity and being respected by the top management. As a result, they failed to expand their operational field.

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Some successful PR implementations, however, resulted. The most important came in the State Planning Organization, the Institute of Public Administration for Turkey and Middle East, the Directorate General of Population Registry and the Ministry of Finance. With its staff having PR expertise, the Media and Representation Office of State Planning Organization had considerable success in communicating the concept of planned economic development to the public by using a multitude of PR tools. As well, the Institute of Public Administration for Turkey and Middle East undertook its first centralized PR project in 1966 through the Administrative Consultancy Center, which responded to public enquiries. The Directorate General of Population Registry successfully conducted the first PR campaign about family planning and the Ministry of Finance's PR activities sought to create understanding of the need for prompt tax payments (Aktaş Yamanoğlu, Gençtürk Hızal and Özdemir, 2013).

Starting early in the decade, the expansion of PR practices in public administration provided the basis for the establishment of the first educational institution (ibid.). It started within Ankara University's Faculty of Political Sciences, School of Press and Broadcasting, which was established in 1965 to provide vocational education. UNESCO support helped launch the first four-year degree programme which focused on mass communication. The approach, which was reported in several UNESCO texts, emphasized the importance and role of mass communication in national development (ibid.). According to UNESCO, national development needed the support of communication systems and trained personnel (Kaya, 2011). PR was included in the School of Press and Broadcasting degree programme in order that personnel would be trained in communication techniques (Aktan, 1967).

In the early years of education, the direct focus on PR was limited (Kaya, 2011). Teaching was mainly undertaken by professors from the Faculty of Political Sciences, foreign experts invited by UNESCO and experts from the industry (Kaya, 2011; Aktaş Yamanoğlu, Gençtürk Hızal and Özdemir, 2013). However, due to the lack of qualified PR teaching staff, the department was merged with the School of Journalism, and its name was changed to Journalism and Public Relations in 1969.

There were significant problems in obtaining teaching materials. The *Public Relations Lecture Notes* of UNESCO's James Orrick (one-time UNESCO Chief of the Department of Public Information), who visited the school, were translated to Turkish in 1967 and used as course mate-

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rials (Aktaş Yamanoğlu, Gençtürk Hızal and Özdemir, 2013). Turkish publications were also encouraged leading to the publication of Alaeddin Asna's *Public Relations* (1969) textbook. At the end of the decade, as PR was adopted in other industries, books were also published in the fields of banking and tourism (Çadırcı, 1967; Hekimgil, 1968; Çoruh, 1969; Asna, 1972).

Another important trend was the efforts of PR academicians to write books and materials that were compatible with Turkish PR understanding rather than the translation of well-known international books. At the end of this period, many articles and books were published. Among the books and publications were Metin Kazancı's *Public Relations* (1980), used for many years as the main teaching resource (Özdemir and Aktaş Yamanoğlu, 2009). Resulting from Kazanci's book, PR in Turkey was framed as terms of publicity (the public disclosure of structure, operation and decisions of administration) and recognition (learning about the requests of public by the administration) functions.

Multinational oil companies, such as BP, Shell and Mobil, which had long-established PR operations, pioneered practice in private sector. PR was also important for provision of legitimacy in local regions and for reconciliation with different interest groups. Major Turkish conglomerates, which started to grow in this time period, discovered PR by observing the practices of multinational companies and attempted to develop relations with different publics. For instance, workers, who emerged as powerful actors, were described as internal stakeholders (MPM, 1970). The trade unions' mass actions, together with student movements targeting interests of corporations, caused the conglomerates to seek legitimacy through utilizing PR as a tool to produce consent (Aktaş Yamanoğlu, Gençtürk Hızal and Özdemir, 2013).

During this period, the image-crafting function of PR was also discovered. PR was applied in the competitive market place and cultural production in order to reinforce corporate image. At that time, private sector institutions established foundations and gave support to different social fields in order to project a positive corporate image. The tradition of philanthropy constituted the core of their social responsibility practices (ibid.).

In the 1960s and 1970s, the first PR agencies were established. Delta Ajans was established in Ankara in 1962 to provide advertising and PR services, and A&B Tanitim, focused only on PR, started in 1974 (ibid.). This period witnessed the beginnings of the discipline's

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professionalization, with the Türkiye Halkla İlişkiler Derneği (Public Relations Association of Turkey, TÜHID) established in 1972 in Istanbul (ibid.). Seven years later, TÜHID had developed sufficiently to host a meeting of the International Public Relations Association (IPRA).

New times and new PR in Turkey: 1980s

PR has started to gain a new aspect in Turkey in the 'new times' of the 1980s. Following the coup d'état of 1980, efforts to restructure public administration resulted with two regulations that were important for public administration PR. First, in 1984, PR units organized under different names were renamed as 'Press and Public Relations Consultancy', and second, they became an optional service for ministries and governmental bodies (Resmi Gazete, 1984a). Therefore, they lost the relative importance given to them in the 1960s and 1970s. Besides, while the definitions of duties of other consultancy units, such as legal consultancy, were detailed, the duty of press and public relations consultancies was not elaborated. Therefore, the question 'what is the duty of a PR unit in a public institution?' which has been asked since 1960s remains unanswered.

In the same year, a regulation established a Public Relations Department that was attached to Prime Ministry. It was charged with assessing citizens' complaints, monitoring media and providing advice on government services to citizens (Resmi Gazete, 1984b). In the 1980s, conversion of PR units into 'optional units' and lack of qualified personnel (TODAİE, 1991) led to dysfunctional practices.

In the 1980s, private sector companies boomed as a result of neoliberal policies that gave rise to market liberalization and development of a consumer society. The extension of domestic markets and intensive competition increased the number of PR units and agencies. However, only a few companies captured the substance of PR and its contribution to organizational goals. According to Asna (1988), this superficial understanding of PR was perversely damaging because its perception as an activity to support advertising impacted negatively on the allocation of additional budgets (Pasiner, 1988).

International companies and prestigious national trade marks started to search for more professional approaches to PR. During this period, the companies with exceptional understanding of PR included Beymen,

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Borusan Holding, Benetton, Boeing and Philip Morris (Asna, 1997, pp. 147–187) and paved the way for innovative and creative implementations. Their tendency to work with PR agencies set an example which Turkish companies followed. The professional centre of PR moved from Ankara to Istanbul by following its development in the private sector.

Becoming global: 1990s

The acceleration of globalization during 1990s and the Customs Union with the EU which started on 31 December 1995 again brought attention into necessity of PR in communication about organizations and the foreign expansion of local businesses. Additionally, international corporations operating in Turkey gave weight to PR to increase market share. Thus, interest in the discipline rose and the number of agencies increased.

Discussion on PR practices and concepts continues. The growing popularity of PR strengthened the 1980s trend for unrelated activities to be given that title. These included activity dealing with customers and citizens such as estates management, cleaning and transportation and event management (Kadıbeşegil, 1994). This mis-description was a serious concern for practitioners and frequently expressed in professional publications (Asna, 1994; Kadıbeşegil, 1994; MediaCat, 1999). It was also a typical case of PR, as an emerging field, suffering from chaos and confusion in conceptualization. This was also evidenced in the lack of experience and knowledge of some operators who were presenting themselves as PR professionals (Asna, 1994, 1999).

According to practitioners, these misconceptions damaged the prestige of the field and produced a blurred understanding of PR in communities and among clients. For some practitioners, there was a self-representation problem in the PR industry, which arose from the inefficiency of professional bodies (Saydam, 1995). In this period, a change of the term 'PR' to 'communication management', 'communication engineering' and, later, 'image management and perception management' was suggested by some practitioners (Tunçel, 1998). It is striking that ambiguities also existed with some businesses claiming to be PR agencies. The perception of PR as a presentational practice allowed companies that specialized in organizing events and conferences to describe themselves as PR agencies although not providing

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PR services. The result was inflation in the number of firms presenting themselves with a PR title.

On the other hand, during the 1990s, several agencies built international partnerships. For example, Global Public Relations has established a partnership with FleishmanHillard in 1992, Strateji Public Relations with Weber Shandwick in 1993, and Effect with Edelman in 1997 (Gençtürk Hızal, 2010).

Since growth of PR did not produce qualitative improvement in the practices, some practitioners attempted to raise the standards through scientific measures. With the acceleration of globalization and increase in international interactions, the adoption of international standards of evaluation, auditing and effectiveness of PR practices gained importance starting from second half of the 1990s (Saydam, 1995; Kadıbeşegil, 1996, 1999; Cavlaz, 1999). In line with the global developments, PR started to be considered within the framework of strategic management at the end of the decade and the connection between marketing and PR was emphasized (Saydam, 1994; MediaCat, 1998). Therefore, product-oriented PR has gained importance, in particular to increase sales.

Starting from the second half of the 1990s, the drive for professionalization intensified. According to the statements of prominent names of the field, 1997 and 1998 were important years for professionalization (MediaCat, 1998). *Communication-Turkey* journal, the TÜHID official bulletin of PR, was initiated and published four times a year and a members' directory to commemorate TÜHID's 25th anniversary was published in 1997 (Asna, 1998). The association supported professional projects such as the establishment of PR Net Company to evaluate the effectiveness of programs and a training company was formed as an affiliation of London School of Public Relations (ibid.).

In 1993, *Halkla İlişkiler Danışmanları Derneği* (Public Relations Consultants Association) was established by Turkish members of IPRA and Public Relations Consultancies Inc. of Turkey (PRCI), founded in 1998. PRCI represents consultant agencies and is a member to International Communication Consultancies Organisation (ICCO). In 1999, TÜHID had 152 members serving in public relations agencies and in in-house units; Public Relations Consultants Association had 36 members and PRCI had eight public relations company members (MediaCat, 1999).

In 1999, in order to reward successful practices, TÜHID launched the *Altın Pusula* (Golden Compass) awards in categories such as agenda management, in-house public relations, crisis communication, efficiency

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management and corporate social accountability. This award is currently the first and only PR awards competition in Turkey (Altın Pusula, 2014).

The development of the Turkish media industry during the 1990s was relevant to PR's growth. Turkish Radio and Television Cooperation's (TRT) monopoly in public broadcasting ended. Commercial broadcasting commenced in a de facto manner and later gained a legal status. The number of private radio and television channels increased dramatically, with significant content coming from the PR industry.

Starting from the second half of the 1990s, institutions such as municipalities, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), trade unions and activist organizations also started to employ PR. They recognized the importance of differentiated communication efforts with multiple publics within the framework of strategic communication.

An early example of municipal PR was the *Halk-Danış* (Public-Advising) complaint management programme introduced in 1990 by Ankara Metropolitan Municipality (MediaCat, 1993). This activity was aimed at residents in order to collect demands, requests and complaints related to municipal services and resolve them. *Halk-Danış* was a PR case study for other municipalities (ibid.).

During this decade, a trade union hired a PR agency for the first time in a campaign against privatization. During the second half of the 1990s, an activist group's campaign, supported by NGOs, was one of the most effective examples of non-corporate use of PR. A group of peasants at Bergama in the Aegean Region of Turkey organized communication activities and events to campaign against the gold mining industry using cyanide. With the help of these PR efforts, Bergama gained public attention and wide media coverage. In addition, this campaign created also social awareness about the detrimental effects of mining. So, by the end of the decade, PR practices were being adopted more widely than for the previous 30 years when they had been limited to public administration and, later, corporate organizations.

The 1990s also witnessed dramatic changes in education. Through a 1992 law, five existing press and broadcasting schools (Ankara, İstanbul, Gazi, Marmara and Ege) were transformed into communication faculties and two new faculties have been opened (Selçuk and Anadolu) (Tokgöz, 2003). The organization of PR education within communication faculties was considered as a milestone for the development of PR in Turkey. Graduate programmes in the field started to develop as a result of the law and subsequent expansion of education. In addition, legislation allowing

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the foundation of private universities increased the number of educational institutions. Nevertheless, the education in the field was weakened, compared with the early years, due to the limited understanding of PR as a technical skill and the lack of qualified lecturers (Kazancı, 2003).

Towards strategic communication: 2000s until today

The Information Act of 24 October 2003 and Prime Ministry Information and Communication Center (BİMER) established in 2006 were two important steps in the public sector's approach to PR in the 2000s. The Information Act describes the provision of information concerning actions and transactions of public administration as a right and obliges public institutions to provide many types of information and documentation to applicants. Related regulations led to the formation of 'information units' in press and public relations departments of the institutions (Resmi Gazete, 2003, 2004).

BİMER is a central unit established in Prime Ministry to respond to citizens' questions. Its main purpose is the collection of complaints, requests, opinions and suggestions in a single place within government (Başbakanlık, 2006). Presented as an innovation in public administration, BİMER is little more than a form of the Administrative Consultancy Center of 1966, which has been adapted to new communication technologies. Within BİMER, 'public relations information offices' have been established in the Prime Ministry, ministries, governor's offices and local administrations.

In 2001, an economic crisis occurred in Turkey. Asna (2001) says the effects of the crisis upon the PR sector were not destructive and became an opportunity for the industry. Companies, which had decreased advertising budgets, used PR activities to operate on smaller resources. According to Meriç (2002), who has assessed the crisis with a similar emphasis, PR agencies were faced with a more questioning and controlling customer who demanded more service with lower budgets. Thus PR agencies had to review their operational processes and human resources. This pressure empowered the agencies and enabled them to overcome the crisis by learning to use limited resources more efficiently and effectively. PR advisers had to prove the benefits and positive effects of their practices through concrete results (ibid.). The crisis thus had a long-term effect of helping agencies operate in a more business-like manner.

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PR's standing among customers and the media rose in this period. A study by PRCI and Strateji GfK found that PR was the most effective sub-sector in meeting customers' communication needs. Other results were that reputation management was on the rise, demands for research and measurement had increased and media relations had maintained their importance. However, the business world and media continued to perceive PR services and strategic communication consultancy as different fields of expertise. However, all groups believed in the importance of corporate communication in achievement of business goals, but only 30 per cent of businesses had a separate budget for it (Aydın, 2003)

From the end of the 1990s onwards, although not a common sectoral trend, the increased importance of PR within the framework of strategic communication management and response to customer demands led to PR agencies offering services in management and business development services (Tunçel, 2002), an example of boundary spanning by PR into adjacent fields.

In the next decade, another important development affecting PR industry was the acceleration of EU membership negotiations. At the Helsinki Summit of 10 December 1999, a harmonization process started with the acceptance of Turkey as an EU full member candidate. During this period, PR was perceived as an important element in facilitating the nation's EU membership. PR and lobbying were highlighted as communication tools to introduce the peoples of Turkey and EU to each other (MediaCat, 2002).

The *İletişim Danışmanlığı Şirketleri Derneği* (Communication Consultancies Association of Turkey-İDA) was established in 2004 with 16 communication consultancy members and succeeded PRCI as the Turkish representative on ICCO. According to the 2008 data, TÜHID has 266 individual members and 17 corporate members of İDA (MediaCat, 2008). Also, there are 61 PR agencies that are not members of any professional organization. In 2014, TÜHID membership has fallen to 183 individual members and İDA has 27 corporate members (TÜHID, 2014; İDA, 2014). IPRA has had three Turkish women presidents. Betul Mardin was president in 1995 and holds membership emeritus status. She was followed by Ceyda Aydede in 2003 and Zehra Güngör in 2014.

The vitality of PR industry is also reflected by the number of educational institutions in the field: the number of PR departments had risen from seven in 1992 to 28 in 2011 (Deren Van het Hof and Tuncer, 2011).

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Conclusion

Identifying five stages of development, this chapter periodizes PR based on its journey in public and private sector, academia and professionalization. Despite all efforts since 1960, 'public relations' is a term and concept that has limited understanding in the Turkish public sector. Limiting PR to a technical role has dispossessed it from a systematic and strategic context. PR, which used to be an indispensable tool of public administration, has lost its reputation and been reduced to an information and complaint unit in the 2000s.

In the private sector in the 1960s and 1970s, the PR efforts of multinational oil companies and local companies had led the way in best practice. By the 2000s, PR practice displayed a polarized appearance. On the one hand, there were successful corporate public relations departments and professional service agencies producing high standard projects which have grasped the importance of PR as a strategic management tool and been recognized in several international competitions. On the other hand, there were still a vast number of PR practitioners who only operate tactically to achieve short-term goals (İDA, 2013). Despite the history of more than 50 years, PR in Turkey still continues to be a media relations-dominated field due to perceptions of the majority of clients and some PR agencies. Most clients assess the PR success through appearance in one of the three high circulated national newspapers, with advertising value equivalence still prominent as the evaluation criterion (Görpe and Saran, 2005).

Today PR companies operating in Turkey are third generation businesses that are mostly run by owners. There are several problems that negatively affect professionalization of the field, such as staff with limited experience having weak professional knowledge and high staff turnover (İDA, 2013).

The development of PR education in Turkey has differed from that in the United States and in many European countries. Apart from neglecting managerial dimensions for a long time, the lack of contact with professional associations in the formation of PR education programs in Turkey is another point of departure (Görpe, 2013). Deren Van het Hof and Tuncer (2011) noted that the structuring of PR curricula by commissions consisting of practitioners and academicians, under the supervision of professional associations, which takes place in the United States and Europe, is not the case in Turkey. This has prevented efforts to create a standard curriculum.

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Although PR in Turkey is still struggling with some inherited problems, the momentum gained in the last 50 years and the dynamism of the field promises a bright future. The advancement in democracy, civil society and corporate citizenship in Turkey will increase the necessity for PR among various organizations. Acceptance of PR as a social force will bring alternative issues into the professional and research agendas and this enrichment will empower PR.

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10
Uganda

Barbra Natifu

Abstract: *The chapter discusses the development of the public relations (PR) in Uganda from 1962 to 2014. It identifies markers of environment, professionalization, PR education and training, culture, glocalization, issues, activism, issues and reputation as shaping the development of the industry. It observes that the authoritarian socio-political context of 1962–1986 influenced the rise of propaganda use of PR. However, with a relatively less oppressive operational environment after 1986, along with the liberalization of the media in 1993 and, more recently, the entry of foreign PR firms (post 2007) in the Ugandan market, a more strategic approach to PR is taking shape. However, increasingly globally mediated issues and national reputation management challenges since 2007 still challenge these professional achievements.*

Keywords: activism; culture; environment; glocalization; issues; PR and advertising agencies; PR education; professionalism; public relations history; reputation; Uganda

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The chapter discusses some of the key markers in the development of the public relations (PR) industry in Uganda between 1962 and 2014. It selects important indicators that continue to shape the national PR industry's development. These include the operational environment, professionalism and the role of the Public Relations Association of Uganda (PRAU), PR education and training, glocalization and culture, activism, issues and reputation management.

Operational environment (1962–1986)

The operational and societal environment, within which the PR industry developed from 1962 to 1986, was characterized instability, particularly during the Idi Amin regime from 1971 to 1979. This instability and strife continued during four short-lived governments until the current president Yoweri Museveni assumed power in 1986. Thus, the first two-and-a-half decades after independence from the United Kingdom in 1962 were a period of social, economic and political unrest. It was marked by political struggles aimed at forging national unity and socio-economic and political order (Mamdani, 2001; Otuuno-Ogenga, 1989). Mwesige (2004) states that, 'soon after attainment of self governance, the new African leaders turned the guns on their own people, first with the despotic regime of Idi Amin characterized by human rights abuses and the death of over 300,000 Ugandans, followed by Milton Obote's regime that claimed at least 100,000 lives' (p. 72).

This era of unrest led to the destruction of the country's socio-economic infrastructure, which had negative implications for the growth of the PR industry. It was also a period when the preferred two-way approach to PR communication could not flourish because of societal operational context of dictatorship. As a result, press freedoms were curtailed and replaced with self-censorship and propaganda.

Article 19, Censorship Report (1991) observed that, 'under the government of Idi Amin (1971–1979), there was no press freedom of any description, with journalists murdered by the army or State Research Bureau or hounded out of the country' (p. 62). Mazrui also noted that the Amin regime executed 'editorial personnel of Uganda Television (UTV) and a Luganda newspaper called Muuno' (1980, pp. 46–47). Similarly, the government of Milton Obote (1980–1985) was 'responsible for equally gross violations of human rights', although it 'maintained some ... forms

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of democracy and civil society, which allowed a small margin in which the independent press could operate' (Article 19, Censorship Report, 1991, p. 62). It was in this context of an oppressive media environment and tumultuous socio-economic and political system that the Public Relations Association of Uganda (PRAU) was formed in 1976. One of its objectives was to address societal issues and consumer complaints that arose during the Amin regime. Ignatius Igunduura, former president of PRAU (1999–2005), said of the period:

> Initially the profession started out with the practitioners playing the role of government spokespersons explaining the challenges in economic, political and social arena in the country. After the 1970s political unrest, government departments including utility providers (water and electricity) were not delivering efficient services to the consumer and basic needs industries had shut down, hence the need for someone to constantly explain the state of affairs to the consumers and also to the government. (personal communication, 20 March 2009)

Besides addressing consumer issues, the association has played an instrumental role in the rise of PR and its professionalization as discussed in the following sections: formation of PRAU and professionalization.

According to Kanyeihamba (1997) the professional practice of PR in Uganda started after independence in the 1960s in government departments with the objective of enhancing the free flow of information. With the liberalization of the economy in 1989, the profession expanded to include the private sector, leading to a need for managers of corporate relationships. Kanyeihamba claimed that the early days of PR practice in Uganda were pervaded with misuse of the PR function:

> Where Public Relations Offices were opened, chief executives and managements used them as defensive offices or shields; others used them as propaganda tools or political ornaments. Public Relations Offices were diverted from their intended purposes, namely to play a productive role in management. In other establishments, public relations officers played roles of publicity, welfare and sports. (1997, p. 6)

The use of propaganda, the intentional manipulation of public opinion without regard for what is accurate (Bates, 2006), was observed widely in these oppressive times. In defence of what can today be considered an unethical usage of the PR function, former PRAU president Igunduura said practitioners faced political challenges that affected their ethical standards at the time:

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> You had to explain issues within the realm of the government, to the advantage of government not the consumer. So in a way people had to toe the government line ... which created scepticism towards the spokesperson among consumers. Ethically people would lose faith in you because everything was on the decline ... and the spokespersons were promising what was not available. Politically it was a big challenge. If you went out of government policy, you would be staking your job. (personal communication, March 20, 2009)

Formation of PRAU

The political environment from 1971 to 1979 was highly authoritarian, as captured by Igunduura's remarks. It was against this backdrop, marred by public suspicions of the credibility of the practitioners' word, that in 1974 a symposium was organized in Kampala by the Management Training and Advisory Center and the Federation of Uganda Employers. It was aimed at reviewing the practice of PR in Uganda (Mutabazi, 1992) and comprised of 15 participants and 12 organizations and corporations, all government enterprises. The founding organizations included Bank of Uganda, National Insurance Corporation, Kampala City Council, Uganda Commercial Bank, Coffee Marketing Board, Ministry of Labour, Cement Industry, Uganda Bottlers Limited, Nytil Uganda, Uganda Police, Uganda Hotels Limited and Uganda Tourism Board.

Igunduura observed that 'these organizations felt a need to come together to address consumer concerns with one united voice. The association would also offer some form of protection to the practitioner, from public criticism at that time' (personal communication, 20 March 2009). During the symposium a four-man committee was assigned to draw up plans for the eventual formation of the PRAU. It was established two years later in 1976 as an umbrella organization for all PR practitioners in Uganda. Because of political instability in the 1970s and 1980s, the association failed to achieve its objectives. Igunduura noted that 'PRAU became more active and visible in the recent years ... after the 1990s when Makerere University started offering the mass communications degree programme where public relations is taught as a subject major' (personal communication, 20 March 2009).

PR education and training

Formal education and training is central to the professionalization of PR and its appreciation in society. It not only enables practitioners to operate from a position of knowledge but also provides society with

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competent practitioners who can offer a valuable return on investment in PR services. Walugembe (1998) has commented that most PR practitioners, especially in developing countries then, were people who were not professionals in the discipline. In Musoke's view, in some organizations, the practitioner could be just a relative or friend of the managing director who had 'failed to get a job elsewhere' (2000, p. 13). The means of access to PR placements notwithstanding, the professional appreciation of PR in Uganda was further constrained by cultural interpretations. Precisely, the Ubuntu cultural understanding of PR as 'everybody's business' to 'relate well with people' (Natifu and Zikusooka, 2014, p. 229). Although it raises a valid point of PR (relationship and reputation management) being everybody's business, this cultural construct is also problematic in part as 'everybody's business' can also mean 'nobody's business'. Yet, it is imperative for 'organisations to speak with one voice when it comes to presenting co-ordinated integrated corporate communication' (Roper and Fill, 2012, p. 13) to the public that is essential to organizational reputation management.

In Uganda, as in the rest of sub-Saharan Africa, formal education in media and communication was a post-independence phenomenon (Mwesige, 2004; Rensburg, 2008). Training of PR practitioners in Uganda gained prominence following the 1988 inception of the Mass Communication Department in the Faculty of Arts at Makerere University. The department offered education in journalism and communication studies, of which PR was a subject major. A three-year Bachelor's degree in Mass Communication was offered where students could opt to major in public relations and advertising in their second and third years. The third-year PR majors had to submit a research-based monograph of about 50–100 pages as part of their graduation requirement. In this way, the university and department contributed to development of a local body of knowledge in PR studies. Currently, the Department of Journalism and Communication (DJC) is housed in the School of Languages, Literature and Communication in the College of Humanities and Social Sciences.

Besides Makerere University, the Uganda Management Institute, based in Kampala also offers PR and journalism courses. By 2014, there were seven other private and governmental training institutions offering undergraduate degree specialization in PR. These included Uganda Christian University, Ndejje University, Islamic University in Uganda, Kampala International University, Uganda Media Training Centre,

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Management Training and Advisory Centre and the United Media Consultants and Trainers' School of Journalism and Mass Communication. Nassanga and Tayeebwa (2005) cautioned that the rapid development of the media sector had sparked proliferation of private training institutions at diploma and certificate level, some of which have dubious credentials.

Besides the formal training institutions, Juma Walusimbi (PRAU President, 1999–2009) noted that 'PRAU offers PR training through workshops, seminars and conferences to association members which has contributed to improving the understanding and proper placement of PR on the corporate ladder'. He added: 'PRAU started offering educative talks to managers of PRAU's corporate membership. The aim of the talks is to enlighten corporate managers on the contribution of public relations communication to the attainment... of organizational management goals' (personal communication, 21 March 2009). The rise of specialized PR training at institutions and universities, as well as the growing membership and management recognition of the role of PRAU, has supported the professionalization of PR in Uganda considerably.

Professionalization

PRAU's contribution was captured by Zikusooka's survey in 2002. It was conducted among both PRAU member and non-member practitioners and revealed that 67 per cent of the non-member practitioners had misconceptions of what constitutes PR and were lowly placed on the organizational chart (either under human resources or marketing departments) compared with only 18 per cent of PRAU members. The rest of the member practitioners (82 per cent) were well placed on the organizational chart and running independent PR departments (Zikusooka, 2002, p. 41). He found that practitioners who did not have a full grasp of the professional understanding and placement of PR had higher chances of being positioned lowly in terms of placement, status and roles than their more knowledgeable and informed counterparts. The former ended up playing a technical rather than managerial role.

Namara (2001) argued, however, that there was still little appreciation of PR as a management function, and the practitioner was generally considered as a technician or stooge, rather than a manager who actively participated and influenced decisions at the highest level of the organization. Walugembe (1998) also noted that one of the hardest and

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most important tasks of a newly established PR department was for the practitioner to explain and convince top management on of PR's value in advancing effective corporate communications. The latter management role requires the expertise of a well-trained practitioner who understands the profession and can effectively articulate the strategic communication issues, roles and contributions of PR.

Hence, the role of training in professionalization of PR in Uganda cannot be understated. Nevertheless, interviews conducted with past PRAU presidents showed a noticeable gap in linking the professional body's needs with the courses given in training institutions. This was evident as most local research findings from educational and training institutions had little visibility on the association's website. This gap also indicated that research and training in PR and advertising fields are still nascent in Uganda. They need more educational investment to tap into their full creative and communication potential at the national, regional and continent levels. Knowledge exchange among the practitioners, researchers and trainers is thus being hindered.

Igunduura remarked that there was a need for PRAU to liaise with the training institutions with the objective of correlating 'what the market needs with what the institutions are teaching. It is also useful to establish how the institutions can help the professional bodies meet these market demands' (personal communication, 21 March 2009). PRAU had a student membership category, although there were few training institutions that were members of it. In 2009, PRAU had more than 400 corporate members and six registered PR agencies out of about 30–40 in the country. Some educational institutions and agencies, he said, were 'hindered by the annual corporate membership fees charged by the association' (ibid.).

Glocalization's impact on PR and advertising agencies, 2007–2013

More recently glocalization has been shaping developments of Uganda's PR and advertising industry. Glocalization is 'the process whereby global corporations tailor products and marketing to particular local circumstances to meet variations in consumer demand' (Maynard, 2003, cited in Curtin and Gaither, 2007, p. 117). The impact of glocalization has been mainly felt by local PR agencies increasingly faced with the challenge

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of competing with international firms for business in a limited national corporate and governmental market. With the entry of regional and international PR firms, competition for consultancy work from local, regional and global corporate clients became increasingly tough.

Although a 2013 survey revealed that there were 45 PR and advertising agencies in the country, Kalungi (2013) found that only a few agencies had an active role in the competitive PR industry. These included MetropolitanRepublic (regional – South African based), Fireworks (local), Scanad (regional – East and West African presence), Moringa Ogilvy (global) and Hill+Knowlton Strategies (global). Although this list was not exhaustive, only one locally owned firm, Fireworks, was mentioned in the list of major agencies. It started operations in 2008 (Kulabako, 2013).

Other global players operating in Uganda include Burson-Marsteller, which entered the market through its acquisition of Johannesburg-based Arcay Communications. Arcay is one of Africa's leading PR consultancies with a presence in 50 countries including Uganda (Wafula, 2011). MetropolitanRepublic entered the Ugandan market in 2007 and has gained the Google Uganda account. H+K Strategies entered the sub-Saharan Africa market in 2009 through a joint venture with Scangroup, a Kenyan-based marketing and communications firm (PR News, 2013).

As a result of this stiff regional and global competition two major agencies, ZK Advertising (regional) and QG Saatchi & Saatchi (local), lost their key accounts to regional and global advertising players in the market (Kalungi, 2013). In 2010, Saatchi lost two of its major clients: MTN Uganda and Stanbic Bank Uganda to South African competitors (Mbanga, 2011; Kalungi, 2013). The two companies have a regional presence on the continent in the telecommunications and banking sectors, respectively. MTN Uganda went to South Africa's-MetropolitanRepublic (Mbanga, 2011) while the Stanbic Bank account is now managed by Ogilvy (PR News, 2004). ZK, on the other hand, lost its major client, the telecommunications organization Celtel/Zain, to the international Ogilvy agency, after which ZK closed down in April 2011.

Anthony Wanyoto, former managing director of ZK, Uganda, noted that although the company was the largest Pan-African advertising agency operating in 15 African markets, it was over-reliant on Celtel/Zain (personal communication, 23 May 2014). ZK's closure was not solely about competition or performing below its full potential but the shift came about because it based its operations on a narrow business

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model. This increased their financial risk of closure should a major internationally operating client change its agency. Wanyoto noted that

> globalization brings the world nearer. The advertising industry has not been spared. Agencies have been taken over as the clients/investors come into East Africa out of South Africa. Companies are selling and new players come in with their own preference of suppliers like ad agencies. The case of ZK was that the biggest client sold and this meant ... new company, new agency hence loss of business and closure. (ibid.)

Ironically, prior to its closure, ZK had won PRAU excellence awards in 2010 for its work in developing communications for Uganda Health Marketing Group (UHMG), a health marketing organization recognized for its sharp, catchy messages on malaria control, maternal and child health, HIV/AIDS and family planning.

Despite the risks of closure facing local PR agencies, some Ugandan PR agency managers are optimistic about the entry of international agencies. Caleb Owino, owner of Fireworks agency, argued that 'our clients will enjoy great benefits as we adopt some of Burson Marsteller's advanced techniques for managing brand PR and communications' (Wafula, 2011). Similarly, Simon Kaheru, owner of Media Analyst PR agency, argued that this was a 'good thing ... somehow, they have to partner with us. Remember, we know where all the potholes in this city are' (Mbanga, 2011). Kaheru's remarks indicated the challenge that global PR agencies face when navigating new cultural arenas, particularly when formulating communication campaigns that must align with local cultural interpretations in order to gain acceptance among targeted audiences.

Culture

Culture, defined by Uganda National Culture Policy (UNCP, 2006) as 'the sum total of the ways in which a society, preserves, identities, organises, sustains and expresses itself' (ibid., p. 8), continues to be a key marker in Uganda's PR development. It has influenced the way that the general public understands PR, which is rooted in Ubuntu cultural philosophy (Natifu and Zikusooka, 2014). Ubuntu posits that 'to be human is to belong to the whole community' and 'the existence of the individual is

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the existence of the corporate' (Mbiti, 1990, pp. 2, 141). It is thus a cultural construct of PR that 'informs the fundamental public relations principle of social responsibility' (St. John III, Lamme and L'Etang, 2014, p. 3). Local culture serves as a cushion that provides a competitive advantage for local PR agencies facing stiff competition from their regional and global counterparts. The competitive advantage of cultural nuances is most appreciated at the concept development of advertising ideas that are able to gain local acceptance.

Given Uganda's cultural diversity, mastery of the latter can be a daunting task. The UNCP documented 65 indigenous communities in Uganda with each having unique characteristics and cultural heritage (2006, p. 2). The cultural heritage is both tangible and intangible. 'The tangible heritage includes monuments or architecture, art and crafts, sites, manuscripts, books and other objects of artistic and historic interest. The intangible heritage includes, language, oral traditions, performing arts, music, festive events, rituals, social practices, traditional craftsmanship, knowledge and practices concerning nature' (ibid., p. 8). Language is a key intangible heritage that is instrumental to the media and the PR/communications sector, as it is not only a tool that enables communication, but a carrier of cultural values and norms, especially relevant in the arena of ideational concept development and promotional communications.

Presently Uganda has more than 33 languages and four major ethnic groupings (Gingyera-Pinycwa, 1978). By 1985 there were 20 local languages broadcast on radio, and by 2000, the number had increased to 26 (Kirevu and Ngabirano, 2001). This diversity means that PR clients have to invest heavily in getting their messages to a very diverse audience. It also means that local and global PR agencies have an uphill task in capturing all the diverse cultural nuances. Even in the Internet age, radio remains an influential communication medium for most of sub-Saharan Africa. Chibita (2010) has commented that because of 'extremely low literacy rates ... most print media (is) still ... published in the colonial languages and television ... remains an urban, elite entertainment medium' (p. 1). She added that radio is also 'relatively affordable, requires no literacy to listen to and transcends ... language barriers (ibid.). These media and cultural contextual factors will remain relevant indicators for the development of the PR industry in Uganda. A mastery of local cultural nuances will be central to the competitive advantage of agencies.

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Activism, issues management and reputation management, 2007–2014

Besides the effects of glocalization on local agencies, activism, issues and reputation management are other key markers shaping PR's development. Notable cases of activism have included the 2007 opposition to the give-away of part of Mabira rain-forest to India's Mehta group for sugarcane and a 2011 campaign to reform electoral practices. The Mabira proposals were withdrawn in October 2007, after a major civil society campaign against them. Set up in 2011 after a disputed election, Activists for Change (A4C) agitated for fair elections and good governance. It condemned electoral malpractice, human rights abuse and corruption (Odokonyero, 2012), but was banned by the government in 2012.

Following these locally and internationally supported episodes of activism, the government has bought-in PR services to counter the activists and rebuild its reputation after extensive negative international media coverage (Otage, 2014). In 2012 it spent $US one million purchasing PR services from the Irish-owned Glenevin Operational Risk and Security Consultancy. The firm's Kevin McPartlan said, 'Glenevin has not been engaged to 'clean the dirty image of the Uganda Police Force. We have been asked to offer training to staff of the Government of Uganda to better equip them to actively manage the country's global reputation' (McPartlan, 2012).

The negative impact of poor issues management on the nation's reputation notwithstanding, issues are not new in Uganda society. They date back to pre-colonial and colonial times (Mamdani, 2001; Mazrui, 1980; Otuuno-Ogenga, 1989) and continue to recur in post-independence Uganda, with the most infamous being the badly managed 1972 deportation of citizens of Asian origin during the Idi Amin regime. The latter left a legacy of an unfavourable global reputation for Uganda. Nevertheless, the recent continuous recurrence of controversial legislation and governmental actions suggests a need for more considered strategies that will enhance favourable relationship building and management of the nation's reputation. As far as sophistication in mastery of PR and activism is concerned, Igunduura noted that 'activism in Uganda still requires a dose of public relations ... Even with a noble cause ... if not well organized ... it could lead to negative PR'

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(personal communication, 21 March 2009). Juma Walusimbi, however, paints a positive picture of government efforts in this regard, as he noted that there was increasing appreciation of the PR function within government. This had been indicated by government's appointment of four PRAU executive members out of a five-member task force, which will develop a National Communication Strategy in line with the Access to Information Act of 2005. Walusimbi considered that, under this arrangement, PRAU representatives would advocate the placement of Communication/Public Relations Office at senior levels in order to counsel decision-making in government ministries. PRAU, he noted, has proposed a PR Act of Parliament to guide regulation of the industry (personal communication, 21 March 2009). It was hoped that these initiatives would positively transform relations between government and its stakeholders (citizens).

Conclusion

The chapter has presented six markers that have shaped the development of the PR industry in Uganda. It showed that the operational context and freedom of media shaped the models of PR that emerged in the period 1962–1986. With the liberalization of the economy in 1993, and opening up of media and market environment, PR has slowly gained a central role in linking businesses to consumers. This has been reflected in the growing number of communication agencies, which rose from 40 in 2009 to 45 in 2013. However, glocalization has taken a toll on local agencies that have collapsed when major clients are lost to international agencies. PRAU and training institutions have contributed to the professionalization of the industry. At the national level, activism and issues management remain central to the government's support for a positive international reputation. Historically, the evidence is that government must avoid spending tax payers' money on publicity without addressing the foundational systems and governance challenges that are central to building and managing a strong national brand and reputation. To focus on purchase of publicity services, without addressing core societal issues that are creating negative national reputation, is to return to the self-serving propaganda style of PR that existed in the dictatorial times of Amin's regime more than 30 years ago.

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Index

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DOI: 10.1057/9781137404299.0015

DOI: 10.1057/9781137404299.0015