NATIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Series Editor: Tom Watson

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ASIAN PERSPECTIVES ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Other Voices

Edited by
Tom Watson

Asian Perspectives on the Development of Public Relations

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Asian Perspectives on the Development of Public Relations: Other Voices

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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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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 UK 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 a desire to create a more authentic

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

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

Overall, the series has three aims:

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

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

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

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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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Tom's research focuses professionally important topics such as measurement and evaluation, reputation management and corporate social responsibility. He also researches and writes on public relations history and established the annual International History of Public Relations Conference in 2010. Tom is a Fellow of the Chartered Institute of Public Relations and Founding Fellow of the Public Relations Consultants Association.

Tom took his first degree at the University of New South Wales in 1974. He was awarded his PhD in 1995 from Nottingham Trent University for research into models of evaluation in public relations. He is the editor of the annual Public Relations History special issue of *Public Relations Review*, and is on the editorial board of several other journals.

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Introduction

Tom Watson

Watson, Tom. *Asian Perspectives on the Development of Public Relations: Other Voices*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014. DOI: 10.1057/9781137398154.0004.

Asian and Australasian Perspectives in the Development of Public Relations: Other Voices is the first volume in this series on national histories of public relations (PR). In the 11 chapters, it is immediately evident that there is no 'Asian model' of PR, although there are some shared cultural influences. Unlike other regions and continents, the development of public relations has been shaped in several countries (India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Vietnam) by its application as publicity and propaganda in independence struggles and post-colonial adjustment. In Australia and New Zealand, which make up the Australasia chapter, PR began as governmental information dissemination, with some lobbying for independence in the late 19th century. Thailand, which was never colonized, created a unique form of PR that was closely related to the monarchy which led its modernization. Japan first used the term, *kouhou* (widely notify) in the 1870s. It has become synonymous with PR and thus identifies national practices as predominantly informational. In 2012, the most common form of practice was identified as media relations, which confirms this interpretation.

Two themes emerge from the chapters. The first is the role of personal networking within public relations practice and the second is the historiographic approaches of some authors who used periodization for their analysis and narrative.

Personal networks, referred to a *guanxi* in China and *quan hệ* in Vietnam, are also found in India, Taiwan and to a lesser extent in Japan. This relationship leads to collaborations between journalists and PR practitioners in ways not found in the West and, as Loan T. H. Van notes in Chapter 11 (the Vietnam chapter), 'PR is thus different to the way PR is practiced in Anglo countries'. In countries which have close relations with China, the influence of Confucianism and related philosophies, which include notions of 'the people', reputation, interpersonal relationships and strategic behaviours, has shaped PR practices which have resulted in it being conceptualized as a two-way communication activity which Loan Van calls 'a shared perspective'. This is different from Anglo-American 'two-way symmetrical' communication. India came to personal networking or a personal influence model from a different cultural basis and, as John Vil'anilam's chapter (Chapter 3) shows, it is the 'dominant historical model of PR' which has been 'fostered by cultural hierarchies'. Thailand has historically practiced a two-way approach, although governmental PR has been largely propagandist or informational since 1932. Napawan Tantivejakul (Chapter 10) also comments that 'understanding Thai society's personality alongside cultural aspects such as monarchial institution respect, Buddhist orientation, and relationship orientation have been important issues involved in successful Thai PR practice'.

Periodization is a common organizational approach to historiography. In PR history, Bentele's functional-integrative structural model (Bentele, 2010) which was developed for the evolution of German PR has found interest among other scholars. Chapter 10 (Thailand) specifically refers to it when advancing four periods of recent PR history. Periodization in the form of a 'period', 'phase' or 'stage' approach is also used by China, India, Indonesia, Philippines and Taiwan, whereas other chapters have mostly used a timeline narrative. It is notable that there is not synchronous links of these periods that may indicate shared experience. The chapter on China (Chapter 2) takes the longest view by starting with a discussion of PR-like activity in ancient times, whereas others (Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Taiwan and Vietnam) start from the eve of World War II or soon after 1945 when independence movements were in active contests with colonial powers. As the historiography of public relations develops, Asian variants of Bentele's structural model or new theory may emerge to challenge the national histories or to offer a more explicitly post-colonial interpretation.

Each Asian chapter has strong emphasis on the link between the establishment and evolution of the nation-state and the development of PR, although in the past 30 years it has been economic growth rather than political and social changes that have supported exceptional growth. The post-colonial era has also shaped the formation of strong governmental informational approaches to PR, which sometimes verge on propaganda aided by controls over media. These are different to the Anglo-American experience, including Australasia, which works under many fewer controls over media and other communication channels. Perhaps these historical studies of public relations will support a more liberal approach to post-colonial analysis public relations.

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Australasia

Abstract: *Public relations (PR) in Australia has strong governmental roots from the 19th century, and it expanded along this route until the end of World War II when influences from the US and then globalization led to expansion in practice, PR organizations and education. The vast distances in Australia between colonies and, later, states of the federation, reinforced state and national governments' roles in applying public information-style communication to reach the widespread population. This development was not in imitation of British models but of the need to inform, convince and persuade the widely spread population Some scholars trace the development of New Zealand's public relations industry to the wartime and post-war efforts of military personnel. However, the use of strategies and tactics that are now recognized as part of a PR 'toolkit' occurred much earlier. They can be traced back to indigenous Mäori culture and to the promotional techniques used in the mid-19th century to attract settlers to the new colony. Post-war, public relations has developed along Anglo-American lines with an emphasis on media relations and corporate communications.*

Keywords: Australia; colonial promotion; government communications; New Zealand; post-war expansion; public relations; tyranny of distance

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1a. Australia

Mark Sheehan

It is now widely accepted that public relations activities existed in Australia well before the term became popular or discussed. The institutionalized communication activities of governments were ongoing from the early 19th century. The most significant challenges for white settlement of Australia were the vast size of the continent and its sparsely spread population. These factors combined to create unique conditions that shaped and influenced the early colonies and ultimately the nation of Australia. Compounding these challenges was, in the words of Australian historian Geoffrey Blainey (1982), 'the tyranny of distance' which was the most powerful brake on Australia's population growth. Early Australia was the British Empire's furthest colony. A lack of population meant that on a large continent many initiatives to build the new society fell to government – whereas in other new nations, particularly the United States, it was the private individual and corporations who saw potential and exploited it. So a cooperative approach of citizen and state came about in Australia more so, it could be argued, than in other growing 19th-century societies. Blainey (1962), who acknowledged the role of public relations in the gold rushes of the 1850s, also stated that by the late 1880s the colonies had begun to shape the 'modern semi-independent government corporation that now rules so much of Australia's economic and social life' (1982, p. 254). When reflecting on historical analyses of PR, Macnamara noted that 'public relations is extensively used by governments' (2012, p. 167). It can be argued further that the responsibility for government to communicate to its constituents in a democracy is far greater than for a private citizen or corporation.

Colonial period

Within 30 years of the settlement of New South Wales (NSW) as a penal colony in 1788, the social, political and commercial conditions had developed that allowed many elements of proto-PR strategies and actions (Watson, 2013) to develop. The early establishment of newspapers, that provided news reports and editorial opinion, allowed for discussion of

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issues and gave opportunity for citizens to publicize and promote causes. This was underpinned by an early basic schooling system in which children of the colony – settler, convict, aboriginal and colonist – were given opportunities to read and write, and be instructed on religious practices (Clark, 1962, p. 258). An example was the aboriginal Walter Arthur who wrote and edited the first indigenous newspaper, *Flinders Island Chronicle*, and went on to petition Queen Victoria successfully about the mismanagement of the Flinders Island native settlement (Reynolds, 1991). Arthur's familiarity with activism and lobbying, as with so many PR practitioners over the next 180 years, stemmed from his education and role in early journalism.

Proto-PR activities were strongly evidenced in the colonial governments as they encouraged immigration and tourism from England. By the end of the 19th century, the colonies were exploiting the new medium of moving pictures to encourage immigration. Smyth claimed that 'the first government film making in the world' (1998, p. 238) occurred in Queensland for distribution at the Greater British Exhibition in London in 1899. From the 1840s to the early years of the new century the colonies also sought self-government which required sophisticated and coordinated effort in persuasive communication in Australia and in London. For example, the citizens of the island state of Tasmania appointed a lobbyist, John Jackson, to represent their claim for self-government in London. Jackson's activities included the publication and distribution of pamphlets extolling the benefits of self-government for London and the colony; at the same time ensuring that the response and coverage of his London publicity, lobbying and relationship activities were recorded in the colony's press (Sheehan, 2014). Lobbying was practised over subsequent decades in the early colonies and as those colonies federated into the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901 it was 'no coincidence that the very choice of Canberra as the site of Australia's Federal parliament was a much lobbied decision' (Sheehan, 2012, p. 6).

20th century

The first two decades of the 20th century saw the rise of publicity officers and departments in federal and state governments and their agencies. Yet there seems to be little recorded activity of PR in Australian private industry at this time. Gleeson (2012) identifies the first government

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publicity officer as being appointed by the NSW government in March 1914. Turnbull (2010) notes that at this time PR activities were all government-based and refers to the appointment of a federal government publicity officer in 1918. By that time the NSW Premier's Department had increased its PR activity and established a Publicity and Research branch. These developments were more than information dissemination and show governments' understanding of persuasive communication was beyond press agentry to an awareness of the strategic value of communication with diverse publics.

World War I witnessed an expansion in PR activities in support of war loan subscriptions and recruitment drives. Australia remained the only nation with a volunteer army fighting in the war. By 1916 the numbers of recruits had reduced so much that Prime Minister Hughes sought a mandate for conscription from voters. The 1916 conscription referendum failed and Hughes attempted again in 1917. This time the prime minister seconded Claude McKay, a former journalist and writer, to work on the campaign's promotion; he broadened the use of persuasive tactics. Mackay had been the successful Publicity Director for War Loans. He set up recruiting committees, held public meetings and produced a handbook for the conduct of these committees and meetings. The handbook, *The Speaker's Companion*, contained template speeches and featured one section called Sister Susie's Creed. The creed exhorted women to die an old maid rather than 'flirt with men who did not enlist' (Carlyon, 2006, p. 525). The campaign employed the services of Australia's most famous expatriate, the international opera singer Dame Nellie Melba, who delivered carefully crafted messages directed at the women of Australia. Hughes had identified women as highly persuasive with their ability to urge doubtful enlisters and shame the shirker (Sheehan, 2007).

These meetings often took place on the back of other patriotic events and to that extent caught the public unaware. Carlyon notes that 'theatres, cinemas, town halls, sporting events and even beaches' (2006, p. 525) became fora to encourage the nation to 'keep Australia's promise to Britain' for more recruits. Again the referendum failed, by a larger majority than the first. Despite the support of the press and most national institutions, Hughes was unable to persuade the Australian people.

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s the dominance of PR practice by governments continued, and significant development occurred in the not-for-profit sector with charities using these techniques. A

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prominent example were the communication and lobbying activities of the returned servicemen's organization Legacy which advocated a Shrine of Remembrance as the city of Melbourne's tribute to the fallen of World War I (Sheehan, 2007). Gleeson (2012) has identified George Fitzpatrick as Australia's first PR consultant. In 1929, Fitzpatrick described himself with this role in a statement which advocated PR's role far beyond publicity as 'creation of public opinion was entrusted to highly-skilled specialists, who never appear in public. The(y) created public opinion by means of the power of the Press, letters, large advertising space, cartoons, letter writing campaigns, lobbying' (Gleeson, 2012, p. 5). Fitzpatrick set up a consultancy business in Sydney in 1933 and developed a lobbying business in the national capital Canberra shortly after. In 1930 the NSW government publicity officer was among the highest paid public service positions; the Tasmanian government re-established a publicity office in 1935 and the Queensland government also established a publicity office in the same year.

Critical at this time was the creation in 1926 in the UK of the Empire Marketing Board (EMB) under the Colonial Secretary Leo Amery. The EMB, under the directorship of the British PR pioneer (Sir) Stephen Tallents, sought to promote empire goods to UK consumers (Anthony, 2012). Richard Casey, later a prominent cabinet minister, who arrived in London at this time was mentored and befriended by Amery (Hudson, 1986). This close relationship would have brought Casey into Tallents' sphere of operation and allowed him to observe the PR work of Tallents and the EMB. Casey, a founder of the Liberal Party of Australia, the dominant political party of power from the late 1940s to the early 1970s, formed a 'lifelong attitude of "devotion" to public relations in terms of what it could achieve for individuals and organisations' (Sheehan, 2014, p. 38). It can be argued that Casey's influence was a contributing factor to government's recognition of the benefits of PR.

World War II and the arrival of General Douglas MacArthur and his PR entourage in late March 1942 have been attributed by some authors as the start of public relations in Australia (Tymson and Sherman, 1987; Zawawi, 2000). However as this chapter illustrates, PR as both the term and practice was already in wide use. The nation's Army and Air Force had adopted the term and practices by 1941 (Herington, 1954; Long, 1953). It would be the nucleus of servicemen, often designated as Public Relations Officers (PRO), who would create and build a more widely recognized PR profession in post-war Australia.

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After 1945 it was mostly government that endorsed the benefits of PR for post-war recovery and national growth. This link can be substantiated when the employer organizations of the founding presidents of the Public Relations Institute of Australia (PRIA) from the early 1950s are examined. The organizations were chiefly government departments and agencies: Trans Australia Airlines (the government-owned airline), Department of Civil Aviation, Rural Bank, Department of Lands, Australian Road Safety Council, and State Electricity Commission of Victoria (Flower, 2002). Turnbull has noted that even by the late 1960s 'most of the PR practitioners were concentrated in government departments and agencies and consultancies although there was a growing number employed by business' (2010 p. 20) and Dwyer, editor of Australia's first PR-specific publication, also acknowledged that 'before private enterprise began to make anything like extensive use of public relations technique in Australia, PR was already well established in a number of government departments and statutory corporations' (1961, p. 52).

Growth

By the mid-1950s corporate Australia had caught up. The oil refining industry and banks had established internal public relations departments and information bureaux, respectively. The bureaux specifically undertook public relations activities (Flower, 2007; Sheehan, 2014).

Although Fitzpatrick had established a consultancy in the early 1930s, it was in post-war era this became the area of professional growth. It may have appealed to corporations because, rather than setting up a department or employing a PRO, a consultancy was a low-risk way to engage PR services.

Foremost among the new consultancies was Eric White Associates (EWA). In 1944, Eric White was employed as the Director of Public Relations of the conservative Federal Liberal Party (Potts, 1976). White stayed in the role until 1947 when he set up EWA (Dwyer, 1961). The Liberal Party remained in power for 23 years until 1972. Much of EWA's growth was linked to its government clients who over this period displayed a greater understanding and appreciation of PR (Sheehan, 2009). By the late 1950s EWA was operating in all state capitals and was soon represented in New Zealand and Asia. A decade later, his overwhelming commercial success in creating 'the biggest (public relations

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firms) in the world outside the United States' (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 1989) allowed White to launch it on the Stock Exchange in 1964. A former CEO of EWA claimed the company 'taught so many people the rudiments of public relations' that a leading Australian business magazine dubbed it 'the university of public relations' in Australia (Golding, 2004, p. 207).

In 1957, one of Australia's leading newspapers *The Argus* had closed after 111 years. 'Public relations particularly benefitted. Many *Argus* people moved into this rapidly expanding, developing industry and were a major force in laying the foundations of "PR" as it is today' (Usher, 2007, p. 8). In that year there were 30 consultancies in Melbourne alone. One former *Argus* journalist went on to found Australia's other major PR consultancy, International Public Relations (IPR). 'If EWA created the modern consultancy industry, it was further shaped in 1964 when the EWA recruit Laurie Kerr, left EWA to set up IPR' (Turnbull, 2010, p. 19). *The Australian Financial Review* (27 July 1961) wrote that Australian business was spending more than £3 million on PR and that 'a much greater amount [was] spent on internal consultants employed inside industry'. Kerr told a meeting of business leaders in 1965 that public relations was a £5-million-a-year business that most management knew was necessary, because they were 'living in an era of public opinion which can make or break most companies and institutions' (Gardiner, n.d.). By 1976, 58 consultancies were listed by the marketing publication *B&T*; in 1984 the number had risen to 225 consultancies. Two years later the list had grown to 270. By 1986 the PRIA's annual report estimated that 'spending on PR services was around $170 million.'

During this time the increasing professional nature of PR was confirmed with the formation of tertiary-level education. Much of this was driven by the respective state bodies of the PRIA. The Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology offered a certificate in 1964; in 1969 the New South Wales Institute of Technology followed with a business diploma; and in 1974 Queensland Institute of Technology introduced Australia's first full-time public relations degree (Johnston and Macnamara, 2012). Post-graduate studies commenced it the University of Technology Sydney in 1983.

This development saw the need for Australian PR texts – the dependence on US-based publications remained strong for some decades. The few home-grown exceptions were driven mainly by practitioner-focused contributors and authors (Potts, 1976; Macnamara, 1983).

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Conclusion

The elements that shaped Australia and its evolution from six colonies to one nation have affected the development of PR. Before technology conquered the distances of the vast continent, the one all-embracing factor was the nation itself – and, by default, the national government was the tangible expression of the new nation. Government attempts to inform, convince and persuade the widely spread population relied on and exploited PR strategies more than a single entity private enterprise could hope to achieve.

PR in Australia had a unique beginning that allowed it to flourish, not as a colonial imitator but, in parallel and by coincidence, share a British approach of defining PR through action. Despite the conditions in which PR developed organically in Australia, practitioners and some academics have assumed that the term 'public relations was introduced into Australia by US General Douglas Macarthur' (Walker, cited in Howell, 2002). 'We have not been influenced very much by the UK. Most of the research, most of the knowledge, most of the text books, have come from the US and the leading academics are in the US' (Potts, cited in Morath, 2008, p. 64). It would be easy to assume that imperial influence may have dictated a style of practice but it was more a set of ideals for a new world – whether one created by federation or coming out of the ashes of a War that drove this development.

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1b. New Zealand

Chris Galloway

While some scholars trace the development of New Zealand's public relations industry to the wartime and post-war efforts of military personnel (e.g. Motion and Leitch, 2001), arguably the use of strategies and tactics now recognized as part of a PR 'toolkit' occurred much earlier. For example, the website of the Public Relations Institute of New Zealand (PRINZ) asserts that 'public relations have [sic] been practiced in New Zealand since the first people arrived... Early Mäori [the indigenous people] had strong protocols (kawa) for relating to one another and to visitors, persuasive speech making skills (whaikorero), stakeholder relationship management (manakitangi), internal communication, event management, government relations and so on' (Global Alliance, n.d., para. 1). The website does not explain what 'government relations' might look like in a tribal ('iwi') context but one can imagine inter-tribal communication about matters of both peace and war. Beyond Mäoridom, European society not only relied upon but also began to develop some skill in the press agentry beginning to emerge in the United States.

European settlement was significantly influenced by responses to promotional techniques that today could serve as publicity tactics in a public relations campaign. In the 1840s, conditions in Britain and Ireland forced many people to look for better opportunities elsewhere. New Zealand was an option but for many it was tainted not only by association with the convict colonies in Australia but also by perceptions that it was 'a home of bloodthirsty cannibals' (Philips, 2013, p. 3). The New Zealand Company, a land sales organization aiming to attract labourers to the country, 'used books, pamphlets and broadsheets to promote the country as "a Britain of the South", a fertile land with a benign climate, free of starvation, class war and teeming cities' (ibid.). Although its promises were 'flights of fancy' and the company ran into serious financial problems, it did generate a significant increase in settler numbers and put 'in place the mechanisms and promotional pitch that were used by the provinces and the government in later years' (ibid.).

New Zealand's participation in the London Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1851 was also intended to attract suitable settlers although the country's involvement in international exhibitions was not part of an 'organised

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strategy of display' (Johnston, 2008, p. 88). However, serious thought was given to the way New Zealand should present itself at the 1873 Vienna International Exposition. It was decided to exhibit independently of the Australian colonies 'in order to attract investment and immigration that might otherwise have gone elsewhere' (ibid.). Johnston notes that New Zealand sought to 'reinvent itself' (p. 89) as it moved from colony to dominion towards nationhood. Tourism promotion was a special focus. In 1901 the New Zealand government established the Department of Tourism and Health Resorts, the first such government agency in the world (ibid., p. 91). In 1907, writings of a journalist employed by the department, James Cowan, were published in a book which was 'much more than a travel guide; it was an intensive public relations push to spur investment and emigration to New Zealand. Cowan's copy was packed with advertorial that sometimes went to disturbing lengths to celebrate government achievements' (Wood, 2010, p. 30).

As New Zealand developed, it built a flourishing media sphere. Movie screenings began early and a turn of the century French writer examining European society noted that 'the newspaper has a very high place in New Zealand. Everyone reads it, and there are few people ignorant or old-fashioned enough not to be interested in the news' (Siegfried, in Loveridge, 2013, p. 12). The advent of World War I demonstrated

> the capacity of modern society to instil ideas and shape behaviour and was an active attempt to do so. Thus alongside their own often bellicose editorials, newspapers carried advertisements for the Defence Department. Schools disseminated patriotic lessons. Modern patronage of the cinema was exploited and lantern slides were distributed to major theatres and use by recruiters as sites for patriotic demonstrations. (Loveridge, 2013, p. 14)

While this effort parallels those in other belligerent countries, it demonstrates that New Zealand was itself developing the infrastructure of mass communication and persuasion on which the nascent public relations industry could later build. During World War II, 'media men' worked in the Middle East, and later, Italy, for the New Zealand Army Public Relations Service. Their reports were subject to censorship by the government's Director of Publicity, J.T. Paul, whose aims were 'accentuating the positive and minimising the negative' (New Zealand Ministry for Culture and Heritage, n.d., para. 25; Smith, 1995, p. 99). The constraints were not unchallenged, with the *Timaru Herald* newspaper complaining of timid censorship and incompetence in government publicity. Effective

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publicity was a skilled craft, the paper argued, but the government still clung pathetically to the idea that one person could control the irreconcilable tasks of publicity and censorship (Taylor, 1986, p. 937). Paul's view was that 'next to propaganda, publicity was possibly the word most abused in its connotation, publicity buccaneers of all types being associated with legitimate as well as shady undertakings' (ibid., p. 938).

Against this background of strategic information management the New Zealand PR industry emerged post-war, taking on formal shape in 1954 when the Public Relations Institute of New Zealand was incorporated by five former military men (Motion and Leitch, 2001, p. 660; Trenwith, 2010, p. 52). Though isolated from the rest of the world in the days before easy air travel and the internet, these early practitioners recognized the importance of sharing knowledge and actively sought it, especially from the US and Europe 'which were seen to be leading the development of the field of public relations' (Motion et al. 2003, p.104). Yet while such models may have been informative at the time, the more New Zealand society has developed, the less relevance they offered, as the country acquired a rich non-European ethnic diversity which demands audience-specific strategies.

To the existing indigenous population the country has added immigrants mainly from Pacific states and Asia, especially India and China. By 2013 the proportion of New Zealanders of Asian ethnicity (8%) had grown to exceed the representation of Mäori (7.4%) and to be significantly higher than the proportion of New Zealanders of 'Pasifika' (Pacific Islander) origin (4.6%) (New Zealand Demographics Profile, 2013). As Motion et al. observed, 'Mäori culture has had a strong influence on the culture of New Zealand ... although New Zealand has a bicultural policy, it has a multicultural focus' (2003, p. 114). Diversity now finds expression in public relations businesses specializing in managing communication to Mäori and Pasifika audiences, including Auckland-based Silk Associates. A 'booming' ethnic media sector includes almost 50 radio stations, a range of television outlets including a successful Mäori TV channel, and 'plenty of non-Eurocentric print options' (Nga Reo Tangata, 2012, para. 5). Today's public relations practice landscape is, therefore, very different from that of 1954: PRINZ membership exceeds 1100 (personal communication, S. Bell, 26 November 2013) and the institute is an active member of the Global Alliance for Public Relations and Communication Management, which unites similar bodies in a 30-country network. As a participant in globalizing economies,

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therefore, New Zealand's PR industry 'reflects international best practice' (Motion et al., 2003, p. 101), not just the straightforward press agentry of early practitioners (Trenwith, 2010, p. 55). Some international practice models are introduced by local arms of global PR companies, such as Hotwire PR, which also operates in North America, Europe, the Middle East, Asia and Australia, and some through international networks: for example, small, Auckland-based Strata Communications belongs to an alliance of like professionals in cities as diverse as Madrid and Shanghai.

Practice is buttressed through courses at universities and polytechnics throughout New Zealand. Kiwi PR researchers have not been afraid to establish their own identity. Especially, but not only, at the University of Waikato, they have played a 'lead role in developing new theoretical paradigms ... and in challenging established normative disciplinary ideologies' (Weaver 2013, p. 1). While the first tertiary education course in 1962 focused on 'developing business managers' understanding of [public relations] techniques and training them for ... practice' (ibid.) ... many contemporary courses seek to broaden this vocational emphasis. Alternative theoretical approaches have brought 'New Zealand-based public relations research and theory to the attention of international scholars' (ibid., p. 3). However, an 'all too glaring gap in writing about Mäori and public relations in New Zealand' remains (ibid., p. 12).

While today's New Zealand PR industry continues the publicity emphasis associated with its early days, it also does much more: the primary activities are media relations, corporate communications, reputation management, issues management and publicity (PRINZ PR Trends Survey, 2010). It is a far cry from overblown colonial promotion, wartime propaganda and the modest beginnings of PRINZ to today's robust profession, which – in contrast with its male origins, is now at least 73 per cent female (ibid.).

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2
China

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Yi-Ru Regina Chen

Abstract: *Modern public relations in China started after the former president, Deng Xiaoping, reformed the economy by its opening-up to the Western world in 1978. Since then, the development of public relations has gone through four stages, which map with economic developments. These have led to the current status of maturity and rapid expansion. China's public relations, however, has cultural and philosophical roots dating back 4,000 years.*

Keywords: China; economic stages; history of public relations; public relations

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Modern public relations (PR) in China started after President Deng Xiaoping carried out the economic reform that opened the country to the Western world in 1978. Since then, the development of PR has undergone various stages that have led to the current status of maturity. According to the latest annual survey by China International PR Association (CIPRA), the total market revenue of PR in China had reached RMB 30 billion in 2012, with an annual growth rate of 16.5 per cent. Both global and local PR firms are established among the top 25 firms in China's PR industry. With a full range of services, such as digital communication, consumer relations, investor relations and crisis communication, PR's benefits are much sought after by organizations in China (CIPRA, 2013).

While China celebrated the 30th anniversary of its economic development in 2008, research on PR's development has expanded in Chinese universities. Many scholars have provided insights into this economic development (Chen, 2007; He and Xie, 2009; Hung, 2000; Wu, 2012, Zhang, 2003). Wu (2008) contended that the birth and development of PR resulted from the continuous evolution of the economic-socio-political infrastructure.

This chapter details the history of PR in China. As a vast country with more than 4,000 years of history, China's culture, philosophies, and civilizations have shaped communication methods of people in various contexts. The first two parts of the chapter examine the origins of PR in China by introducing the prominent Chinese philosophy related to the concept of PR and by identifying PR-like activities in ancient China. The third part explicates the development stages of modern PR in China and their parallel relationship with the nation's economic development phases. The last part concludes the discussion by identifying the driving forces of PR's evolution and by proposing a prospective picture of the PR profession in China.

The influences of ancient philosophies on PR

The teachings by ancient philosophers and politicians, such as Confucius, Menfucius, Lao Tze and Wang An-Shi, have exhibited PR-like perspectives. Wu (2008) considered that four aspects of the ancient philosophies have affected PR-like knowledge and thinking.

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People as the state's foundation

Confucius once said, 'Not only can water float a boat, it can sink a boat also'. 'Water' refers to the people, while 'a boat' refers to the state or the emperor (Hung and Chen, 2004). 'People as the foundation of the State' has been the core belief in Chinese civilization since ancient times (Wu, 2008). In addition to Confucianism, Mohism's 'universal love and no offending people' and thoughts from Sun Tzu's text, *The Art of War*, on 'people's mind as the priority rather than the city wall when making an attack' also reflected the manner by which ancient emperors valued their people.

Keeping promises and valuing reputation

The *Analects* (sayings of Confucianism) said, 'If any human being is not trustworthy, I don't know what he or she can do' and 'when being a friend, you should be credible in what you say'. In addition, the emphasis on being trustworthy was also shown in the behaviour of ancient merchants. For example, merchants would display signs at their stores that said, 'No deceptions to children and seniors.' Confucius considered being trustworthy as the foundation of conduct of human beings and said, 'If one is not trustworthy and does not keep his promises, he will not be accepted by the society.' Wu considered PR-like activities in ancient times were considerably affected by these thoughts and deemed 'building good reputation and integrity, words consistent with behavior, collaborating and thinking for others' (2008, p. 41) to be the basic rules for PR, both in the past and in the present.

Emphasizing interpersonal relationships and relational harmony

Various studies have demonstrated Chinese society's significant emphasis on human relationships (e.g. Huang, 2000; Hung, 2004; Hung and Chen, 2004; Yang, 1992). Guancius, another ancient philosopher, said, 'If there is no harmony between the management and the people, there will be hidden danger in a stable time.' Since the time of ancient philosophy, maintaining internal and external harmony with the people, society, and the environment has been highlighted. Harmony results from being credible and exhibiting integrity in interpersonal and organizational relationships.

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Being firm on principles and flexible on strategy development

Thoughts in *The Art of War* can also be applied in PR practices (Wu, 2008), such as 'in leading a war, a general should take all the possible situations into consideration so as to develop strategies for victory'. Guancius stressed that, in addition to strategy development, anticipation and advance preparation are keys for success.

Highlighting propriety

China, since ancient times, has regarded itself as a country of propriety. Confucius once said, 'Look not at what is contrary to propriety; listen not to what is contrary to propriety; speak not what is contrary to propriety; make no movement which is contrary to propriety.' The concept of propriety in the Chinese society includes respect, benevolence, fairness, friendship, harmony, and being knowledgeable. Hence, present society and human interactions remain much affected by the concept of propriety, which has been passed down from thousands of years.

The effect of the Chinese philosophy on PR practices

The notion of 'people as the State's foundation' and the emphasis on relational harmony have further highlighted the significance of *guanxi* (personal connections). *Guanxi* in public relations in China has been discussed by several scholars (e.g. Huang, 2000; Hung, 2004; Yang, 2000). Most practitioners in China acknowledged the effects of *guanxi* and understood its negative connotations. On the positive side, it helps organizations to quickly get accepted by other social groups/organizations, and achieve organizational goals. The negative side effects include the impression that organizations or practitioners bypass social rules and strive to achieve objectives unethically. In interviews done by Hung (2004), participants from multinational corporations stated they avoided using *guanxi* as a way to attain business goals.

Another manifestation of people being the foundation of society is that organizations acknowledge the influence of stakeholders. As a result, PR has been regarded as a tool for the society, rather than being only for organizations. This is why government relations and CSR are deemed two of the major practices of PR in China for any organizational purposes.

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The characteristic of Chinese culture that people are flexible in developing strategies has a positive effect on PR practices: 'Glocalization', as used by Hung and Chen (2004) in discussing PR in China, can best be interpreted as this characteristic. Practitioners, in developing strategic planning or in executing clients' projects, are able to quickly learn from the approaches introduced to China from overseas and are creative in altering foreign approaches to fit the local social contexts. However, being flexible also has drawbacks: it sometimes produces the grey areas in the practices. For example, for practitioners with limited understanding of PR, achieving campaign objectives is sometimes considered more important than how the objectives are achieved.

PR-like activities in ancient times

Chen (2007), Hung and Chen (2004) and Wu (2008) have reported that PR-like activities were implemented thousands of years ago, before modern concepts, including the profession, were introduced in the 20th century. Ancient PR-like activities occurred mostly at the state level, with the intention of the ruler or the emperor to establish a credible reputation among his people, or to maintain a harmonious relationship with different sectors in the society (Wu, 2008). Throughout Chinese history, PR-like activities can be summarized into different forms.

Collections of folklore and culture

Folklore and songs during the ancient times reflected people's lives and perceptions towards their rulers and the government. The famous 'Folk Songs' was the first collection of folklore from the Zhou Dynasty (770 BCE to 256 BCE), which described social norms, ethics, the state of interpersonal relations and people's lives. Wu (2008) considered collections, such as 'Folk Songs', to be a form of communication between the ruler and the people.

Lobbying

During spring and autumn, and the Warring States Period (770 BCE to 206 BCE), strategists travelled between different states, negotiating with rulers to maintain peace or to build coalitions in order to prevent attacks from Emperor Ching (Hung and Chen, 2004).

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Diplomacy

During the Han and Tang dynasties in the first millennia, China was an open society with a wide range of economic and business activities. It began developing the 'Silk Road' across Asia which made business activities with foreign countries possible. Rulers sent envoys to foreign states to establish relationships and facilitate exchanges. These trade links also introduced Western products and cultures.

Modern PR in China

Scholars have defined different stages of modern PR development in China (Chen, 2007; He and Xie, 2009; Wu, 2008). Although the number of stages has varied, the identified timeline and the descriptions of the stages have largely been consistent. China's economic development has directly driven the evolution of modern PR (Hung, 2000). In reviewing the history of China and PR literature from 1978 to the present (Chen, 1996; Chen, 2007; Hung and Chen, 2004; YF Wu, 2008; Yu, 2007), Hung and Chen's (2004) Figure 2.1 has been revised to illustrate the parallel relationship of economic progress and the development stages of PR.

Economic stage I: introductory stage

The first economic stage started in 1978 when the nation's reform towards a market-oriented economy under the open-door policy was initiated.

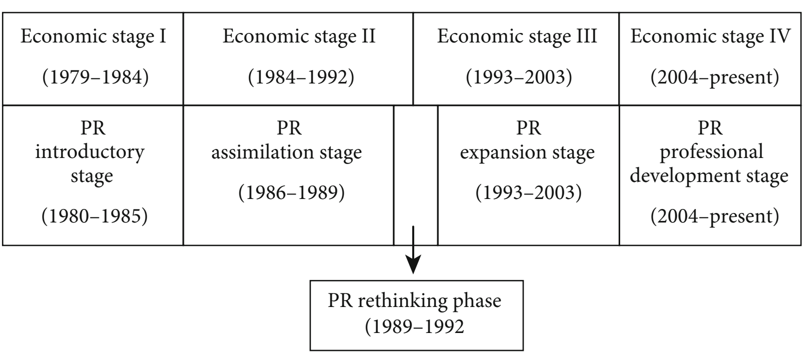

FIGURE 2.1 *The relationship between economic development and PR development*
Source: Authors' own creation.

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The economic reform was launched to sustain the leadership of the Communist Party of China (CPC) after the conclusion of the unpopular Cultural Revolution in 1976 and to maintain parity with the thriving economies of the nation's neighbouring areas, such Taiwan and Hong Kong (Chow, 2004). Rapid economic growth was the focus during this economic stage. Under the policy, China created special economic zones in coastal provinces (i.e. Guangdong, Fujian and Hainan) where policies and the administration were made flexible in order to attract foreign trade and investment. Despite some restrictions, the reform successfully attracted multinational companies (MNCs) that aimed to test the market in China, mostly with joint ventures.

MNCs and Sino-foreign joint ventures brought new knowledge to the market, including the application of PR. Modern PR concepts subsequently emerged in China (Chen, 1996; He and Xie, 2009; Wu, 2008). Sino-foreign joint ventures, especially in the hospitality industry, established the PR departments in the context of adopting the management models of MNCs. For example, the White Swan Hotel in Guangzhou and the Great Wall Hotel in Beijing established PR departments in the early 1980s to assist foreign visitors during their stay and to support marketing activities (He and Xie, 2009; Wu, 2008). In addition, the first local PR department was established by the Bai-Yun pharmaceutical company (a state-owned company) in 1984 (Chen, 2007; Hung, 2000). Many scholars agree that PR practices during this period were unprofessional, if not inappropriate, because ideas or concepts were copied from foreign agencies or companies with little knowledge on why and how to apply them in practice.

Economic stage II: assimilation and rethinking stage

The second stage of economic development started in 1984 when the Chinese government initiated the second economic reform in urban areas that focused on the industrial and commercial economy. The idea was to test the model of the socialist-market economy where the industry and commerce were operated by individuals, under the overall direction of the government. Rapid economic growth was also the goal of this economic stage. The second economic reform led to more freedom for business operations of enterprises in an unlimited number of industries in China, which in turn, increased demand for PR.

The second stage of PR, called the Assimilation stage (He and Xie, 2009) was from 1986 to 1989. Practitioners formed a preliminary

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understanding of PR and started to experiment on various applications in different institutions at all levels. With the burgeoning development, PR became a sunrise industry. The first two PR associations, Shanghai PR Association and China PR Association (CPRA), were established in 1986 and 1987, respectively. PR education began to flourish with the proliferation of translated textbooks and research studies in the universities. PR courses were first offered to undergraduates at the Shenzhen University in 1986. Furthermore, a catalyst that brought the society's attention to PR was the TV series, 'Miss PR', which was aired in the Guangzhou area in 1984 (He and Xie, 2009; Hung and Chen, 2004; Wu, 2008; Yu, 2007). Featuring the work of young PR staff members in a five-star hotel, the TV series promoted the PR profession to the society. Unfortunately, profession was presented to the audience as merely guest relations or management of *guanxi* because of the actors' portrayal.

An interim phase of PR development, between stages I and II, was the 'rethinking phase' (Chen, 1996, p. 123), which was stimulated by the Tiananmen Square incident. Chinese students led demonstrations calling for democracy in the spring of 1989. These quickly earned wide support and posed a threat to the CPC's governance. The protests were eventually suppressed by the military in the Tiananmen Square where student demonstrators were shot or arrested. To address the student activism in support of democracy, the government reconsidered Western ideas and concepts after the implementation of the open-door policy, which included PR. Scholars and practitioners then discussed the application of PR in the context of socialism with Chinese characteristics, the official ideology of the CPC proposed by Deng (Wu, 2008). The concept of PR in a Chinese context was proposed by the Chinese International Public Relations Association's president (Wu, 2008), who implied that PR has the responsibility to sustain the social development and stability under the ideology. Thus, PR practices should not challenge the principles of this ideology. CIPRA, established in 1991, was the third PR professional association in China. It was led by the government and comprised PR practitioners, scholars and agencies, making it the nation's biggest PR association.

Economic stage III: expansion stage of PR

The third economic stage started in 1992, after Deng Xiaoping visited several cities in the South. His trip led to an official resolution of transforming the country to a socialist-market economy, which was announced at

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the Third Plenary Session of the 14th CPC Central Committee in 1993. This government policy launched the nation's overall development direction of having deeper interactions with the West by encouraging not only market economy activities but also realignment to the international community. Rapid economic growth remained the primary goal of this economic stage. China's entry to the WTO in 2001 marked a milestone for this stage.

With the government's policy direction, PR consequently evolved to the fourth stage, which was expansion. More production and business transitions resulted in high demand for PR in China and the advancement of the profession (Hung and Chen, 2004). The PR profession was first included in the 1999 editions of the *Directory of Profession Classification* published by the China's Ministry of Labour and Social Security. In the following year, the first national qualification examination for PR was held by the government in 24 provinces. These initiatives demonstrated the increasing recognition of the PR profession (Wu, 2008).

Economic stage IV: professional development stage of PR

The fourth stage of economic development began after the outbreak of severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS) in China in 2002–2003. The SARS crisis was a wake-up call to the Chinese government. The crisis reflected many managerial weaknesses of the Chinese government, such as its inability to manage public emergencies and public communication, including rumours. It also attracted people's attention to the trade-offs of rapid economic development, such as increased risks to the society because of globalization and environmental problems resulting from industrial production (Yu, 2008). Party General Secretary Hu Jintao's administration realized that economic development at this stage not only contributed to the well-being of the Chinese people and the power of the nation but also created issues in the society, including the widening disparity of wealth, loss of values, structural poverty, ineffective social and welfare system, increasing unemployment rate and environmental problems (Hu, 2013; Zheng and Tok, 2007). As a result, Hu set the nation's development direction to become a 'harmonious society' (*hexieshehui*) and announced 'harmonious world' (*hexieshijie*) as the keynote of the nation's foreign policy at the Fourth Plenary Session of the 16th CPC Central Committee in September 2004. The policy discourse of harmonious society indicated that China would undergo a new stage of development; that is, the economy would be developed while social,

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political and environmental problems were dealt with. The discourse of harmonious world meant that the nation was well aware of its new role in the international community and would take a proactive but cautious approach to participate in it. Thus, the goal of this economic development stage was to sustain satisfactory economic growth (Zheng and Tok, 2007). Rapid growth was considered no longer necessary.

The SARS outbreak propelled PR to the stage of professional development where it was recognized by the government and society as a management function of communication, tackling not only commercial needs but also political and social issues at a macro level. Given the new demands, PR at this stage rapidly developed knowledge and skills for three sophisticated practices: crisis management, public diplomacy, and digital communication. The Chinese government and many local enterprises began to adopt and train for crisis management, as a specialized function of PR, after the SARS outbreak. In May 2003, the CIPRA president held a telephone conference with the leaders of PR agencies in China to develop a crisis management plan for SARS. The plan was well received by the government's information office. Taking the advice from the industry, the government launched a training system in 2004 for government spokespersons at all levels to make sure that they could communicate well with audiences and the media during the crisis. SARS was the tipping point that made organizations attentive to the importance of crisis management in China. After the outbreak, the nation went through a series of major crises, including the avian influenza (H5N1) in 2004, the Sudan red panic (a cancer-causing additive found in food) in 2005, the scandal involving milk and infant formula containing melamine in 2008, and the Red Cross charity scandal in 2011. All crises required the PR industry to advance its crisis management practice.

Public diplomacy has been another area for the development of PR in China. The nation's reputation has risen because of its rapid economic development and the global financial crisis in 2008. It was eager to realign with the international community with a positive image as a contemporary country. One means to reach the goal was to organize international events. By hosting the 2008 Beijing Olympics and the 2010 Shanghai Expo, the nation and its enterprises had platforms to promote themselves to foreign countries with intensive media coverage. As well, the 2008 annual conference of the International PR Association was held in Beijing shortly after the Olympics. Continuing the momentum, China aggressively publicized its new image in the 2012 London Olympics. As

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a result, public diplomacy has become a new area of demand for PR (CIPRA, 2013). The demand is led by the public sector at all levels and by top enterprises aiming to expand markets worldwide.

Government policy has placed great importance on information technology as part of the nation's modernization (Zhang, 2002). As a result of its economic development, China was able to upgrade its telecommunication and information technology infrastructures quickly, thereby sustaining economic development. With social media and mobile devices serving as the dominant communication platforms for the people, digital communication has become a specialist area in PR practices of private and public sector organizations. For instance, many government agencies have an official Weibo (a micro-blogging service similar to Twitter) account to foster online communication with citizens. The CIPRA 2013 report shows that in the previous year, 33 of the 35 PR firms (i.e. the top 25 firms and the top 10 fastest-growing firms in terms of CIPRA's own criteria) provided digital PR services. Among these firms, six reached an annual revenue of RMB 30 million or above in 2012.

One aspect of the widespread adoption of Internet and social media is that some individuals have access to information and dialogues across borders, but others don't. This creates a society divided by knowledge. As a result there is increasing emphasis in Chinese digital PR for organizations to engage with the public more broadly and effectively to achieve their communication objectives, and to use dialogue more assiduously to manage issues that involve the diverse interests of stakeholders.

At this stage, the PR industry keeps growing because of new and existing demands. The Blue Focus Group became the first stock-exchange listed PR firm in China in 2010. The industry had a 16.5 per cent revenue growth in 2012 (CIPRA, 2013). As well, it has made continuous efforts to lift the professionalism of PR. For example, CIPRA issued the Guidelines for PR Services in 2004. This provided a code of conduct to enable practitioners to enhance the trust and legitimacy of the profession. The government provides support to strengthen the PR education because of its recognition of PR as a profession and practices that are valuable to the society. In addition to spokespersons, the government required all civic servants and CPC elites to study PR from 2007 onwards (Zhang et al., 2012). In 2012, China's Ministry of Education (MOE) approved PR as a legitimate major (under the field of journalism and mass communication) in China's higher education system. In June 2013, a university in Wuhan was approved to offer a doctoral program in PR for the first time (Lu, 2013).

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Drives for PR evolution in China and the next stage

Political, economic, technological, and social drives

PR in China has evolved in a way similar to that in the United States even though the triggering events for the development of PR in both countries have been different. Before 1978, PR was mainly expressed as party (CPC) propaganda. Modern PR was brought to China because of its economic reforms as a political decision by the CPC-led government. Further economic development caused by subsequent waves of reforms maintained the momentum of the development of PR in the nation. PR has evolved as a mature profession, providing sophisticated services for organizations to adapt to the technological and social changes in the contemporary Chinese society caused by the rapid economic development.

The main demand of PR in China evolved from guest relations in the early 1980s to media relations, government relations, and marketing communication from the 1980s to 2003. Since 2003, PR has been gradually recognized as a management function to facilitate effective communication by using online and offline media, deal with crises, build image, and develop a harmonious society by balancing the interests of various groups via dialogues.

The next stage

Although the industry encounters some challenges, the future of PR in China is promising for several reasons. First, many analysts predicted that China would maintain a 7.5 per cent economic growth in 2014 (Yao, 2013). With the economic development (especially that in second-tier cities), the market of PR in China will keep growing. Second, PR has been recognized by the Chinese government as an important profession that can meet the challenges of the nation's fast development since 1978 and to sustain its further growth. With that recognition, the government regulates PR as a required skill for civil servants and party elites. Third, organizations in the public and private sectors gradually realize that PR is not only a communication tool but also a management tool.

Future development of PR in China has several directions. First, the enhancement of professionalism of the profession will be further advanced, and PR programs and training will be more pervasive. Given the changing demands, local PR firms lacking management knowledge and research ability will lose their competiveness. Second, both global and local PR firms will continue expanding their businesses because of the economic growth. Third, PR and government affairs will intertwine most of the time because of the government's influence on the economy and media. Fourth, PR will demonstrate a full range of services. Finally, PR in China will keep moving towards a two-way, dialectical approach, whereas the society will become further divided by the consequences of economic development and the effect of social media and digital communication on the Chinese people.

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3
India

John V. Vil'Anilam

Abstract: *India's public relations (PR) heritage dates back to 272 BCE when the Emperor Ashoka communicated with inscriptions on rocks and pillars. Its development has been mapped in three phases: propaganda (1500 BCE to 1858), publicity and public information (1858 to independence in 1947) and public relations (since 1947). Recent PR development evolved from governmental and then corporate communications before it became increasingly internationalized from the 1970s onwards as the Indian economy began to open to inward investment.*

Keywords: history of public relations; India; post-colonial; public relations

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Historically, public relations in India may have started with Emperor Ashoka (272 BCE–232 BCE) whose rock edicts and pillar inscriptions were imperial communications to the subjects of his vast empire. Some rocks and pillars are still extant (Kaul, 1988; Reddi, 1997a). The Emperor's obligations to the ruled were revealed in them. The Maurya practice of rulers communicating with the people of all strata of society continued during the period of later rulers, such as the Guptas and others; even extending to the Mogul rulers from Babur in the 15th century and his descendants, including Akbar the Great, Jehangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb to Bahadur Shah Zafar in the 19th century. Their subjects could present grievances to the rulers through the ruler's representatives or directly at the Emperor's Court (Darbar). Early practices of maintaining relations with the public cannot, however, be compared with modern public relations.

Reddi, cited in Singh (2000), argues that India's communication history can be explained in three phases: propaganda, publicity and public information, and public relations as it is known today. The first phase was identified as the era of propaganda: 'during the period 1500 BCE–1858, where propaganda was used from 1500 BC to the end of the East India Company in 1858. The second phase, the era of publicity and public information, was during the period 1858–1947, where publicity and public information was used from 1858 by the British to rule India' to 1946, the period of pre-independence India. The third phase, the era of PR, spans the period from 1947 to date, which is in independent India (Singh, 2000, pp. 300–301). Kaul (1976), however, proposed four stages: early stage, the stage of conscious PR, the third stage of PR and finally professionalism in PR.

First phase

Press relations with one or two segments of the public (the literate and the educated) possibly started when India's first newspaper, the *Bengal Gazette or Calcutta General Advertiser* was published on 29 January 1780 under the editorship of James Augustus Hicky, an ex-employee of the English East India Company during the first governor-generalship of Warren Hastings. The newspaper printed news of interest to the British and European settlers in Calcutta, such as their arrivals and departures, social activities. However, it closed after 18 months when it attracted

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the ire of Hastings, because Hicky published unflattering news about Hastings' wife. The importance of Hicky's newspaper venture was that journalism, publicity, publication, advertising and public relations were all inter-related even in the 18th century.

Second phase

According to Ghosh (1994), systematic and organized public relations began in the form of publicity and governmental propaganda in India in the colonial period of the early decades of the 20th century. The British government felt the need to build the public opinion and disseminate information to the public through the media on World War I. It established a Central Publicity Board under the chairmanship of Sir Stanley Reed, the editor of the *Times of India*, Bombay which was the first organized PR set-up in the country (Bardhan and Patwardhan, 2004; Bardhan and Sriramesh, 2004). Once the war ended the board was taken over by Central Bureau of Information in 1921. This bureau functioned as a link between the government and the media. One of its important functions was to scrutinize the negative and critical stories on the government appearing in the media. The Bureau was the forerunner of today's Press Information Bureau (PIB). It was more than a decade before that an Indian, J. Natarajan, formerly editor of the Lucknow newspaper, *The Pioneer*, was appointed to a senior position as Deputy Principal Information Officer. In 1923, the Central Bureau was re-designated as the Directorate of Public Instruction and, in 1939, it became the Directorate of Information and Broadcasting.

Some scholars consider that systematic and organized public relations practice in India, as compared with governmental news management and information dissemination began with the Indian Railways. It found that operating railways to carry raw materials from the hinterland to ports was proving to be expensive and realized that passenger traffic was needed to recover the cost. The Great Indian Peninsular Railway carried on a campaign in the early 1920s in England to attract tourists to India (Sardana, n.d.). 'Primarily manifested as marketing public relations, the campaign made use of travelling cinemas, holding open air shows at Indian fairs. Abroad, bureaus in London and New York placed advertisements in newspapers and participated in exhibitions' (Bardhan and Patwardhan, 2004, p. 251).

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Several authors including Reddi (1999) present Mahatma Gandhi as the spiritual founder of Indian public relations. Reddi, cited in Singh, called him 'the father of PR in India' (2000, p. 300) because of his use of the mass media to support campaigns against the British and to alleviate poverty among fellow Indians. Gandhi very successfully used his newspapers to create awareness about social, political, economic and cultural issues. In an edition of the *Young India* dated 2 July 1925, he wrote:

> I have taken up journalism not for its own sake but merely as an aid to what I have conceived to be my mission in life. My mission is to teach by example and present under severe restraint the use of the matchless weapon of *Satyagraha* (Truth Force) which is a direct corollary of non-violence.

Gandhi was the editor of two journals: *Young India* (English) and *Navajivan* (Gujarati) both started in the 1920s. He was also connected with three journals while he was in South Africa. In 1933, he started three more newspapers, *Harijan*, *Harijanbandhu* and *Harijansevak* in English, Gujarati and Hindi, respectively, which became vehicles of his crusade against untouchability and poverty in rural areas.

Third phase

In its modern form, public relations began in India in the second half of the 20th century. It was connected with advertising, but neither PR nor advertising made much progress because both were associated with business and industrial development which was very slow before independence in 1947.

After independence, public relations in the corporate sector developed rapidly among multinational and progressive Indian corporate houses (Bardhan and Patwardhan, 2004). In 1943, the country's major indigenous business house, the Tata group of companies, had set up the first public relations department in Bombay (now Mumbai) and started a monthly employee publication in the following year (Kaul, 1976). Other multinationals, such as Dunlop, Hindustan Lever (Unilever), and Philips followed (Bardhan and Sriramesh, 2004). During this period, Kaul (1988) commented that the focus of public relations in most business organizations was media coverage in newspapers and radio. This led to the widespread recruitment of journalists into information dissemination and public relations work.

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The Tata business house is considered by some scholars as exemplifying PR as management's liberal and pioneering voice, rather than as a set of communication practices, with the enactment of philanthropy as a form of corporate social responsibility (CSR). Kaul (1976) gives the example of Tata Iron and Steel Company which commenced production in 1912. From the outset, Tata was involved in community relations as it built the model town of Jamshedpur where it not only provided housing, water, electricity, free primary education, hospital and technical institutes, but also promoted social, cultural and economic development of the community.

After independence, the government of India set up a fully fledged Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, a premier agency for disseminating information and acting as public relations manager to reach out to people about various welfare programs. Successive governments, however, have been criticized for using the state machinery for propagating the 'achievements' of the party in power.

Changes began to occur during the Five-Year Plans starting in the 1950s when several major development projects, industrial manufacturing units, large-scale chemical and agricultural processes, huge dams and financial institutions were launched from 1952 onwards. Foreign collaborations began with the UK, USA, Canada, West Germany, Japan and the Soviet Union. These paved the way for more frequent communication between political leaders/administrators and the people through the various media of communication, particularly through newspapers and magazines. A decision was taken at that time that all the central public sector enterprises (CPSEs) would have a PR department headed by a professional. Public sector chiefs were also expected to produce a regular house journal for employee communication.

Public relations came to be accepted in India as a new activity required for the promotion of business during the mid-1960s. It was aided by the expansion of radio in the 1960s and television in the mid-1970s, largely under government control. The media explosion in India, which gave it the greatest boost, took place in the 1990s after India allowed greater access to international media.

India did not have national equivalents to the iconic figures who championed public relations in other nations, although the Public Relations Society of India (PRSI) names Kali H. Modi as the father-figure of professional PR practitioners in India. Its development came from a wider base of well-educated Indians who were exposed to modern public relations practices through national subsidiaries of, and joint ventures with,

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British and American advertising and publicity agencies. There were also major British and American business and industrial enterprises working in the main metropolitan cities. Managers of those firms took keen interest in modern business management practices. Some took great pains to organize PR as part of top management.

India's first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, and his ministerial team, particularly, the first education minister, Abul Kalam Azad, took keen interest in establishing institutions such as the Institute of Management in Ahmedabad (IIM-A) and IIM-Calcutta, the Indian Council for Agricultural Research (ICAR), the University Grants Commission (UGC), the Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs), the Indian Space Research Organization (ISRO), the Indian Medical Council (IMC) and various other seminal institutions. They laid the foundation for industrial, scientific, medical, agricultural, fertilizer, iron and steel, rubber and plastics, electrical and electronic, atomic and space research, and socio-economic development. All these organizational and development communication activities led to intense PR involvement.

Major Indian businesses, such as Tata, Birla, Goenka, Ruiya, Goel and Kirloskar, were established during the British period, but functioned more freely after independence. Foreign companies, including Lever Brothers, Binny, Spencers, Burmah Oil and other foreign oil companies were all in operation at this time. They have been joined over time by many new major organizations in finance, information technology, oil and oilseeds, soaps, silk, fabric and steel production: Ambani, Mittal and Muthoot have reached the Forbes magazine's list of top corporations of the world.

Relevant to PR, conglomerate media corporations such as the *Times of India*, *Indian Express*, *Statesman* and the *Hindustan Times* groups have grown into giant corporations; and independent media companies such as Kasturi and Sons (publisher of *The Hindu*) have also grown several fold. The biggest Indian language newspaper groups are the Hindi, Tamil, Malayalam and Bengali publishing groups such as *Dainik Bhaskar*, *Dainik Jagran*, *Dinath Thanti*, *Malayala Manorama* and *Anand Bazaar Patrika* groups. All have offered the platform for India's expansion in PR practice and education, as 'print media were relatively free while the broadcast media were government controlled' (Bardhan and Patwardhan, 2004, p. 252).

Export business grew in the 1950s and was dominated by foreign companies and the major family-run Indian business houses. Industrial

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activity developed, together with an expanding and assertive print media industry. 'Public relations by its present nomenclature was not commonly known but practiced through in-house peripheral activities such as government liaison, sundry assignments, publicity and support to corporate and product advertising work' (Kaul, 1997, p. 20).

The 1960s witnessed further industrial development with much diversification. Public relations became part of the public sector ethos as 'accountability and transparency became imperative in public sector management' (ibid.). PR departments did not report directly to parliament, but prepared annual reports for presentation to the parliament. In addition to media relations, other PR-related functions that contributed to organizational communication were house journals, exhibitions and trade fairs.

The 1970s saw further economic development and infrastructure growth as part of the expansion of the public service sector. This, says Kaul (1997), impacted on the activity and development of the private sector and primary industry and led to growth in PR. Advertising agencies were developing at the same time and 'this offered an opportunity for direct interaction between in-house PR and private advertising agencies' (Kaul, 1997). A further significant development of this decade was the growth of PR agencies, either as independent agencies or as extensions, as seen worldwide, of advertising agencies. The incoming agencies included Ogilvy & Mather, Ketchum (through Kaul's Mel-Cole PR) and Good Relations.

From the 1980s onwards there was aggressive expansion of public relations, in line with the sector's worldwide growth. A new model of a marketing and consumer-oriented communications service industry bloomed. The arrival of agencies also established compatibility between in-house PR and external expertise in the areas of professional expertise including finance, legal and human resources.

1990s – PR and PMs

The 1990s is generally referred to as the 'watershed in the annals of the Indian economy' (Kaul, 1997, p. 21). Deregulation and liberalization policies accelerated development on many fronts. The once-closed statist economy was now open to external investment. PR gained impetus in the 1990s following liberalization, privatization and globalization under Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao and his Finance Minister Dr Manmohan Singh during 1992–1997. The government's economic policies underwent changes in the late 1990s. Although foreign collaborations had started under the first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru (1947–1964), and continued under later prime ministers, there were several restrictions that cast a shadow over economic liberalization and easy foreign investment.

Under Rao and Singh, foreign and domestic investment became easier. Later on, in the new millennium, under the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) led by Ms Sonia Gandhi and Dr Manmohan Singh during the UPA-I and UPA-II governments during 2004–2009 and 2009–2014, respectively, the procedure for foreign investments became much simpler.

This had led to a major expansion in public relations employment and the growth of corporate PR operations and agencies. Gupta (2007) reported that there were about 700 public relations firms in the country with a workforce of 10,000 people. According to a survey conducted by the Associated Chamber of Commerce and Industry in India (Assocham) in 2012, the Indian PR industry was growing at an annual rate of 32 per cent. It was also undergoing consolidation, especially with leading national agencies linking with multinational partners.

A notable factor was that women were predominant in employment but 'women and men are paid equally. Hence practitioners reported no gender discrimination overall' (Gupta, 2007, p. 308). Possibly reflecting Indian PR's long focus on media relations and personal networks, 'public relations is still considered an operational function by most organizations' (ibid.) and writing skills were rated as 'the most important part of PR training' (ibid., p. 309).

PR practice and India

Much of the research on public relations practice in India has been undertaken by Krishnamurthy Sriramesh. It began with his doctoral research into practitioners in southern India (Sriramesh, 1991) and continued through the 1990s. As he had been supervised on his doctoral studies at the University of Maryland by the noted PR theorist, James E. Grunig, the research used Grunig's four models as benchmarks. Although some findings showed linkages to the Press Agentry model, there were

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notable aspects that were culturally different from Grunig's essentially North American models. Sriramesh, Kim and Takasaki reported that the personal influence model was widespread 'in every sample organisation' (1999, p. 285). They gave examples including:

> The head of public relations of the non-profit organization studied stated that she personally handed press releases to every media organisation and took the opportunity to chat to reporters as well. She speculated that about 60% of the time a press release from her organization got published based on the personal influence she developed with a journalist. (ibid.)

All the participants in the research reported using similar strategies, which indicated clearly that the dominant historical model of PR practice has been personal influence, a welded-together combination of media relations driven by interpersonal communications. This was fostered by cultural hierarchies and long-term practice of employing journalists for public relations roles.

Although, as noted earlier, Indian business houses have a long history of social engagement and philanthropy, notably Tata, Dhanesh (2012) has found that PR practitioners are less likely to be involved in the management of corporate social responsibility initiatives. She found that in more than two-thirds of companies, CSR was not led by PR but by 'sole managers (with) sole responsibility for CSR or heads of business units or the human resources function held additional responsibility for CSR' (Dhanesh, 2012, p. 142):

> Participants (in the study) from the older companies in both manufacturing and services sectors opined that although CSR has had a long history in India, traditionally, the focus had never been on publicity or getting the name 'out there', but rather, on behavioral engagement with local communities; and that publicizing CSR efforts or achievements for reputational or relational benefits was a relatively new trend. (ibid.)

'PR Circle' and the PRSI

The lead professional body, the Public Relations Society of India was formed in the mid-1960s. PR was in its infancy in India and mainly practiced in the large metropolitan cities, with occasional annual conferences. PRSI had been formed a few years earlier in 1958 (PRSI, 2013; Reddi, 1999) and operated in an informal style until 1966 when it was registered under the Indian Societies Act XXVI of 1961, with headquarters in Bombay

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(Mumbai). PRSI was strongly supported by governmental bodies. Today, the PRSI has 24 or more chapters. Earlier in 1965, another professional body, the Public Relations Circle was founded and registered in Kolkata (PRSI, 2012). It was the first association of professional PR practitioners in Eastern India. However, during the first All India PR Conference in 1968 at New Delhi its members decided to disband and joined the national body, thus forming the Kolkata Chapter of PRSI, in 1969.

One early conference in 1966 in Madras (Chennai) demonstrated a close link between the media and the emerging sector. Its major speakers included eminent newspaper editors such as V. K. Narasimhan, an early *Hindu* editor and L. S. P. Nagarajan of the *Indian Express*, Professor Ravi Matthai, the first Director of IIM-A, R. K. Swamy, Director of J. Walter Thomson-India, J. B. Shea and others of large advertising agencies such as Bomas and Lintas as well as the PR managers of Ashok Leyland, ICF, Binny, MRF, Spencers, and other prominent members of the business, industrial and manufacturing houses in Chennai at that time. This indicated that PR was well-established within major organizations, but was only just seeking the trappings of professional respectability through its own umbrella body.

Chapters also appeared in Mumbai, Delhi and Chennai during 1966–1969. The first national leader was Kali H. Modi, considered by the PRSI to be the 'father-figure of professional PR practitioners in India' (PRSI, 2013). The first All India PR Conference was organized on 21 April 1968, during which a PR Code of Ethics was adopted. Since then PRSI has convened 35 All India Conferences, including the 9th PR World Conference in Mumbai in 1982, the first Asia Pacific PR Meet in Kolkata during January 1998, and the International PR Conference at Bangalore in 2002.

PRSI is managed through its National Council consisting of members from the regional chapters. National and multinational corporations, central and state governments, public and private sector organizations supply membership of PRSI. Since 1986, 21 April is celebrated as the National PR Day.

India and IPRA

Indian public relations figures sought international engagement through the International Public Relations Association (IPRA), with Sanat Lahiri becoming president in 1979 followed by Anand Akerkar in 1989 and Zelma

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Lazarus in 1998. The earliest recorded Indian member of IPRA was Satya Prakash who joined in 1965. IPRA's World Public Relations Congress was held in Mumbai in 1982 and national membership peaked soon after in the mid-1980s. The Voltas organization, part of the Tata group, was a prominent sponsor of IPRA activities in the 1990s. IPRA provided an outlet for India's PR practitioners to demonstrate their national approach to PR through its *IPRA Review* magazine and attracted articles on urban communications (Reddi, 1978), crisis management (Akerkar, 1988), financial communications with customers (Mehrotra, 1982), tourism promotion aligned to corporate communication (Basu, 1984), health prevention campaigns (Lazarus, 1986) and PR education (Subbarayan, 1993).

PR education

The education of India's PR practitioners started with a course run by Tata's public relations officer in 1958 (Sriramesh, 1996). University level studies did not start until the 1980s with a diploma course at Hyderabad's Dr Ambedkar Open University which was later developed into a bachelor's programme. Master's programmes commenced in the early 1990s and have developed since. It is perhaps surprising that earlier progress was not made as PRSI's aims included fostering training and education, while prominent practitioners, who had an international aspect, were engaged in IPRA's discourse on PR education which had started in the 1960s.

Out of the more than 600 universities in India, some 110 have departments of journalism/communication or mass communication that offer a course in PR. Many departments offer courses in PR and Advertising, PR and Publicity, PR and Mass Communication. For example, the University of Kerala offers a course in Public Relations, Advertising and Publicity. Other prominent universities offering PR studies include Anna, Calicut, Indian Institute of Mass Communication Delhi (IIMC-D), Madurai-Kamaraj, Mahatma Gandhi, Makhanalal Chaturvedi National University of Journalism and Communication, Mangalore and Osmania. Private institutions such as the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan network, Symbiosis Institute of Business Management, Pune (SIBM) and Mudra Institute of Communications, Ahmedabad (MICA) offer courses in public relations as well as advertising, radio and television script writing. Compared to what was available in the 1970s, there is great improvement now in the quality and volume of PR and media studies.

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Conclusion

PR has yet to become a strong discipline in the Indian academic world and its history is little researched, but the sector has grown dramatically since its colonial and business house beginnings in the first half of the 20th century. The early beginnings, the first and second phases of India's development focused on publicity, governmental propaganda and information distribution (Reddi, cited in Singh, 2000). Because of the strength of the nation's print and radio media, the post-World War II third phase emphasized media relations and journalistic skills. As noted by Sriramesh in various studies in the 1990s, this predominant practice had a national flavour with its emphasis on personal networking as exemplified by the personal delivery of news releases to journalists by senior public relations practitioners. However, the explosion of corporate and marketing communication that has accompanied the opening up of the Indian economy in the later part of the 20th century, the impact of globalization, the expansion of television across the nation and the introduction of social media may mean that future historians will find new models of PR practice. These may be less reliant on personal networking as communication increasingly by-passes traditional media and goes direct to influencers and consumers.

Those interested in applying PR to support national progress have, however, to recognize certain basic principles: The era of colonialism and central authority is over. There are social and humanitarian concerns to be addressed in this economically more confident nation. The business and academic communities are doing much for the development of communication and public relations but have to recognize and recall the role of public relations and publicity to alleviate poverty and injustice, as demonstrated by Mahatma Gandhi, as well as its role in support of organizational, political and marketing objectives. This socially important historical perspective is one that India can share with the world.

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4
Indonesia

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Abstract: *The history of public relations (PR) in Indonesia, from the emergence of nation identity era (1900–1942), the Japanese occupation era (1942–1945), to the Soekarno era (1945–1966), was characterized by the use of rhetorical messages for propaganda. Building nation identity marked public relations activities during these periods. Public diplomacy to gain international legitimacy was also found in the Soekarno era. Due to the absence of freedom of speech and press during the Suharto era (1966–1998), only positive publicity that supported government development programs was allowed. Public relations was a one-way communication process to transmit organizational and governmental policies to the public. Suharto's resignation in 1998, however, allowed growth of the public relations profession. Freedom of speech and expression in the Reformation era (1998–now) has resulted in opportunities and challenges for public relations practices. There are more public movements demanding transparency, accountability, reliability, responsibility and fairness, which have led to the increasing need of public relations to manage situations.*

Keywords: history of public relations; Indonesia; non-aligned movement; public diplomacy; public relations

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This chapter describes narratively the history of public relations in Indonesia. It portrays how the development of PR in Indonesia occurred during attempts to gain organizational legitimacy, which is at the core of most PR activities (Metzler, 2001). To survive, organizations, including a country and its leaders, constantly pursue legitimacy to gain support from the public (Ashforth and Gibbs, 1990). Legitimacy is essential to enhance stability, ensure survival, and secure sustainability.

The name 'Indonesia' was introduced by James R. Logan in 1850 to describe the geographical region of the archipelago from Sumatera to Formosa (Taiwan), which has similar ethnic characteristics and cultural traits (Elson, 2008). The term 'Indonesia' did not refer to any political matters nor was it connected to the Netherlands East Indies territory, until 1870 when the Dutch began to spread their political power along the archipelago.

The history of PR in Indonesia is presented within five different time periods. The first is the emergence of Indonesia (1900–1942), which portrays the nationalism movements led by some influential figures to build the nation's identity. The second period is the Japanese occupation era (1942–1945), in which Japan employed PR techniques to gain trust from Indonesians in order to support its economic and political aims. The third period is the Soekarno era (1945–1966). Soekarno is the first president of Indonesia. This section discusses Soekarno's use of propaganda in order to gain legitimacy from the Indonesian public as well as the international world. This was followed by the New Order era (1966–1998), when Suharto, the second president of Indonesia, ruled Indonesia for 32 years. Finally, the fifth period is the Reformation era, in which Indonesia has experienced a democratic atmosphere.

The emergence of Indonesia: building self-identity (1900–1942)

The emergence of Indonesia as a political term was marked by the revival of the nation identity among some Indonesian nationalists. Three prominent Indonesian nationalist organizations, Budi Utomo, Indische party and Indonesian Nationalist Party, were established in the first three decades of the 20th century. Their use of propaganda to raise the Indonesian nationalism against the Dutch colonialism and communication with people indicated knowledge of PR techniques to build identity and support.

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Budi Utomo was initiated by a low-level Javanese aristocrat, Dr Wahidin Sudirohusodo (Draceley, 2005; Ricklefs, 2001). Its name means 'the beautiful endeavour' in the Javanese language and also denoted superior intellect, character or culture. The organization aimed at strengthening Javanese consciousness and culture against European dominance due to colonialism. The day Budi Utomo was founded, 20 May 1908, is now designated by the Indonesian government as the Day of National Awakening: the day of the beginning of the nationalist movement and the fight to free Indonesia from the Dutch colonialism (Brown, 2003; Cribb, 2004; Ricklefs, 2001).

In 1912, a political party called the Indische Partij (Indies Party) was founded by the radical Indo-European Douwes Dekker, who was also known as Setiabudi. It claimed to be more explicitly nationalist organization than Budi Utomo, as it called for Indonesian nationalism and demanded independence (Brown, 2003; Draceley, 2005). This party gained support from two radical Indonesians: Dr Tjipto Mangunkusumo, a Javanese physician, and Soewardi Soerjaningrat, who was formerly a Budi Utomo leader. The party frightened the Dutch who banned it in 1913 and exiled its leaders to the Netherlands.

In 1927, the Indonesian Nationalist Association was founded and, under Soekarno's leadership, its name changed to Indonesian Nationalist Party the following year (Brown, 2003). It was the first religiously neutral nationalist party and brought Soekarno, who later became the first Indonesian president, to national prominence. This party clearly declared its goal of independence for Indonesia and against the Western colonialism through its Marhaenism ideology. Marhaenism became Soekarno's propaganda against Western dominance. This ideology was vaguely socialist though not Marxist, anti-capitalist, anti-liberal and focused on the rights of the community rather than the individual (ibid.). In 1930, Soekarno and other party leaders were arrested. During the trial he continued his propaganda campaign through his speech *Indonesia Menggugat* (Indonesia Accuses), which was a very strong anti-colonial rhetoric. It was widely circulated and inspired many younger Indonesians (Vickers, 2005).

Another important date in the history towards Indonesian unity was 28 October 1928, when an oath, which was then called the Youth Pledge, was sworn at the second Youth Organizations Congress in Batavia. Indonesians declared that they owned one fatherland: Indonesia, one nation: Indonesia, and one language: *Bahasa Indonesia*, the language of

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unity (Lindblad, 2002; Foulcher, 2000; Ricklefs, 2001). For the first time the anthem *Indonesia Raya* was sung and the red-and-white flag flown. To celebrate this congress, Muhammad Yamin, who was to become one of the most radical Indonesian political figures, wrote a collection of poems which were published in 1929 under the title *Indonesia Tumpah Darahku* (Indonesia, Land of My Birth) (Ricklefs, 2001).

The Japanese occupation (1942–1945)

PR techniques were also found during the Japanese occupation during 1942–1945. The Japanese used propaganda to get support from leading Indonesian figures in order to achieve their goal to restructure the Indonesia economy to support Japan's war and its plans to dominate East and Southeast Asian economies (Gin, 2011; Ricklefs, 2001; Vickers, 2005). Japan presented itself as the Asian nation that remained independent from colonialism and had successfully made the transition to a modern, technological society at the end of the 19th century. It used slogans, such as 'Asia for Asians', 'Japan, the Light of Asia', and the concept of the 'Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere' as part of its propaganda to seek acceptance from the people of the occupied territories (Gin, 2011). The Japanese language was promoted but Dutch and English were banned. European statues were pulled down, streets were renamed and the name 'Jakarta' was adopted to replace 'Batavia'. It later became the capital city of Indonesia. To implement their propaganda efforts, the Japanese employed Indonesian school teachers, artists and literary figures with anti-Dutch records (Gin, 2011; Kushner, 2006). Movies, drama, *wayang* (shadow puppet plays) and, especially, radio were used to spread Japanese messages. The Japanese controlled the content of those media. For example, films were not allowed to portray Western values, but had to show Japanese values such as self-sacrifice, motherly love, modesty of women, diligence and loyalty (Gin, 2011; Vickers, 2005). Radio became a popular medium as the Japanese set up public loudspeakers to spread radio broadcasts, so that everybody could hear the programs including messages from Emperor Hirohito.

To support its propaganda, Japan had established an organization called 'Triple A Movements' in April 1942. The name of the organization came from the Japanese slogan of Japan as the leader of Asia, the protector of Asia, and the light of Asia (Ricklefs, 2001). This organization,

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however, did not gain support from Soekarno and Hatta, the two most prominent nationalist figures, as Indonesia's interests seemed to be completely absent from this organization's output. As a result, Triple A Movements was closed within the year.

During Japanese occupation, Soekarno also employed propaganda to promote Indonesia's independence. On 9 March 1943, Soekarno, Hatta and the Japanese agreed to establish an organization called Putera, which was an abbreviation of *Pusat Tentara Rakyat* (the centre of people's power). The name Putera, which also means child or son, was part of Soekarno's propaganda to strengthen nationalism. He said that 'Putera was a name which recalls to each son of Indonesia that he is a Son of his Mother, with the responsibility to honour her so long as blood still flows in his veins and a soul still lives in his body' (cited in Brown, 2003, p. 145).

Radio was Putera's favoured medium of communication and reached even small villages in Java. Accordingly, for the first time, Soekarno could reach people across Java through radio broadcasts. By early 1944 the Japanese realized that Putera was doing too much for the Indonesia's interests and it was disbanded on 1 March 1944.

The Soekarno era (1945–1966)

Soekarno's propaganda campaign continued until Indonesia became independent on 17 August 1945. Soekarno, who then became the first president, realized the need to declare Indonesia as an independent country. PR was utilized to publicize Indonesia's independence internationally as well as to strengthen nationalism against Western colonialism. Soekarno offered Indonesians something to believe in, which would give the nation dignity and pride. He said the role of the people was above the role of the leaders: 'Without the people I am nothing, I am only the "extension of the people's tongue" (*penyambung lidah rakyat)*' (cited in McGregor, 2007, p. 52).

He also implemented a political system called 'guided democracy' which differed from Western-style democracy, which he believed as inappropriate for Indonesia, and set out his case in a 1956 speech:

> The democracy I crave for Indonesia is not liberal democracy such as exists in Western Europe. No! What I want for Indonesia is a guided democracy, a democracy with leadership. A guided democracy, something which is guided but still democracy. (cited in Brown, 2003, p. 186)

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The guided democracy system was derived from traditional village systems of discussion (*musyawarah*) and consensus (*mufakat*), which were guided by village elders (Dick, 2002; Draceley, 2005; Lev, 2009). To spread political messages, including his Manipol (*Manifesto Politik* or Political Manifesto) ideology and USDEK (the 1945 Constitution which included Indonesian socialism, guided democracy, guided economy and Indonesian identity) he used the only radio station, *Radio Republik Indonesia* (RRI), and the only television station, *Televisi Republik Indonesia* (TVRI) (Ricklefs, 2001). All newspapers during this era were mainly used to promote Soekarno's policies and propaganda (Kakiailatu, 2007; Sen and Hill, 2007).

At the international level, Soekarno was also successful in establishing his prominence as an international figure. From 18 to 25 April 1955 the first Asian-African Summit took place in Bandung (Tan and Acharya, 2008). Attended by 29 countries, it was part of Soekarno's policy to build cooperation with Asian and African countries. The summit was also part of his anti-colonial rhetoric and aimed to show that Indonesia was capable of uniting the world. The conference led to the establishment of the non-aligned movement in 1961, creating a separate identity for those countries that wanted to maintain their independence from Eastern and Western ideologies (Vickers, 2005).

Soekarno's propaganda at the international level continued through his effort to initiate a new alliance called the 'New Emerging Forces' (NEFO), as a counter to the Western superpowers called the 'Old Established Forces' (OLDEFO), which he believed of spreading 'Neo-Colonialism and Imperialism' (Weinstein, 2007). Soekarno also initiated the GANEFO or Games of the New Emerging Forces in 1963, which led to the construction of the Gelora Bung Karno stadium in Jakarta in order to compete with the OLDEFO's Olympic Games. GANEFO was a great success for the Soekarno policy, as it involved over 2,700 athletes from 51 nations from Africa, Asia, Europe and Latin America.

Soekarno's PR efforts were supported by the Information Ministry, which acted as a PR bureau for the government. To publicize Indonesia's independence to the world, the ministry had assigned Soedarpo Sastrosatomo, who is recognized as the first government PR officer, to handle media relations, especially relationships with foreign journalists (Noeradi, 2008). Soedarpo was then sent to New York as an Indonesian delegate in the United Nations and then worked as press attaché at the Indonesian Embassy in Washington DC. He continued to support Indonesia's diplomacy at the international level.

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PR practices at profit-oriented institutions were introduced by three foreign oil companies: Bataafsche Petroleum Maatschappij (BPM or Shell), Standard Vacuum Petroleum Maatschappij (Stanvac) and Caltex Pacific Petroleum Maatschappij (Caltex) (Noeradi, 2008). They hired senior journalists, who were S. Maimoen, R. Imam Sajono, and Soedarso, as their PR officers (ibid.). In 1954, Garuda Indonesia Airways, followed by other state-owned companies, started to establish PR units. In 1955, the Indonesian National Police and *Radio Republik Indonesia* included PR departments in their organizational structure. In 1960, PR practices entered a new era when PR became a field of study under the Faculty of Publicity, Padjajaran University in Bandung, West Java. This faculty changed its name to the Faculty of Communication in 1982.

The New Order era (1966–1998)

During 1965–1966, there was political disruption, which ended with Soekarno stepping down and Suharto being appointed as the next president. Suharto focused more on developing Indonesia's economy (Vatikiotis, 2003). A year later, he liberalized the economy and opened it to foreign investors. The issuance of Foreign Capital Investment Law No. 1 in January 1967 and the Domestic Capital Investment Law No. 6 in July 1968 led to further economic growth. The program of national development became his slogan. In 1983, Suharto received an award as the Father of Development, as the economy had improved during his presidency.

As Suharto opened Indonesia to foreign investors, the number of business organization increased. In line with this, the number of PR practitioners working within organizations and the number of PR consultancies also increased (Dahlan, 1978). According to Dahlan (1978), at the end of the 1960s almost all government agencies had PR units, mostly responsible for handling media publications. Most foreign companies also had established PR units by the early 1970s. Media relations was the main PR activity in these foreign companies. The corporate support for Indonesia went beyond its borders: for example, a public service advertisement entitled 'Five Years From Now You Will Be Sorry You Did Not Read This Ad' was placed in the *New York Times* on 17 November 1968 by Caltex to attract more investors to Indonesia (Noeradi, 2008). In 1972, the first PR consultancy, Inscore Zecha, led by Alwi Dahlan, was established.

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The growth of PR practitioners led to the creation of professional and industry bodies (Putra, 1996). In 1971 the Coordinating Body of Government PR (Bakohumas: *Badan Koordinasi Hubungan Masyarakat*) was established to coordinate the PR activities of all government agencies (Bakohumas, 2012). In 1972, the PR Association of Indonesia (PERHUMAS: *Perhimpunan Hubungan Masyarakat*) was established (PERHUMAS, 2012). The founders of this association were not only from domestic and foreign private companies but also from government agencies. Its activities were on both a national and international scale. These included the promotion of FAPRO (Federation of the ASEAN PR Associations) and the hosting of its congress in 1981.

Economic deregulation in 1983 led to privatization in the economic sectors. It decreased the government monopoly in the economic sector and gave more opportunities for the public to participate in (Soesastro, 1989). As a result, there was an increasing number of private companies which needed more PR practitioners to support their business strategy. When PERHUMAS was established in 1972, it only had 21 members. In the 1990s, membership had increased to 224 and reached 3,000 by 2000 (Hiendarto, 2006). In the 1980s, the number of PR agencies increased, as well. In 1987 the Association of Indonesia's PR Companies (Appri: Asosiasi Perusahaan PR Indonesia) was created to increase PR professionalism within agencies in Indonesia. In the early 1990s there were approximately 90 PR agencies, but only 55 of them became members of this association (Yudarwati, 1999).

Despite the development of PR profession in terms of the number of practitioners and agencies, PR practices during the Suharto era were limited to a one-way communication process, especially if related to government issues (Putra, 1996; Yudarwati, 1999). PR practitioners were mainly assigned to get favourable publicity into the media and to keep unfavourable publicity out. Even if they performed media relations, the content of their media output was controlled by the government as there was no freedom of speech or of the press. Those, including mass media, that criticized the government were considered as spreading subversive messages and were banned (Kakiailatu, 2007; Sen and Hill, 2007). More than 25 publishing permits were cancelled without judicial process during the Suharto era (Tempo, 1994).

The Department of Information was employed to control the press and disseminate pro-government propaganda (Hill, 1994). The press was expected to simply report and support the government's national

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development projects. Journalists were banned from reporting activities of mega-projects, such as mining industries, which involved foreign investments and generated significant income for Indonesia, and other businesses owned by Suharto's associates. The press was used to cover up scandals and mismanagement, which caused society to lose its ability to separate national interests from corrupt elite interests. Within this situation, public opinion was suppressed. ABRI (*Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia* or the Indonesian Armed Forces) remained Suharto's central tool for repressing opposition (Ricklefs, 2001). PR, accordingly, aimed only at supporting the interests of the government and businesses of Suharto's cronies' (Putra, 1996).

The Reformation era (1998– onwards)

By the end of 1997, Indonesia was overwhelmed by tremendous political, social and economic challenges faced by the country. In 1997 most East Asian countries faced financial crisis. Indonesia received the greatest economic shock compared with other countries (Garnaut, 2000; Soesastro, 2000). This crisis led to high inflation and forced price hikes across many sectors, including food and other essentials. People asked the government to take responsibility for the crisis and some students protested against government policies. The economic crisis increased public distrust in the Suharto administration and, finally, on 21 May 1998, Suharto announced his resignation.

Afterwards, Indonesia entered a new period of democratic reform, known as the Reformation era. In 1999, freedom of speech and expression were enshrined in law as the government passed the Law of Press no. 40/1999. This major reform led to euphoria in the mass media (Kakiailatu, 2007; Sen and Hill, 2007). The number of printed media increased significantly, from 289 dailies at the end of 1990s to 1,600 dailies in 2005 (Mukrimin, 2012). However, only 306 remained at the end of 2010 as the rest had closed due to intense competition (Dewan Pers, 2010). The number of radio stations increased significantly as well, from about 700 stations in the 1990s to 1,200 stations in early 2003, but only 378 remained at the end of 2010 throughout the country (Mukrimin, 2012; Dewan Pers, 2010).

After Suharto stepped down, the public pressured the government to decentralize authority. As a result, the government issued Law

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no. 22/1999, which regulated regional autonomy and decentralized authority to district level (Brown, 2003). This law eliminated hierarchical relationships between cities and districts and higher levels of administration. Besides democratization at the local level, this reform strengthened the civil society movement at the local level.

This democratic atmosphere had had an influence on the relationships between companies and their public. There were more public movements that demanded transparency, accountability, reliability, responsibility and fairness. Criticisms against companies' operations as well as the number of conflicts between companies and their stakeholders, such as conflicts with environmentalists (Indonesian Forum for Environment, 2006; Indonesian Mining Advocacy Network, 2004), local communities (Prayogo, 2010), employees (Juliawan, 2011) and the press (Kakiailatu, 2007) had increased. The companies, that formerly had protection from Suharto's regime, were no longer able to use the military's repressive approach. During the Suharto era, companies were more likely to recognize only the government as their legitimate stakeholder, with other stakeholders as secondary to the government. However, in the post-Suharto era, the companies' legitimacy lessened. They needed to build new relationships with stakeholders and negotiate with them. This situation led to the growth of PR within the businesses.

There has been no empirical study on the current status of PR in Indonesia, which involved all types of organization and industry. However, a recent study on mining industry has shown how post-Suharto era social and political changes had influenced PR practices (Yudarwati, 2011). The mining industry has never been free from political issues. During the Suharto era, mining companies only had PR offices in Jakarta, usually with fewer than ten employees as they only needed to deal with the central government. Post-Suharto, however, they established PR units at mining sites employing more than 50 people. These units were mostly responsible for handling relationships with local government and communities with whom they needed to negotiate their legitimacy (ibid.).

There was also some evidence that showed a growing number of companies employing PR practitioners. When companies experienced crisis, such as labour strikes (*The Jakarta Post*, 2011; Wanda, 2011), criticism from environmentalists (*The Jakarta Post*, 2004), community blockades (Fadillah, 2011) or plane crashes (Prasetyo, 2007; *The Australian*, 2013), PR officers were their spokespersons, especially in dealing with the

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press. PR activities, however, mostly applied media relations to manage the issues. Only big and multinational companies implemented more comprehensive PR practices, such as employee relations, community relations, crisis management, issues management and reputation management. Corporate social responsibility had also become an important agenda for PR practice (Yudarwati, 2011).

Political freedom had led to the development of political PR. Some 148 parties have been officially registered in the post-Suharto era. However, only 48 of them were allowed to take part in the June 1999 General Election (Ufen, 2006). The political parties and their public figures used PR techniques to build their image in order to gain votes from the public (Wasesa, 2011).

As there has been no publicly accessible information about PR billings, it was not easy to measure the growth of PR industry in Indonesia. Nevertheless, there have been some observable and measureable positive improvements. There had been an increasing number of PR consultancies in Indonesia, including some international agencies that have operations in Jakarta, such as Fleishman Hillard, Weber Shandwick, Edelman, Ogilvy, and Burson-Marsteller. There has been also a growing number of academic degrees in communications in which PR programs were offered. The data from the Directorate General of Higher Education in Indonesia showed that by 2010, 186 out of 227 communications department had been accredited for the teaching of PR. There were also an increasing number of students who studied communications, rising from 9,703 students in 2005 to 17,526 in 2010. In 2003, another PR body, the PR Society of Indonesia (PRSI), was founded. This PR body has become the Indonesian member of the Global Alliance for PR and Communication Management.

These positive trends were followed by the government's and PR bodies' efforts to increase PR professionalism. The government, through the Ministry of Communication and Informatics, developed standards of competence for PR practitioners that are applied to governmental institutions. In line with this, PERHUMAS also offered an accreditation program for PR practitioners in Indonesia (PERHUMAS, 2000).

Conclusion

The history of PR in Indonesia, from the emergence of nation identity era (1900–1942), the Japanese occupation era (1942–1945), to the Soekarno

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era (1945–1966), was mainly characterized by the use of rhetorical messages for propaganda. Building nation identity had marked PR activities during these periods of time. Public diplomacy to gain international legitimacy was also found in the Soekarno era. Due to the absence of freedom of speech and press during the Suharto era (1966–1998), only good publicity that supported the government's development programs was allowed. PR was a limited one-way communication process to inform organizational and the governmental policies to the public. Suharto's resignation in 21 May 1998, however, gave new hopes for the growth of PR profession. Freedom of speech and expression in the Reformation era (1998–now) has resulted in opportunities and challenges for PR practices. There are more public movements demanding transparency, accountability, reliability, responsibility and fairness, which have increased the demand for PR services to manage situations. There has also been extensive growth of PR practices, the number of practitioners and students, and research in universities. However, despite all these advances, one-way media relations activities to manage issues still dominate PR practices in Indonesia.

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5
Japan

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Abstract: *As democratization did not accompany modernization in the 19th century, Japan lacked autonomous publics and this affected the growth of public relations (PR). The first public relations department in Japanese corporations dates back to the 1920s at South Manchurian Railroad. After World War II, the US introduced the concept of public relations to national and local governments. As Japan's economy grew, public relations (known as* kouhou*) expanded its field in areas such as marketing, customer relations, CSR, crisis management and investor relations. However, the national public relations industry and education provision remain relatively small, compared with other professional activities. Public relations in corporations may still not be an established profession.*

Keywords: history; Japan; kouhou; public relations; South Manchurian Railroad

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Public relations originated from the persuasive skills employed in the power struggle (Cutlip et al., 2006). It is the offspring of modernity, replacing armed rule. In some European countries and North America, democratization accompanied the industrialization. In Japan, however, democratization did not accompany modernization (Moritani, 1998). In Europe and the US, the development of media encouraged the formation of publics (Igarashi and Fukui, 1998). An aspect of modernization, the break down of class and family systems, and aspiration for democracy did not materialize in Japan (Maruyama, 1961). The Meiji restoration in 1867 marked the start of the modernization of Japan, but during Meiji era (1868–1912) that followed, *public* did not exist, only the Emperor's subjects did.

The birth of PR in Japan

Today in Japan, PR is called *kouhou*. The original meaning of the word is to 'widely notify', which represents only a part of PR functions. The term first appeared in May 1872 in the *Yokohama Mainichi Shimbun*, the oldest daily newspaper in Japan, to denote advertisement or announcement (Kitano, 2009).

During late 19th and early 20th centuries, in response to the launch of many newspapers, press agencies that reported domestic news were founded. Some were backed by the government and one of their main tasks was to convey government-released documents to newspapers and government officials stationed in regional offices (Yamamoto, 1981). The press agencies were the first organizations to systematically engage in publicity business.

The first organization to set up a *kouhou* department was South Manchurian Railroad (Mantetsu). The company was established in 1906, as Japan obtained the right to manage railroads in Manchuria (north eastern part of today's China) after winning the Russo-Japanese War. Mantetsu set up a *kouhou* department in 1923. From the early 1920s, Mantetsu had an office in New York not only for the introduction of capital and technology but also for provision and collection of information (Ogawa, 2008). In the US, the railroad industry was among the first to use the term 'public relations' (Cutlip, 1995). Mantetsu had close contacts with them (Ishii, 1997) and we infer that Mantetsu had opportunities to study PR from the US railroad organizations.

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The purposes of its PR activities were to inform Japanese in the home country that Manchuria was a frontier land with enormous opportunities and to encourage them to emigrate. To Japanese in Manchuria, on the other hand, the purpose was to guide them to live in harmony with local people. Mantetsu's publicity activities included inviting a group of journalists from the US; inviting story tellers, painters, and opinion leaders from Japan to introduce Manchuria through their work; holding a Manchuria exhibition in various locations in Japan; producing movies on Manchuria; and publishing magazines (Ogawa, 2008).

In 1932, Japan established a puppet regime, Manchukuo, in Manchuria that undertook the administration. The Manchukuo government set up a *kouhou-sho*, a PR department, to jointly engage in PR activities with Mantetsu. The *kouhou-sho* published a research journal on propaganda and PR which included references from Harold Lasswell's *Propaganda Technique in the World War*, and Nazi propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels (Matsumoto, 1938/1981).

Within Japan, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Army jointly, but informally, set up an information committee in 1932. In 1937, it officially became the information division of the cabinet office and controlled the collection and dissemination of information both internally and externally. By the time Japan entered World War II, the propaganda machine was in place (Tobe, 2010).

As Japan's economy boomed during World War I, big corporations needed to retain experienced workers and they employed various employee relations tactics. For instance, the seniority wage system and life-time employment were adopted. These systems became the icons of Japanese-style employment practice. Kanebo, the largest textile company in Japan at the time, was hiring female workers in their early teens. The company built schools for the workers and taught reading and writing, mathematics and sewing. In 1903, it published the first in-house magazine in Japan called *Kanebo no Kiteki* (The whistle of Kanebou). The magazine's stated goal was to share information with everyone from president to female factory workers (Nihon Public Relations Kondankai, 1980).

The foundation of such employee relations was that a corporation was a community and employees were expected to devote themselves for the prosperity of the community. Corporations in turn treated employees as family members (Hazama, 1996). This kind of corporation–employee relationship was ubiquitous in Japan until 1970s, but as the financial

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capitalism has taken over the industrial capitalism since 1980s, it gradually faded away (Dore, 2000).

Revolutionary change in the post-World War II era

In August 1945, Japan unconditionally surrendered to the Allied Forces. Trying to democratize Japan, the Allied Forces urged formation of labour unions and factory workers eagerly engaged in the union movement. Labour disputes boiled up one after another and the labour-management relationship was the worst in the history of Japan. In efforts to revive the economy, two management organizations were established in the late 1940s. One was Keizai Doyu Kai [Japan Association of Corporate Executives] and the other was Nihon Keieisha Renmei (Nikkeiren) [Japan Federation of Employers' Association] (Ikari, 2011). Keizai Doyu Kai was an association of executives in their 40s with a progressive mindset. They advocated the introduction of management councils that included labour unions among its members.

Nikkeiren was established with a mission to plan and practice ways to bring about the healthy labour-management relationship. In 1951, Nikkeiren sent its first management delegation to the US to learn ways to improve the labour-management relationship. The members brought home the concept of PR. However, as their concern was the improvement of the management-labour relationship, their proposal upon return was primarily the adoption of human relationship-oriented labour management such as employee suggestion systems, publication of in-house magazines and management training focusing on the human relationship with their subordinates – a mere portion of PR concept (Nihon PR Kondankai, 1980).

Dentsu, the largest advertising agency group in Japan and the fifth largest in the world today, played an important role in introducing the PR concept to Japan. The company had branches in Manchuria since before World War II and was engaged in radio advertising, a commercial media which did not exist in mainland Japan then. Hideo Yoshida, the president of Dentsu from 1947, learned about PR and began studying it (Ogura, 1976). Around 1955, Japan entered the era of rapid economic growth and marketing was introduced from the US as a mass sales promotion technique. Dentsu spearheaded the efforts to popularize

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marketing in Japan. According to Vance Packard (1957, 1960), around that time in the US, PR was conceived as one of the marketing techniques. His books, *The Hidden Persuaders* and *The Waste Makers*, were translated into Japanese and became bestsellers. Packard criticized marketing as playing with the deep psyche and depletion of natural resources. He listed unhealthy marketing practices that tried to take advantage of consumer attitudes, but some in the advertising industry in Japan tried to promote these practices to advocate the concept of marketing (Yamamoto, 1994).

Another path for PR's entry into Japan was the US-led General Headquarters (GHQ) of the Allied Occupation Army. Starting from 1947, GHQ and its branches began providing suggestions to the national and local governments to establish PR offices. Each ministry and local government tried to understand GHQ's intention and what PR was, and established the PR offices (Nihon PR Kondankai, 1980). In translating 'public relations', various names were assigned and eventually converged into a Japanese word *kouhou*. As the Japanese government did not have the mindset and systems to seek input from citizens, *kouhou* offices disseminated information from the administration or, at best, surveyed public opinion.

The assignment of *kouhou* as the translation of PR caused many Japanese to misconceive PR even to this day. The word was also used, in particular, among marketing people. As foreign words are difficult for Japanese to pronounce they are often abbreviated. PR became a common term in the context of marketing, however, often meaning *self-promotion*. Whether it was called *kouhou* or PR, the aspects of PR such as two-way communication, mutual understanding and trust were lost in translation.

The first PR agency on record was Georgia Day and Associates, established by Ms Georgia Day. In November 1949 GHQ authorized Ms Day to engage in PR activities (*Nihon Keizai Shimbun*, as cited in Morito, 2008). It is not clear how long the firm existed, but it appeared in Dentsu PR's internal organ in 1968. Only nine PR firms are known to have existed in the 1940s and 1950s. Notable among them were Falcon Advertising and PR founded in 1952 by an American Rose Falkenstein, Japan PR, founded in 1958 by a second generation Japanese-American, and Hill & Knowlton that opened its Tokyo office in 1958 (Morito, 2008).

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1960s: PR as marketing function

The growth of the economy that began budding around 1955 came into full bloom in the 1960s. In 1968, Japan's GNP became the second largest in the free world, making it one of the leading economic powers of the world. By 1959, 'consumption is a virtue' and 'consumers are the kings' became buzzwords. In early 1960s, television sets, refrigerators, and washing machines drove Japan's economy. Later in the decade, colour television sets, automobiles and air conditioners were widely purchased. The consumers who obtained durable consumer goods began to feel they were in the middle class.

The mass media grew alongside the economy. Newspapers increased the number of pages and many weekly magazines were launched. Publicity caught attention as a marketing tool and it was applied in newspapers, radio, and weekly magazines. It was in this decade that full-scale PR agencies were born. Dentsu established Dentsu PR Centre (currently Dentsu PR) in 1961. In decade-by-decade comparison, 1960s saw the birth of the largest number of PR firms. This trend spilled into the next decade until 1973 when oil shock changed the business environment (Morito, 2008).

Many companies set up a PR subdivision or assigned persons in charge of PR within the advertising department. However, certain advanced companies set up PR departments as an independent function. According to Morito, one newspaper reporter recalled the 1960s and said that 'mass media welcomed corporate publicity activities as it helped them increase the volume of articles' (Morito, 2010).

The 1960s also saw the birth of industry organization. In 1964, four PR firms engaged in international PR formed the Japan Public Relations Society. In 1980, the Society merged with Public Relations Work Japan Society, another industry organization set up in 1975 by domestic-focus agencies, to form the Public Relations Society of Japan. In the public sector, the Japan Public Relations Association was formed in 1963 to support PR departments of national and local governments.

1970s: the establishment of kouhou department in response to criticism

As a consequence of rapid economic growth, Japan in the 1970s was polluted with by-products of mass production. Newspapers accused big

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corporations of lacking social responsibility with sensational headlines such as 'drop dead GNP'. Corporations faced severe social criticism as being the root cause of the destruction of human lives and peaceful living.

In addition to pollution, corporations were criticized for oil-shock related price hikes, dual pricing, land price speculation, drug-induced diseases and harmful food products. They were blamed for not fulfilling social responsibilities. People came to think that there was a need to monitor corporate activities and protest against companies that had not fulfilled social responsibilities. Hence consumerism in Japan gained momentum to an unprecedented level (Kenmochi, 2008). The consumerism movement in Japan was also under the international influence. Consumer movements and anti-war movements in the US and students' demonstrations in France were reported in newspapers and on TV. With only a slight time lag, the Japanese followed the suit. The rise of consumerism in Japan can be interpreted as a sign that citizens in Japan were being formed as a layer of the society.

People with elevated awareness of social issues suddenly became an important public for corporations. In the 1970s, there was a rapid growth in the number of companies setting up sections responsible for dealing with consumers. Many sections were placed under the umbrella of PR and handled complaints and enquiries from consumers. Mass media rushed to companies that caused environmental pollution and these companies were suddenly busy handling media inquiries. In the 1970s, the instalment of a *kouhou* department was most popular among manufacturing industries (Ikari, 2011). Some executives thought that corporations would need to bear increased social responsibilities. However, for most corporate executives, the most important task was to help the economy continue to grow. Dealing with the liberalization of capital and the internationalization of businesses were more important than attending to social responsibilities (Nihon no top, 1970).

From the early 1970s, business organizations such as Japan Federation of Employers' Associations, Japan Committee for Economic Development and Japan Federation of Economic Organizations (JFEO) had recommended that corporations fulfil social responsibilities. Concerned about rising criticism of corporations, JFEO established the Japan Institute for Economic and Social Affairs (JISEA) as PR function to facilitate communication between the business community and the society.

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1980s: the enhancement of PR departments

In the 1980s, Japan's economy began shifting from natural-resource-dependent heavy and chemical industries to energy-efficient knowledge-based industries. Consequently, its reputation rose but at the same time economic conflicts with other countries increased: with the US in areas such as automobiles, semi-conductors, communications, agriculture, and finance and with Europe over automobiles and household electric appliances. In the US, Japan Inc became the focus of criticism. The economic conflict expanded to cultural conflict, resulting in 'Japan bashing'. In the domestic market, consumers began choosing products based on their personal preference rather than simply following the mass trend. They started to demand cultural flavour in products and advertisements (Fukuhara, 1999). In response, corporations tried to promote artistic character of their products. The expansion of business domains and changes in consumer behaviour led corporations to rethink their corporate identity and adopt the concept of corporate citizen flavoured by corporate philanthropy.

The changes in corporate culture and employee mindset gave rise to the importance of internal communication. Companies also recognized the importance of external communication activities to improve the awareness of its identity. The corporate identity business – for the most part company name change and development of new logo – boomed. *Kouhou* led the corporate identity activities. Against this backdrop, the *kouhou* sections gained ground in many corporations. In 1980, 34 per cent of the companies had independent *kouhou* sections. In 1992, the figure had grown to 72 per cent (JISEA, 1981, 1993).

In the 1980s, Japanese companies that expanded abroad had to develop businesses while coping with heightened 'Japan bashing'. Companies expanding into Europe and the US, in particular, engaged in corporate philanthropic activities and proactively made donations to universities and research institutions. In the US and England, donations worth more than US$ 1 million were often made by Japanese companies (JISEA, 1982 April; 1984 December; 1987 January; 1989 May).

From the late 1980s, prices of stock and land soared. It was the coming of the bubble economy. Companies made direct investment overseas and acquired buildings, golf courses, hotels and even film companies. One of the buildings acquired by Japanese companies was the Rockefeller Centre in Manhattan, an American icon, an acquisition that led to a

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huge backlash. Such moves contradicted and offset the effects of the social contribution activities of Japanese companies abroad.

1990s and after: from crisis management PR to CSR PR

The 1990s began with the collapse of the bubble economy and led to the frequent occurrence of various corporate scandals. *Kouhou* sections managed crisis situations and were exposed to media inquiries. Scandals such as improper lending and stockbrokers' compensations for preferred clients' losses revealed the interdependence among politicians, bureaucrats, and the business circle over political and business interests. Corporate scandals became the focus of social concern and trust in corporations reached rock bottom.

In 1990 when the wave of revelations of corporate scandals began, the Association for Corporate Support of the Arts (ACSA) that aimed to support corporate philanthropic activities was established. In the same year, the 1 per cent Club, a social contribution arm of JFEO that advocated spending 1 per cent of annual profit for social contribution activities, was born. *Kouhou* was busy dealing with both corporate misdeeds and good works.

With the conservative Liberal Democrat Party's gradual loss of power and the growing distrust in corporations, the business circle was concerned about the sustainability of the social systems. They feared that social distrust might spread to companies that had nothing to do with corporate greed and misdeed. In an attempt to facilitate conversation between corporations and society, JFEO and JISEA in 1991 jointly held a forum with wide range of people including journalists, labour unions, educators, researchers and housewives who expressed harsh view on corporate ethics and behaviour (Kenmochi, 2008). Later in the year, JFEO drew up the Charter of Corporate Behaviour which reflected the discussion in the forum. The Charter has been constantly reviewed and became a social responsibility standard for Japanese corporations. In an effort to promote abidance to laws and regulations, the English word 'compliance' was used without translation. *Compliance* became the key concept to help prevent crises and JFEO's Charter of Corporate Behaviour incorporated the concept (Nippon Keidanren, 2009).

Starting from the late 1990s, Japanese corporations began creating corporate behaviour charters of their own. Many incorporated measures to

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ensure observance of the charter such as creation of watchdog committee and employee training programs. Furthermore, certain companies began setting up systems to protect whistleblowers. *Kouhou* departments were engaged in the internal communication concerning compliance issues.

In addition to the crisis management and the corporate social responsibility, the field of *kouhou* further expanded due to the emergence of the Internet, the rise of investor relations, and the need for environmental communication. As the information technology developed, the Intranet became the main tool for internal relations. In-house publications, however, still remained the main internal communication tool. Changes in the fund raising schemes and the introduction of the concept of shareholder value gave rise to the importance of the investor relations. As many of the important issues in investor relations, such as management change and merger and acquisition overlapped with issues handled by *kouhou*, some companies moved the investor relations functions from accounting or finance departments to the *kouhou* department. The development of information technology also led to the emergence of consultancies that focused on online PR (Omori, 2008).

Since the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, sustainable development became a buzzword. Unlike the 1970s when corporations handled the environmental issues reactively, Japanese corporations tackled the environmental issues as part of their management strategy and began developing products and services that were environment friendly. Corporate kouhou departments regularly produce environmental and sustainability reports, which have become a staple element of corporate social responsibility strategies and reporting among leading Japanese corporations and major entities today. Since the beginning of this millennium, CSR has become a common business term and the promotion of CSR management is one of the key functions of *kouhou* today.

The Great East Japan earthquake on 11 March 2011 revealed both positive and negative aspects of Japanese people. It revealed the problems common among large organizations in Japan. One was the manipulation of information by withholding, releasing bit by bit and distortion. The other was the manipulation of public opinion by lining up mouthpieces, overtly and covertly, to speak on behalf of the powerful organizations. Shuichi Kato (2000), a literature scholar and great thinker, has pointed to conformity as one of the key attributes of the Japanese. It has become a national characteristic to follow the majority without expressing

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disagreement. However, not everything revealed was negative. Many companies mobilized their employees for the support of the victims, and made company-wide donations as CSR initiatives.

With the recognition of the need to conduct PR research, the Japan Society for Corporate Communication Studies was established in 1995. As of 2013, the Society had 653 individual members. The size of PR industry, however, has remained small. In 2013, PR Society of Japan (2013) conducted an industry survey and identified 202 PR firms to be surveyed, excluding advertising agencies and sales promotion companies that also engage in PR. The average employee count of those that responded to the survey was 57, and 53 per cent of those were female. Although it has been more than 50 years since Sophia University in Tokyo first offered PR courses in 1951, PR education is still not well established. Today, many universities offer one or more PR courses but only three universities, Bunkyo, Tokai and Hokkaido, have PR departments. In corporations, most PR managers come from other sections of the company (Miyabe, 2011), which implies that PR in corporations is not yet an established profession. Media relations is the form of PR activity most often practiced by corporate PR departments, followed by internal PR and external information gathering (Keizai Koho Centre, 2012).

Duality of PR

We have reviewed, though briefly, the path PR (*kouhou*) in Japan has gone through in the 20th century. Before World War II, the PR function, though not widely practiced, assumed the propaganda role to show the world that a small country in Asia had joined the major forces of the world. After the war, PR was introduced from the US through various organizations. In corporations, in particular, public relations' role went through dynamic change and gradually came to assume a core management role. In the 1950s it was a buffer between labour and management as they opposed each other. It was an important part of marketing strategy in the 1960s. In the 1970s it functioned as a check system on pollution and defective products and ushered in the concept of corporate social responsibility. In the 1980s it supported the transformation in corporate identity to cope with changes in the society. In the 1990s, while keeping its eyes on globalization and rising interest in the environmental issues,

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it adjusted itself to the drastic changes in communication strategy resulting from the emergence of the Internet and advancement in the IT technology. Since late 1990s through 2000s, corporations have been rocked by the wave of financial globalization and corporate scandals, thus being forced to face issues of social responsibility.

Through the cyclical changes in the key theme in corporate PR in Japan, two aspects of PR emerge. One moves human emotions by manipulating information delivered through mass media and the other appeals to human rationale through continuous dialogue (Ikari, 2003). In the days of economic upswing, advertising spending increases to stimulate consumers, the focus of PR shifts to marketing communication, and there is an inclination towards spin through manipulation of information to further expand business activities. After a while, criticisms against corporations emerge and people come to think that corporations should prioritize public interests and observe ethical standards. The business environment suddenly changes and PR departments have to change the focus of their activities, gaining internal tasks of compliance with rules and regulations, while communicating externally that the company is compliant and ethical. When a harsh business environment is prolonged, economic activities lose vibrancy and people start to long for re-energization of businesses. Corporations respond to it and mass media, sensing the public sentiment, proactively reports 'bright news' that leads to economic revitalization. This cyclical phenomenon seems to appear in the history of PR activities in Japan. To determine if this is a phenomenon particular to Japan, further theoretical and historical studies are required.

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6
Malaysia

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Abstract: *The development of public relations (PR) in Malaysia has been determined largely by its history, social, cultural, economic and political framework. The story of PR's evolution in Malaysia takes into account important events that took place during the British colonial period that helped shape its socio-cultural, economy and political structures. These largely influenced the PR practice in the country. Malaysian government's key policies paved the way for an organized PR profession in Malaysia after independence. The chapter covers the early practice of PR from the British colonial period before World War II up to the present time.*

Keywords: 1Malaysia; British colonial period; government policies; Malaysia; propaganda; public relations

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Malaysia, previously known as Malaya, was colonized for more than 400 years before achieving its independence in 1957 (Amran and Susela, 2008). The Portuguese were the first colonial power to settle there in the 16th century (1511) (Ibrahim and Joned, 1987), followed by the Dutch (1642) (Ibrahim and Joned, 1987) and the British (1786) (Hussin, 1998). Japan ruled Malaya for a brief period during World War II from late 1941 (Ibrahim and Joned, 1987). British administration re-occupied Malaya soon after the Japanese downfall in 1945 (Idid, 2004). A massive immigration of Chinese and Indian workers into Malaya during the British era has contributed to the multiethnic landscape of the country (see Abdullah and Pedersen). Being the last colonial master, the British administration had profound impact on Malaysian education, language, religion, law and local administration (Abdullah and Pedersen, 2003).

Malaysia consists of 13 states, including three federal territories with a total population of 28.3 million (Department of Statistics Malaysia, 2011). It is a multiethnic nation that consists of three main ethnic groups. The Malay are the oldest indigenous people, enjoying the status of 'Bumiputra', the 'sons' and 'daughters' of the soil (Abdullah and Pedersen, 2003) and constituting 63.1 per cent of the total population. In the Federal Constitution, 'Malay' refers to a person who professes the religion of Islam, habitually speaks Malay language, and conforms to Malay customs (Federal Constitution, 2005, p. 198). The Constitution also affirmed Islam as the official religion of the Federation (ibid., p. 20). Nevertheless, freedom to practice other religions is also permitted by the Constitution. The second largest ethnic group are the Chinese that make up 24.6 per cent of the overall population, and a further 7.3 per cent are Indian (Department of Statistics, 2011). Bahasa Malaysia is the official language of the country while English is regarded as the second language and is widely used in the workplace and in some educational institutions.

Little has been written about the history of PR in Malaysia. Syed Arabi Idid, a renowned communication professor in Malaysia, has been the only scholar who has been persistent in pursuing historical study of PR in the country. His work (Idid, 1980, 1994, 1995, 1998, 2004, 2005 and 2012) is widely accepted and cited by researchers. Scholars have varying opinions when PR started in Malaysia (Ramli, 1991; Idid, 1995; Adnan, 2008). Adnan (2008) maintained that it was initiated during the early Malay Malacca Sultanate (1400 AD–1500 AD) whereas Ramli (1991) asserted that PR began during the Malayan emergency (1948–1960). Following Idid (1995), this chapter accepts that PR started

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as an organized practice during the British colonial period in Malaya before World War II. Drawing from Malaysian experience, this chapter contends that the evolution of PR practice in the country has been largely shaped by its history, social, cultural, political and economic conditions. It elucidates the evolution of PR by taking into account important events that took place during the British colonial period. The discussion also elaborates key Malaysian government policies that affected the growth of PR in Malaysia from independence up to the recent times.

Colonial propaganda versus *rakyat* uprising

The British government in Malaya formed the Department of Information in 1939 to coordinate strategic propaganda efforts following the outbreak of war in Europe (Idid, 2004). Idid (1995) in his paper 'British Propaganda Activities in Malaya before Second World War' affirmed that war-time propaganda 'aimed to provide information to the disadvantage of the enemy and, properly geared, would be to the advantage of allies' (p. 132). The Department of Information primarily functioned as a press bureau for the government. George L. Peet, a former senior editor of the *Straits Times*, was made the first director for the department (Idid, 1994). Part of his function was to ensure all official statements made by the British government were published in newspapers and announced by the government-controlled Malaya Broadcasting Corporation on daily basis. This was particularly important to keep British citizens in Malaya informed about the war conditions in Europe.

In 1941, another department known as the Department of Information and Publicity was established to strengthen the British propaganda in Malaya (Idid, 1994, 2004). The government realized the importance to publicize the war conditions in Europe in order to mobilize support from its colonies. Concerted propaganda efforts by the British paid off when the government had successfully collected a sum of £26 million pounds sterling from all its colonies with £20 million pounds sterling obtained from the Malayans alone (Idid, 1995). In the interim, the British in Malaya also anticipated the threat coming from the Japanese. At that time, the Japanese already had their newspapers in Malaya and had embarked on a propaganda effort to undermine the British

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sovereignty. The Japanese used persuasive slogans to win the hearts and minds of the people: for example, 'Asia for Asian People' and 'Liberating Asian from Western Domination' (Adnan, 2008, p. 154). The Japanese eventually succeeded in their war strategy and forced the British to surrender Malaya entirely. Idid (1995) claims that Britain's horrendous defeat to the Japanese was due to its hollow propaganda effort that failed to contend with the Japanese propagandists who had won the minds and hearts of the Malayan people through their slogans to liberate Malaya from Western colonial power. The whole of Malaya was occupied by the Japanese Imperial Army in January 1942 (Raj, 2007).

Malaya was once again ruled by the British when the Japanese withdrew in late 1945. The British Military Administration (BMA) was immediately formed to bring Malaya back on its feet. However, BMA ceased to function and was replaced by the Malayan Union (MU) on 1 April 1946 (Raj, 2007). The Malayan Union was strongly resented by the population, especially the Malays. At this time, the British had to deal with the uprising of the Malay leaders and the *rakyat* (Malayan population) that strongly opposed the Malayan Union. Massive rallies were mobilized headed by a Malay leader, Dato' Onn Jaafar. They eventually led to the formation of the United Malays National Organisation (UMNO). Nationwide protest against the Malayan Union was held all over the peninsular Malaysia. Every male protestor wore a white band around his headband (*songkok)* for seven days as a symbol of protest over the appointment of Sir Edward Gent as the governor of the Malayan Union in April 1946 (Tunku Abdul Rahman, 1986). Dato' Onn, using his oratory ability, inspired thousands of Malays to appeal to the Malay rulers (Sultans) not to attend the inauguration ceremony of the Malayan Union governor (Raj, 2007). The Malayan Union fiasco could be interpreted as the British failure to understand the values and sentiment of the people in their homeland, especially the Malays. The Malayan Union was seen as a threat to Malay institutions as it proposed to minimize the power of the Sultans, remove Malays' special privileges and grant citizenship rights to all non-Malays who had been born in Malaya. Oblivious to the feeling and mindset of the Malays, the British had embarked on a strategy that was ultimately detrimental to their administration. Subsequently, the British had to withdraw Malayan Union and the Federation of Malaya was formed (ibid.).

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Psychological warfare

In the interim, the British introduced public relations departments in all states in Malaya to rebuild Malayans' confidence towards their government in view of their loss to the Japanese and to restore law and order in the country (Idid, 2004). This was the first time the term PR was used officially. Among other tasks, the PR department was also responsible to counter any propaganda activities that challenged the British government. During this period, the British power was challenged by the Communists insurgency led by the Malayan Communist Party (MCP) which led to Malaya being placed in a state of emergency from 1948 to 1960 (Idid, 2004; Adnan, 2008). Among MCP's major strategies to gain support from the local people was to present the conflict as the fight for Malayan liberation from the British. In response to this threat, the British used psychological warfare to galvanize support from the people and eventually reject communism (Adnan, 2008). Idid (2004) has asserted that the Department of Information Services, formed in 1952, succeeded in winning the hearts and minds of the people, and in combating the Communists' influence through various social welfare programmes. The British High Commissioner in Malaya at that time (1952–1954), Lieutenant-General Sir Gerald Templer, reiterated the importance of the psychological warfare strategy when he stated that:

> The answer lies not in pouring more troops into the jungle but rests in the hearts and minds of the Malayan people. (Parkinson, 1954, cited in Adnan, 2008, p. 229)

Templer realized the importance of understanding the needs of the people and had deployed the 'Operation Service' which aimed to improve the condition of the population by providing them with basic needs: food, financial assistance, hospitals and schools (Adnan, 2008). According to Raj (2007), Templer would make a point to visit communities in rural areas and listened to their problems and needs. Such action succeeded by alleviating misunderstanding and negative perceptions held among the local people towards the imperial government. Similarly, under the Briggs plan, the British relocated the Chinese community who were living in fear of the Communists to new settlements, known as the New Villages, which were equipped with basic amenities and facilities (ibid.). In the meantime, the British had been generous in giving citizenships to the Chinese, which ultimately weakened the ethnic group's support

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for the Communists (Mahathir, 1998; Adnan, 2008). This psychological warfare adopted by Templer had improved the British reputation in Malaya. Ultimately, the central strategy utilized by the British to keep the people on its side was its promise to give independence to Malaya (Adnan, 2008). On the other hand, MCP's aspiration to fight for Malayan independence through its 'Asia for Asian' slogan had dwindled, due to its failure to understand the needs of the people. At the same time, their vicious treatment towards those who opposed them had always been counterproductive (ibid.).

British had thrived against the Communists by utilizing relational techniques and maintaining good relationships with the people by giving considerable attention to their concerns, needs and expectations. These initiatives were fundamental in winning the hearts and minds of the Malayans. Nevertheless, this chapter argues that psychological warfare program during the colonial period has been primarily self-serving to pursue the British colonial agenda. This is consistent with Adnan (2004) who claimed that colonial PR was purely propaganda to fight 'for the cause of the imperial master' (p. 126).

PR and nation-building

Malaysia achieved its independence from the British without bloodshed in 1957. Malayan leaders had been far-sighted and persistent in negotiating their demand for an independent state. The aspiration to be an independent nation brought people from different ethnic groups together. Under the reign of Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj, the coalition of the Alliance party comprising three major races, Malay, Chinese and Indian, was successfully formed. A delegation of Malayan leaders went to London to further convince the British government for Malaya to be an independent state (Raj, 2007). PR was again used to prepare the population for information about their rights and responsibilities as an independent nation. Prior to organizing the first general election in 1959, the Department of Information Services held a series of campaigns that mainly aimed to persuade people to exercise their rights while educating them on the process of voting (Idid, 2004).

PR performed a significant function after independence. Malaysia's proposal to form a Malaysian Federation, comprising Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore, faced strong opposition from the Indonesian leader;

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President Soekarno, who claimed Malaysia was a neo-colonial set-up and thus the proposal should be opposed by the Non-Aligned Nations (ibid.). However, the 'Confrontation' launched by Soekarno in 1963 was construed as entirely driven by self-interest (Tunku Abdul Rahman, 1986). Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj (1986), in his book *Political Awakening*, affirmed that Soekarno wanted Malaya to expand his empire. The 'Confrontation' had implications for Malaysia's international affairs. The pressure imposed by Soekarno moved Malaysia to lobby support from its international counterparts and subsequently changed national foreign policy to be more outward looking (Idid, 2004; see also Adnan, 2008).

The period after independence witnessed a racial riot in Kuala Lumpur on 13 May 1969 that triggered bloodshed among several ethnic groups due to discontentment and suspicion. Former Prime Minister Mahathir, in his book *The Way Forward* (1998), stated that the 1969 racial riot was partly attributed to economic imbalances between races which were rooted in the 'divide and rule policy' introduced during the British colonial period. The policy had kept the three ethnic groups apart geographically to pursue a specific economic function; the Chinese people were placed in the urban sites and involved in commercial jobs, the Indians worked in the rubber estates, while the Malays mainly lived in the villages and were predominantly peasant farmers (Abdullah and Pedersen, 2003). This created economic gaps between the ethnic groups and resulted in discontent among the Malays. In addition, poor communications in relation to the dissemination of government policies served as one of the main reasons for the riot (Idid, 2004). Subsequent to the racial clash, the Sambanthan report recommended that PR officers be assigned at various ministries to keep local people informed of national policies (ibid.). At this juncture, PR's primary function was to educate the people in relation to government initiatives and policies to prevent discontentment and conflict. Government had extensively used PR to maintain social stability, achieve its aspirations and maintain the status quo.

The inception of the Institute of Public Relations Malaysia (IPRM) in 1962 was instrumental in advancing the PR profession through training and education (Idid, 2005). The idea to form the institute was mooted by three key figures, Dato' Mohd Sopiee Sheikh Ibrahim, Murad Hashim and Mohd Salleh Daud (ibid.). According to Idid (2005), Mohd Sopiee who was at that time the Director of Information Services was elected

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as the first president of IPRM, or formerly known as the Federation of Malaya Institute of Public Relations. In the absence of proper guidelines, IPRM had adopted the constitution of the British Institute of Public Relations (IPR) (Idid, 2005). IPRM was among the pioneers in PR education and it launched its first certificate course in 1971 (Idid, 2012). About the same time, public universities started to introduce PR courses and eventually increased the number of PR practitioners with bachelor's qualification (Idid, 2004).

Moving towards a recognized profession

Malaysia continued to thrive under the leadership of Tun Mahathir Mohamad (1981–2003). The government introduced two key policies in the early 1980s to transform Malaysia from an agricultural-based economy to an industrial nation (Economic Planning Unit, 2010). Industrialization and privatization policies have made the private sector the primary engine of economic growth and simultaneously lifted PR to a new height. This section provides a brief background to the key policies and how they have advanced the PR profession in Malaysia.

Privatization policies underscored the role of private sector in advancing the economy by reducing the government's financial burden and increasing its revenue from tax paid by profitable companies. At the same time, 'privatization' also functioned to increase *Bumiputra* share of corporate ownership in order to accomplish the goal of the New Economic Policy (NEP) introduced in the early 1970s to overcome economic imbalance among major ethnic groups (Yong, 1998; Mahathir, 1998). The policy resulted in several state-owned entities being privatized thus helping *Bumiputra* to move into big business.

Most companies sought assistance from PR agencies for their privatization exercise. For example, Telekom Malaysia engaged several PR agencies to help it with the privatization process (Sharifah, personal communication, May 2004 in Ahmad, 2004). Privatization changed the focus of corporations from merely providing services to the public into profit-driven entities. Such demanding roles required businesses to pay greater attention to relationships with various public bodies and also engage in image building. According to Idid (2004), following privatization most companies established their own in-house PR operation (commonly known as a Communication Unit) and hired external consultants

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to develop their communication strategies. In this context, the role of PR had expanded to help businesses to achieve their economic goals.

Similarly, the industrial policy positively affected the growth of PR in the country. This policy, among others, lured foreign businesses to bring in capital, technology and innovation. Foreign businesses have set foot in Malaysia mainly because of its 'business-friendly environment, the rule of law, orderly government processes and institutions, sufficient infrastructure and an educated workforce' (Zefferys, 2001, p. 226). It has been observed that government's pro-business policy served as an impetus for PR to make an impact in business sector. Part of the PR function was to assist foreign corporations to manage a good relationship with the government. Maintaining relationships with government departments was one of the most frequent roles enacted by PR practitioners in Malaysia (Idid, 1994). Early PR activities initiated by multinational firms were directed at winning government favour by lending financial support to the nation-building programmes (Van Leuven, 1996). The need to develop strategic relationships with the government and local populations lured more international PR agencies to Malaysia. Taylor and Kent commented that government was a significant public particularly for corporations that want to 'participate in and benefit from economic opportunities in Malaysia' (1999, p. 141). The first PR consultancy was an Australian-based agency, Eric White Associates, which opened in Kuala Lumpur in 1965 (Idid, 1994). Since then, more international PR agencies have had a presence in Malaysia, such as Burson Marsteller, Weber Shandwick, Hill & Knowlton and Edelman. At the same time, local agencies gradually entered the market due to the growing demand from the private sector. This positive development offered opportunity for PR practitioners not only to set foot in the business sector but also to pursue careers as proficient consultants. The 'feminization' of the profession has been evident in Malaysia; the number of female practitioners increased to 53 per cent in 1992 from only 30 per cent in 1977. However, males still dominated managerial positions (Idid, 2004).

Government PR: pursuing a stronger mandate

Under the premiership of the fifth prime minister, Tun Abdullah Ahmad Badawi (2003–2009), the government was committed to enhance ethical business practices and good governance among businesses in Malaysia.

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Businesses were made to realize that socially responsible practices are imperative to remain competitive and to be at par with international counterparts. Since then, investment in corporate social responsibility (CSR) initiatives has been made more explicit mainly to raise business profile. This was evident when corporations' CSR initiatives were constantly reported in mainstream media and local trade journals. As well, several awards have been introduced for exemplary CSR programmes initiated by Malaysian companies, such as the Prime Minister's Award, Malaysian Sustainability Reporting or MESRA Award and Star-Biz Award (Ahmad, 2012). Unlike the United States and the United Kingdom, the Malaysian government has allocated special CSR funding and incentives; which include tax exemptions for companies that have made substantial social investment to society. It is worth noting that, business's commitment to CSR offered wide opportunity for PR to assume a strategic role in the corporate ladder. Based on a study conducted in 2009, among the core functions of PR is to promote corporations' CSR activities and to advise on CSR-related events (ibid.). In her findings, Ahmad (2012) revealed that CSR has been used as a PR tool to accomplish the government's aspiration in developing both the nation and business commercial goals.

Preserving national unity is an uphill struggle for a pluralistic society such as Malaysia. The current government has utilized various PR strategies to maintain social stability and win support from the population. '1Malaysia' was introduced by the current Prime Minister Najib Tun Abdul Razak (2009–present) to embrace diversity and emphasize ethnic harmony, national unity and efficient administration governance (The Report, 2010). The 1Malaysia concept with its catchphrase 'People First, Performance Now' could be considered as an effective government PR exercise in reaching the population through large-scale events using various channels of communications. Despite criticisms from opposition parties being merely rhetoric, the Malaysian government stays committed to the campaign by constantly offering a wide range of 1Malaysian policies and actions such as the 1Malaysia housing programme for middle-income group, schooling aid of RM 100 per child, 1Malaysia Book Voucher scheme for students and 1Malaysia People's Aid (BR1M) for households earning below RM 3000 to name a few (Najib, 2013). 1Malaysia actions have sought to benefit most of the country's populations, irrespective of race and creed. Alternatively, 1Malaysia could, however, be seen as a deliberate government effort to reengineer

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public consent and win the hearts and minds of the people (Idid and Ahmad, 2013), particularly faced with a resurgent opposition party and growing discontent among some groups in society (The Report, 2010). In this context, PR strategies are being used to sustain social stability and restore public confidence to the ruling government thus maintaining political status quo.

Conclusion

The establishment of the Department of Information by the British administration marked the beginning of an organized PR activity in Malaysia (Idid, 2004). Drawing from Malaysian experience, PR has been predominantly employed by the elites or dominant actors in society to pursue their interests. This was evident when PR was used or abused by the colonial government to win the hearts and minds of the Malayan people to remain in power. By the same token, the Malay leaders were persistent in using public rallies and persuasion techniques to challenge the colonial administration to secure their status quo in the homeland. PR's role remained fundamental in pursuing governmental aspirations after independence. In this context, PR methods have been used for the government's mouthpiece to promote all initiatives and win support of the people. Over the years, PR has continued to perform a significant function in pursuing the government's national agenda and businesses' commercial goals. Unlike other nations, the practice of PR in Malaysia will continue to focus on winning the hearts and minds of the pluralistic society in the country. In addition, socio-economy and political dynamic of Malaysia will continue to determine the advancement of the profession.

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7
The Philippines

Marianne D. Sison and Zeny Sarabia-Panol

Abstract: *Understanding how public relations (PR) developed in the Philippines requires a thoughtful consideration of its colonial history and the influences that continue to permeate in contemporary Philippines. Outside observers would describe current public relations practice in the country as modernist, media-driven with a strong focus on corporate social responsibility (CSR). The drive to grow the industry comes from several factors: a robust media system, a democratic government, a young population of early adopters and a global outlook. This global outlook stems not only from economic reasons but also from five phases of colonial and post-independence history.*

Keywords: elite; Philippines; postcolonial; public relations

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Understanding how PR developed in the Philippines requires a thoughtful consideration of its colonial history and the influences that continue to permeate in contemporary Philippines. Outside observers would describe current public relations practice in the country as modernist, media-driven with a strong focus on corporate social responsibility. The presence of active industry associations such as the Public Relations Society of the Philippines (PRSP), International Association of Business Communicators Philippines (IABC Philippines) and International Public Relations Association (IPRA) reflects the energy and interest in growing PR practice in the country.

The drive to expand the industry comes from several factors: a robust media system, a democratic government, a young population of early adopters and a global outlook. This global outlook stems not only from economic reasons but also from colonial history. In describing the PR's development in the Philippines, this chapter highlights colonial, political and social influences that have shaped the practice.

To provide a fresh perspective to the historical narrative, we apply a critical, postcolonial lens that highlights key issues of power, gender and politics. As Munshi (2005, p. 631) noted, 'post-colonial theory offers the rationale for interventions that uncover traces of colonialist styles of thinking manifested in prevailing discourses on economy, society, culture, and politics'. Through a postcolonial lens, we will examine PR development by looking 'outside the dominant frame' and interrogate how PR was employed either to perpetuate or denounce power.

The historical narrative will be structured around five key periods: Spanish colonial (1521–1896), American occupation (1896–1946), post-war Philippines (1946–1972), martial law period (1972–1986), and post-dictatorship (1986–current). In examining PR development, we illustrate how each period employed forms of PR activities within the context of power.

Spanish colonial period: propaganda for domination and emancipation

The colonization of the islands began with the arrival of Portuguese explorer Ferdinand Magellan in 1521 under orders of the Spanish crown. The Spanish colonizers eventually occupied the kingdoms of Maynila and Tondo and established Manila as the capital of what was then known as the Spanish East Indies.

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A key part of the conquest was the introduction of Christianity and establishment of the Catholic Church. Before the Spaniards arrived, Chinese and Japanese traders settled in the main island of Luzon while Muslim Arabs stayed in southern Philippines in the 1400s.

With colonization, the Spanish government needed to win the hearts and minds of the locals. To do so, they established schools and hospitals and offered the local Chinese free education to convert to Christianity. However, locals were discouraged to learn Spanish for fear that it would 'foster a spirit of assertiveness and rebellion' (Mojares, n.d.). Under the guise of progress, Spaniards introduced the first public education system in Asia, the Western code of law, printing and the Gregorian calendar. During the 19th century, Spain further invested in infrastructure development by building bridges and transport systems as well as establishing banks.

The establishment of the first newspaper, *Del Superior Gobierno,* in 1811 signalled the rise of popular journalism along with the publication of two others, *Diario de Manila* (1848–1852, 1860–1898) and *El Comercio* (1869–1925). During this time, the Philippines developed a 'culture of literacy' with the rise of journalism and an educational system based on letters (Mojares, n.d.).

PR during this colonial period was dominated by Church propaganda, particularly from Spanish friars, in the form of *doctrinas*, *devocionarios* and novenas or what Tilson (2006) called devotional-promotional communication. *Devocionarios* were the most common printed religious genre in the 18th and 19th centuries. These inexpensively produced pamphlets 'taught lay people how to expiate sins by earning indulgences or pleading for intercession from the saints or the souls in purgatory' (Lahiri, 2007, p. 256). Because printing was expensive during colonial times, evangelical translations or vernacular publications, such as *doctrinas* and *devocionarios*, were not accessible to the *indios* or native Filipinos. Instead these publications served as auxiliary devices that facilitated standardization and interpersonal communication between clergy and the faithful (Rafael, 1993 in Lahiri, 2007).

As Lahiri (2007, p. 244) noted, the friars' propaganda 'ostensibly directed to *indios* or natives (referring to Filipinos) were meant to warn against the dangers of modernity, understood in terms of liberal ideas, the questioning of ecclesiastical authority, the learning of Castilian and with it, the destabilization of the social and linguistic hierarchies of the colony'.

While the Philippine economy seemed to flourish under Spanish rule, the mood altered with a change of leaders in Spain. Spanish rule and

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friar propaganda did not remain unchallenged. The use of propaganda as a tool for domination became a tool for activism and nationalism.

The propaganda movement led by Filipino nationalists, such as Jose Rizal and Marcelo H. del Pilar, through combined journalistic discourse and correspondence from Europe to the Philippines exposed the abuses of the Spanish regime including those committed by the clergy in the islands. The discontent and calls for solidarity constituted the 'first canonical writings of Filipino nationalism' (Lahiri, 2007, p. 243). Initially an underground movement, the revolution, started in 1896 as a propaganda movement inspired by two novels, *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*, written by Jose Rizal, a middle-class intellectual who fought for the country's independence. He also wrote for the newspaper, *La Solidaridad*, the official medium of the propaganda movement. The movement, led by Rizal, including liberal-minded Filipino émigrés based in Europe, aimed to raise Spanish awareness about the needs of the Philippines and called for similar laws and privileges for those in Spain and its colonies. Rizal wrote news on the real state of religious corporations in the Philippines, which in Spain were portrayed as good missionary endeavours of the friars. He sent copies of his letters published in the Spanish press to his brother Paciano, who circulated them among his friends in the Philippines.

The propaganda movement advocated for equal rights, representation, freedom of speech, public education and secularization of Philippine parishes. While some scholars find propaganda and PR problematic, others (Hutton, 1999; Edgett, 2002) have argued that advocacy is part of the PR cache. In this case, while Spain's clergy in the Philippines used religious propaganda to subjugate the population, Rizal and his colleagues used propaganda and journalistic activities as a form of activist PR to emancipate the people from the colonizers.

In 1898, Spain's reign over the Philippines ended and the Filipinos declared independence, albeit briefly. After the Battle of Manila, the United States paid Spain US$20 million to take control of the Philippines.

American occupation: 'benevolent assimilation'

During this period, the Americans used PR to persuade the locals of the benefits of having the new colonizer. US President William McKinley told the Filipinos of their intentions as a way to win their hearts and

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minds. On 19 May 1898, he wrote a memo to the War Secretary that included the following excerpt:

> It is my desire that the people of the Philippines should be acquainted with the purpose of the United States to discharge to the fullest extent its obligations in this regard. It will therefore be the duty of the commander of the expedition, immediately upon his arrival in the islands, to publish a proclamation declaring that we come not to make war upon the people of the Philippines, nor upon any party or faction among them, but to protect them in their homes, in their employments, and in their personal and religious rights. (McKinley, 2004, p. 84)

This benevolent assimilation proclamation, cabled for immediate distribution for the Filipinos, was the US government's attempt to assuage the locals under the guise of protection:

> Finally, it should be the earnest and paramount aim of the military administration to win the confidence, respect, and affection of the inhabitants of the Philippines by assuring to them in every possible way that full measure of individual rights and liberties which is the heritage of free peoples, and by proving to them that the mission of the United States is one of benevolent assimilation, substituting the mild sway of justice and right for arbitrary rule. In the fulfillment of this high mission, supporting the temperate administration of affairs for the greatest good of the governed, there must be sedulously maintained the strong arm of authority to repress disturbance and to overcome all obstacles to the bestowal of the blessings of good and stable government upon the people of the Philippine Islands under the free flag of the United States. (McKinley in Blount, 1912, pp. 148–150)

Rather than pacify, the proclamation further provoked the revolutionaries (Blount, 1912). The hearts and minds battle continued for the next 35 years. To demonstrate the benefits of colonial rule, foreign trade increased, albeit mostly with the US, reduced mortality rates with the establishment of a health care system and created a new educational system with English as the medium of instruction. The feudal system established under Spain was not, however, dismantled and further perpetuated elitism and colonial mentality.

Under persistent oppressive conditions, Filipino legislators vigorously lobbied the US government for complete independence. In 1935 US President Franklin D. Roosevelt conceded and gave the Philippines Commonwealth status for ten years. Consequently, he approved the Philippine constitution and Manuel L. Quezon was elected president of the Commonwealth of the Philippines.

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As in the Spanish era, PR activities during this period were propaganda and persuasion in the interest of the colonial powers. Both American and Filipino leaders worked on building infrastructure and educational/media systems in the guise of modernization and development and used communication to convince the population of the benefits of American 'benevolence'.

Post-war Philippines: the birth of 'professional PR'

In December 1941, Japan invaded and occupied the Philippines until 1944 when General Douglas MacArthur returned to 'liberate' it. His return to the Philippines has been cited as a significant PR exercise and was immortalized through the image of him and his crew wading through knee-deep waters to land in Leyte. MacArthur's ability to manage the media and his image resulted from his appointment as the US Army's first PR officer. The American liberation of the archipelago from the Japanese imperial occupation was followed by the declaration of Philippine independence from the US on 4 July 1946. This independence, however, was largely symbolic. While the country had its own national anthem and national flag, its political and economic systems were closely tied to the US especially as two major American military bases remained in the Philippines until 1992. Nevertheless, this period was characterized by a series of popularly elected presidents, with four-year terms, following the American presidential model of government.

American influence pervaded the business and media sectors because English was considered the *lingua franca*. In 1947, Manila's business editors and reporters organized the Business Writers' Association of the Philippines (BWAP) and launched the BWAP Awards for those who excelled in their businesses and contributed to social welfare via socio-civic projects. In the same year, the then Philippine president appointed a press secretary. But it was only seven years later, in 1954, that the Office of the Press Secretary was elevated to cabinet level reflecting the importance given to the function.

Modern PR, however, was acknowledged to have started in 1949 (Lorenzo-Molo, 2006; Nieva, 1993; Nieva, 1999; Sarabia-Panol and Lorenzo-Molo, 2004). As the newly 'independent' nation was recovering from the war and building its economy, the Philippine government needed to establish a favourable business climate. This led to the

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establishment of the Philippine Association, a group of business and government leaders that funded and organized a campaign to bring more US investment into the Philippines. Along with the then Philippine ambassador to the United States Carlos P. Romulo and businessman Andres Soriano of San Miguel Corporation, Jose Carpio worked with US PR expert George Peabody on a campaign that increased foreign investments in the country.

Along with Carpio, Pete Teodoro was considered one of the pioneers of PR in the Philippines (Nieva, 1993). As PR director of paint manufacturer, Elizalde & Company, Teodoro designed and implemented the first PR program to win the goodwill and patronage of architects and contractors (Nieva, 1993). Their success triggered more local and multinational firms to employ PR with a focus on media relations and publicity. PR practitioners came from journalism, advertising and marketing as well as media industries. The increasing number of private sector practitioners enabled the establishment of the Public Relations Society of the Philippines (PRSP) in 1955. Shortly after, a group of government information officers set up the Public Relations Organization of the Philippines (PROP).

At about this time, Nora C. Quebral introduced the term 'development communication' as part of a research program on how communication can address the issues of rural development. Quebral defined it as:

> the art and science of human communication linked to a society's planned transformation from a state of poverty to one of dynamic socio-economic growth that makes for greater equity and the larger unfolding of individual potential. (2002, cited in Manyozo, 2006, p. 83)

Quebral and her colleagues clearly distinguished 'development communication' from advertising and propaganda in that it 'educates for purposes of greater social equality and larger fulfillment of the human potential' (Manyozo, 2012, p. 199). From the 1950s until the early 1970s, Filipino scholars were already involved in studying communication as a means of increased social awareness and community engagement albeit initially from a non-corporate perspective.

On the corporate front, PR was gaining momentum. Following Carpio's earlier success, Andres Soriano appointed him to create a PR department in San Miguel Corporation in 1966. Despite building the department in a sceptical environment, Carpio succeeded and many senior practitioners credit their professional training to his leadership.

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Eventually, corporations considered PR as a 'must-have' department or function (Lorenzo-Molo, 2006).

While businesses and the PR industry were blossoming, disquiet was fomenting among parts of the country because of graft and corruption, high oil prices and the gnawing inequities between the rich and the poor. The Communist Party of the Philippines joined with the League of Filipino Students and staged a series of protests, termed the First Quarter Storm in 1970. These protests denounced private enterprise and American capitalists who exploited the country's resources at the expense of the poor.

In response, a group of 50 Filipino business leaders established the Philippine Business for Social Progress (PBSP) group in December 1970. They realized that the business community had to find 'viable and self-sustaining social development projects, not charity projects, that are socially acceptable' (Tan and Bolante, 1997, p. 5). They also believed that business thrives in a peaceful environment, and the root cause of social unrest was urban poverty. So PBSP's mission was to reduce poverty 'by promoting business sector leadership in, and commitment to, programs that lead to self-reliance'. Drawing from the Venezuelan *Dividendo Voluntario para la Comunidad* model, they committed 1 per cent of their companies' pretax net income to develop programs to reduce poverty. However, unrest escalated and President Ferdinand Marcos, about to finish his second and final term of office in 1973, declared martial law on 11 September 1972.

Martial law period: from propaganda to People Power

Knowing the power of the media and the need to control information, Marcos closed most of the country's major newspapers, television and radio stations. Freedom of expression was curtailed and government controlled information with the establishment of the Department of Public Information. Not only did the dictatorship frame its reign under the aegis of a 'New Society', it also commissioned a slogan (*Sa ikauunlad ng bayan, disiplina ang kailangan*) (For the country to progress, discipline is needed) and a jingle as part of its propaganda. With the strong arm of the military and control of information, dissenters went underground. During this time, PR reverted to propaganda-style communication not dissimilar to the Spanish and American colonialist approaches.

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Once the situation settled, the PR industry slowly re-emerged in the form of government communication (Sarabia-Panol, 2000). Because control of information was deemed important, the Marcos regime tightened its stranglehold of the media, took over the coconut and sugar industries and spawned what became known as 'crony capitalism'. An acknowledgement of the role of systematic study of PR in the dictatorship's grand scheme resulted in the granting of a Ministry of Education and Culture permit to PRSP authorizing universities to establish bachelor degrees in PR in 1977.

The controlled conditions favoured the economy, which recorded an average growth rate of 6 per cent between 1972 and 1980 (Tiglao, 2012). Ethnic Chinese and the Spanish elite enjoyed privileges that enabled them to keep their business in the country. The improved economy enabled the revival of the PR industry, which seemed to thrive in the controlled political environment. In addition to the PRSP and the PROP, the International Association of Business Communicators (IABC) approved the establishment of its Philippine chapter in 1983.

Because media organizations were either closed or taken over by the government and Marcos' cronies, access to information was difficult and PR became a means of managing the news (Pineda-Ofreno, 1988, p. 99). Thus power was limited to not only government officials but also their business sector friends, who exploited the controlled environment to expand their interests. The private sector was often tapped to support government programs (Sarabia-Panol, 2000). Unfortunately this meant competitive advantage was based on one's close relations with the power elite or how well products were promoted, not necessarily on the quality of the product or service (Bagaman, in Lorenzo-Molo, 2006).

Government and the business elite also exploited the low wages of journalists and media practitioners through the practice of 'envelopmental journalism'. Journalists were given envelopes with cash to either kill a story or ensure its coverage regardless of its newsworthiness. PR practitioners were often tasked to hand over the envelopes on behalf of their clients.

Given these political and media conditions, PR did not progress beyond publicity, marketing support and quasi-advertising. Practitioners continued to come from journalism and training was limited to offering media exposure to clients and their organizations. University degree programs initially established to provide ethical and professional education in the mid-1970s did not last long.

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The deterioration of the world economy in the early 1980s and the oil crisis crippled the Philippine economy. Its GDP growth collapsed to 7 per cent in 1984 and inflation rose to 50 per cent. Along with Benigno Aquino's assassination in 1983, the stage was set for the People Power revolution. Ironically President Marcos' attempt to manage his image on the international stage through an interview with US news anchor Ted Koppel backfired when he called Koppel's bluff to hold presidential elections. Marcos' efforts to hold on to power despite losing the election to Corazon Aquino led to his downfall with the bloodless People Power uprising in 1986.

The People Power revolution involved military, religious and business leaders in a civil disobedience campaign that employed PR techniques. Committed to non-violence, leaders adopted yellow as a symbol earning it the nomenclature 'the Yellow Revolution'. Spokespersons included the Archbishop of Manila, Cardinal Sin, who used his influence over the Church-owned station, Radio Veritas, to call on followers to support the protest. As Tiglao (2012) noted, the 'elite suddenly became freedom-lovers, donning yellow Lacoste shirts and joining street protests to demand that Marcos step down. People power was based on a bad economy's power to make people want to overthrow their government'.

Post-dictatorship Philippines: towards the social responsibility of business

After Corazon Aquino and People Power ousted Marcos, subsequent governments have struggled to balance democratic ideals with the country's feudal and colonial history. While Corazon Aquino was president, expectations for moral leadership were high. Like many countries in transition from dictatorship to democracy, the Philippines' return to democracy was slow and reactionary. Moral and nationalistic expectations filtered through the business community and many corporations maintained their social development ties with the PBSP.

While leadership changes over the past three decades have brought varying results, the country's economy has improved through overseas Filipino worker remittances and foreign investment. However, government has failed to eradicate corruption and alleviate poverty.

The 1980s saw PR take on a more business-related role (Lorenzo-Molo, 2006). Although publicity still dominates the practice, PR has become a

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more business-oriented function with its incorporation into marketing often referred to as consumer PR. Moreover, it has integrated a community relations approach with a stronger corporate social responsibility focus (Lorenzo-Molo, 2006). When marketing practitioners realized that advertising could no longer meet their objectives, the alternative was found in PR. Suddenly it became a bigger and more significant aspect of the marketing mix (Nieva, cited in Lorenzo-Molo, 2006), helping publicize a product and extending the longevity of advertising campaigns (Virtusio, cited in Lorenzo-Molo, 2006). While publicity plays a significant part in marketing, it is still referred to as 'below-the-line advertising' (Nieva, cited in Lorenzo-Molo, 2006). This view relegates PR to a support function with a focus on publicity and media relations (Lorenzo-Molo, 2006) that could stunt its development as a truly professional practice.

Despite these challenges, PRSP and IABC have experienced renewed activity with increased memberships and award entries. PBSP's membership, which started as a group of 50 business leaders, now comprises more than 260 small-, medium- and large-scale businesses committed to funding for social development projects. It leads the promotion of CSR practice in the Philippines. Recently the League of Corporate Foundations (LCF) emerged from a national network of non-government organizations (NGOs) and people's organizations to be established in 1996. It represents 75 corporate foundations and corporations that are creating business solutions to social problems.

The scale of poverty in the country, however, is beyond the capacity of any single entity including the national government. The sheer number and magnitude of problems confronting the national government have resulted in the neglect of some programs that demand higher priority. As such, public-private partnerships have emerged as a model of development. CSR, therefore, becomes an opportunity and thrives in the Philippines where government resources are lacking.

While many award-winning PR and communication programs focus on CSR, commentators question whether businesses are integrating social responsibility in their operations and decision-making or doing it for publicity purposes (Lorenzo-Molo, 2008). Philippines CSR efforts are predominantly philanthropic with relatively few major organizations incorporating CSR strategies and actions into their operations. They continue to be event and media-driven presumably because the PR/public affairs people were responsible for bringing CSR to the CEO's attention (Rimando, 2012).

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Although philanthropic endeavours have been appreciated, particularly in light of recent calamities, these activities create a dependency that perpetuates social inequities. PR activities need to promote social responsibility and social entrepreneurship to enable the poor and marginalized sectors of society earn a living while maintaining their dignity. In addition, the industry must acknowledge both mainstream PR activities undertaken by corporate entities and those from not-for-profit organizations, NGOs and people's organizations. This recognition will enable more voices, especially those often made silent or absent by capitalist systems, to be part of the conversations and decision-making.

Conclusion

The narrative on PR's development in the Philippines reveals a complex interplay of power and hegemony, either by colonizers or its political and business elite. Through a postcolonial lens, this chapter has exposed how PR was used by those in power to dominate and oppress, and by the oppressed to denounce and revolt against those in power. Moreover, this analysis shows that PR remains a tool of an elite group of individuals who have the capacity to articulate, strategize and mobilize through their access to media and information channels. A postcolonial lens also highlights how PR historiographies tend to be gendered, where development of PR have been attributed to 'fathers of PR'. This raises questions on the extent of women's participation in the development of PR, why women's voices are absent and whether their voices have been erased in the narratives. The influences brought by the Spanish and American colonizers as well as the revolutionaries have shaped some PR practices, particularly in the use of media for advocacy. The challenge for contemporary Filipino communication practitioners is how to use PR to enable a truly participative, dialogic and equal process within a socio-economic context that continues to be feudal, capitalist and paternalistic.

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8
Singapore

May O. Lwin and Augustine Pang

Abstract: *Public relations (PR) in Singapore can be traced back to the period immediately after World War II when the British colonial authorities re-established power after the defeat of Japan. As Singapore's status as a cross-road for trade and innovation grew, public relations expanded. This started with government and corporate interests and has expanded, with a strong emphasis on nation identity and nation-building. The PR industry has grown to be one of the main hubs in Asia, alongside the development of media industries and regional corporate headquarters. At present, PR remains at a pre-professionalization stage but is considered to be moving in an upward direction.*

Keywords: history of public relations; national identity; nation-building; public relations; Singapore; traditional competencies

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Singapore is located just 137 km north of the equator and occupies a land area of only 682.7 square km. The local population of 5.3 million (Singstat, 2012) comprises of 74.2 per cent Chinese, 13.3 per cent Malays and 9.2 per cent Indians. The other 3.3 per cent comprises of a mix of other nationalities. While Singapore recognizes four official languages of Malay, Mandarin, Tamil and English, English is the language of business (ibid.).

Sir Stamford Raffles, a representative of the British East India Company in 1819, founded Singapore (Buckley, 1984) and then established it as a trading port in Southeast Asia (Wurtzburg, 1984). Singapore became a British colony until the Japanese occupation from 1942 to 1945 (Abshire, 2011). After the war, she resumed her role as the headquarters of British military power in Southeast Asia (Tarling, 1999) and gained independence on 9 August 1965.

The current government, the People's Action Party (PAP), has been in power since 30 May 1959 (PAP, n.d.) and has successfully shepherded Singapore's economic progress into the 21st century.

Evolution of PR in Singapore

Public relations activities in Singapore began with the British colonialists and was primarily propagandist in nature to promote the credibility of the British after their defeat at the hands of the Japanese in World War II. The mission for PR at the time was summed up by Lord Lloyd, the parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonial Office: 'It was everywhere of first importance both for British interests and for the colonial interests of the people concerned that we put across with all possible power and persuasion the ideas for which we stand' (Nair, 1986, pp. 3–4). This was done through the establishment of the Department of Publicity and Printing under the British Military Administration immediately after the end of World War II (Yeap, 1994).

In the 1950s, multinational companies (MNCs) entered Singapore (Chay-Nemeth, 2009). This also marked the start of in-house PR departments in both the private and public sector (ibid.). PR diversified into two fronts: promoting the new business entrants, and on the governmental end, national development through the Ministry of Culture and Information (MCI) in 1959 (Yeap, 1994). The MCI recruited many professionally trained individuals in the fields of journalism and

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mass communications, and was focused on public campaigns (ibid.) to educate and inculcate good social behaviour in citizens. These included such iconic campaigns as 'Anti-Litter' and 'Lungs for Singapore', which have been sustained in various forms. Such publicity campaigns set the foundations for more sophisticated public campaigns of the 1970s, 1980s, 1990s, and today (NLB, n.d.). One of the earliest was the Keep Your City Clean campaign, an anti-littering initiative organized by the City Council in 1958 (ibid.) followed by the Gerakkan Pembersehan Bandar Raya Singapura, meaning 'movement to clean the city of Singapore'. Launching the campaign Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew said in 1959 that he wanted the campaign as a starting point for Singapore to become one of the cleanest and healthiest cities in Asia in order to boost tourism and to attract foreign investment. More than 200 campaigns launched by the Singapore government in the 1970s and 1980s alone (RememberSG, 2013). Many of these campaigns had positive effects, even till today, such as water-saving, anti-smoking and anti-littering.

At the same time, international PR firms such as Michael De Kretser Consultants started stamping their mark in the country (Lwin and Aitchison, 2003). Their main function was to keep stakeholders in other countries informed of the health of MNCs operating in Singapore. In-house PR departments grew in service industries such as hospitality, banking, and retail sectors (Nair, 1986). In the 1960s and 1970s, the PR industry shifted 'from a profession dominated by government campaigns designed to bolster the nation-building process to a profession with a strong private-sector presence' (Freitag and Stokes, 2009, p. 131). With more MNCs entering Singapore, they showed the way for local organizations to adopt new management techniques, including the introduction of PR as a management tool (Lim, Goh and Sriramesh, 2005). Over time, practitioners saw the need for an accreditation body and the Institute of Public Relations of Singapore (IPRS) was founded in 1970 (IPRS, 2013).

The decades from the 1980s to the 2000s saw the mushrooming of MNCs and the growth of local sectors and a shift towards a Knowledge-Based Economy (KBE). More international PR consultancies such as Edelman joined the economic wave, and local in-house PR departments grew during this period (Chay-Nemeth, 2009).

Over the past three decades, the PR industry has developed significantly. Statistics compiled by the Productivity and Standards Board from 1995 to 2001 (Singstat, 2001) showed that there were around 70 PR companies employing about 500 professionals, providing PR or

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business communication services. The industry recorded an average sales growth of around 6 per cent per annum, with average annual productivity at around S$70,000 per person between 1997 and 2001 (IPRS, n.d.). This growth of the PR industry was in tandem with the competitive economy Singapore was seeking to build (Chay-Nemeth, 2009). As a key financial hub in Asia, organizations were looking at ways to communicate innovatively and effectively with both internal and external stakeholders.

Following the Asian financial crisis in 1997 (MTI, 2000), there has been a trend focusing on corporate governance and transparency (OECD, 2009). In 2013, there were 79 domestic and multinational PR agencies operating in Singapore (CampaignAsia, n.d.) as well as niche agencies. PR departments in organizations are the norm today.

State of PR

According to the *Global Competitiveness Report* (WEF, 2014) Singapore is the leading city with the best employer relations in Asia, and the top two most competitive city globally. The national labour force numbers 3.29 million (2012) and unemployment stands at an average of 2.0 per cent (as at 2012). Singapore is also the world's fourth-ranked financial centre (Z/Yen, 2012), with various growth industries such as biomedical sciences, info-communications, maritime and digital media. The big users of PR are in the technology and financial sectors as well as government agencies. Based on the 2013 World Report by The Holmes Report, all agencies on the top ten list – Edelman, Weber Shandwick, FleishmanHillard, MSLGroup, Burson Marsteller, Ketchum, Hill+Knowlton Strategies, Ogilvy Public Relations, Havas PR and Brunswick – have a presence in Singapore.

Given Singapore's global status, one would assume PR as a profession would also enjoy an elevated status. Reality, however, paints a different picture. In one of the more comprehensive studies examining the state of public relations published 20 years ago, Yeap suggested that the industry was undergoing a state of 'transition' (1994, p. 373) from one characterized by performance of technical roles, such as organizing events and media relations, to one providing strategic directions. Ten years after, the status quo remained largely unchanged (Chay-Nemeth, 2009). Pang and Yeo argued the profession needs to break out of the 'pre-professional' mode (2009, p. 96). They have suggested three systemic problems that have plagued practitioners:

Public perception of PR. PR in Singapore suffers from a negative image. Even for the more educated public, PR is often associated with 'spin doctors' merely interested in getting positive stories into the media in order to make their organizations look good. Its identity is further made ambiguous by the fact that anyone, regardless of academic background, qualifications, experience or training, can practice PR (Pang and Yeo, 2012; Yeo and Sriramesh, 2009).

Difficulty in quantifying public relations work: Many organizations do not appear to fully appreciate the value of public relations (Yeo and Sriramesh, 2009). Singapore organizations 'still consider PR as a peripheral function within management's overall operations' (Yeap, 1994, p. 377). Many subscribe to the belief that PR brings few quantifiable benefits (Yeo and Sriramesh, 2009).

Accentuation on traditional competencies: Despite efforts to position the profession beyond technical roles to more strategic functions, the traditional PR competencies in tactical roles remain a double-edged sword. Over the years, because practitioners have performed these tasks competently – in media relations, writing and editing corporate literature, producing publications and promotional materials and organizing events, such as press conferences, dominant coalitions continue to regard practitioners as only as good as these functions and fail to recognize that they can undertake more strategic work. Yeap argued that many practitioners faced an 'uphill battle' (1994, p. 377) to justify to management the 'relevancy of their role in decision-making' (ibid.).

Pang and Yeo argue that 'PR, as a whole, ranging from the nature of the job to its place in the organizational function and position in the organizational hierarchy to general recognition of the profession, suffers from a credibility deficit' (2009, p. 96).

Since the mid-2000s, the communication environment has become significantly more complex with the advent of social media. PR has been called upon to harness both traditional and digital media (Pang et al., 2014). At the 2012 PRISM Awards, veteran PR practitioner Basskaran Nair argued that 'technologies and social networking tools are no longer new forms of existing communications, rather if used effectively, they generate interactivity, sharpen conversation and create a shared

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awareness of the realities that institutions, individuals, companies and countries are faced with today' (IPRS, 2012).

Transformation to professionalization

Pang and Yeo (2009) argued that the public relations profession is long overdue for more recognition. Indeed, the transformation to professionalization is taking place against a confluence of circumstances. First, there is a need for organizations to reinforce corporate reputation.

Second, the need for organizations to stake their presence in a changing media landscape. Singapore's highly legislated media industry is anchored by two local media players, Singapore Press Holdings, which owns most of the print media, and MediaCorp, which owns most of the broadcast media. The local media is complemented by international media, including *Asian Wall Street Journal*, *International Herald Tribune*, and the *Economist*. Reuters, CNBC Asia and the Dow Jones Group have their regional headquarters located in Singapore (Ministry of Communication and Information, 2012). With the advent of social media technologies, a significant shift in audiences' news consumption habits is expected. From 1.2 million Internet users in 2000 to more than 3.6 million in 2011, Singapore has one of the world's highest Internet penetrations at 77.2 per cent, comparable with the US which had 78.6 per cent and Europe's 61.3 per cent (IWS, 2012).

Consequently, many blogs, social networking sites, and even online newspapers such as *The Online Citizen* (TOC) and *Wayang Party Club* have sprung up displaying more activism and reports in more recent postings (Oon, 2009).

Third, education has aided recognition of the field. Pang and Yeo (2009) argued that the impact of the establishment of Singapore's first full-fledged degree-awarding communication school at Nanyang Technological University (NTU) remains far-reaching. By granting advanced degrees for PR studies, it signalled to industry that PR is a bona fide profession. Similar programs have sprung up in the New Media and Communication Department at the National University of Singapore and at the Lee Kong Chian School of Business at the Singapore Management University.

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Conclusion

This chapter has traced the evolution of public relations in Singapore since it was a British colony to what it is today. Even though it still remains 'pre-professional' there is potential for the status and contributions of the profession can be transformed into professionalization with time.

Note

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9
Taiwan

Yi-Chen Wu and Ying-Ju Lai

Abstract: *Culturally, Taiwan's original public relations (PR) concept derived from Confucius's (551–479 BC) philosophy on social harmony and hierarchical orders, as well as the importance of public opinion. The modernization of PR has struggled with traditional misunderstanding of its practice as merely gift-giving, favour-offering and private social connections ('guanxi'). As a result, personal influence and cultural interpreter, the two most frequently practiced models in Asia, are also important in Taiwan. In order to maintain long-term relationships with media and clients, local PR firms strategically apply the techniques in interpersonal communication to reach their PR goals. PR in Taiwan has also been cultivated by the values from the US and Europe – especially the PR education system from the US which has been a great influence on Taiwan's PR education.*

Keywords: Confucian philosophy; guanxi; personal influence model; public relations; Taiwan; US influence

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Taiwan, the Republic of China (ROC), is an island state, lying off the southeastern coast of mainland China. It is well known for its world-class economy and geopolitical position in Asia. The Republic of China was founded in 1912. After the Chinese Civil War fought between the Kuomintang (KMT) government and the Communist Party of China, the KMT government, led by Chiang Kai-shek, was forced to retreat to Taiwan in 1949. On mainland China, the Communist Party of China, led by Mao Zedong, founded the People's Republic of China (PRC).

Culturally, Taiwan's original PR concept came from Confucius's (551–479 BC) philosophy on social harmony and hierarchical structures which emphasize the importance of public opinion (Chung, 1993). Even so, the modern PR has struggled with a traditional misunderstanding of PR practice as merely gift-giving, favour-offering, private social connection, and even under-the-table dealings, also known as '*guanxi*' (Hackley and Dong, 2001). Thus, personal influence and cultural interpreter, the two most frequently practiced models in Asia, are also important in Taiwan. In order to maintain long-term relationships with media and clients, local PR firms had to strategically apply the interpersonal communication techniques to reach their PR goals (Wu et al., 2001; Wu, 2004).

In addition, the PR in Taiwan has been cultivated by the values from the US and Europe, especially the PR education system from the US which has had a great influence on Taiwan's PR education since many university faculty gained their PhDs from the US. Moreover, members of the Chinese PR Association (CPRA, established in 1956 by Tsai-ping Liang), the first PR organization, also actively took part in numerous interactional PR collaborations. They continuously applied Western PR theories into practice in order to promote a higher level of expertise in Taiwan. At the same time, the arrival of foreign PR agencies to set up offices in Taiwan also stimulated the development of PR professionalism.

The differences between Chinese *guanxi* and European/American PR lie in five dimensions: private/public, closed/open, invisible/visible, interpersonal/mass media, and friendly ties/principle-cantered (Hackly and Dong, 2001). Being a crossroad between Eastern and Western cultures, Taiwan's PR has become a profession which reflects both the *guanxi* philosophy and modern Western PR practices. The five sets of opposite concepts between Eastern and Western PR practices coexist in Taiwan ingeniously, and have become the guidelines for the local PR professionals.

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PR development in Taiwan can be divided into the commencing stage (1950s–1986), the expanding stage (1987–2000), the restructuring stage (2001–2009), and the transforming stage (2010–present). Turning points for the four stages were influenced by three important events: the termination of martial law in 1987, global economic downturn in late 1990s, and the burgeoning of social media in Taiwan since 2010. From an historical perspective, the initial development of PR in Taiwan can be attributed to assistance from government, which was followed by economic growth, social progress, and media democratization. However, the downturn of global economy and China's rising economic power have caused substantial absorption effect on Taiwan's economy which, in turn, led to the stagnant economic growth and subsequent decrease in PR expansion. Fortunately, due to growth of social media and mobile media applications recently, PR has experienced another growth. Taiwan's PR is now at its transforming stage, and heading towards another peak.

Commencing stage (1949–1986)

When the KMT government retreated to Taiwan in 1949, public trust in the new government was very low. During that period, Taiwan also faced the constant coercion from mainland China which threatened to take the country back by force. The military threat from China forced the KMT government to impose martial law; at the same time, the government incorporated PR functions into its organizations in order to justify its action to be an authoritarian regime and maintain the stability on the island (Chang, 2004). In contrast to the tight political control, however, the government held the opposite attitude towards national economy at this stage. The economic liberalization policies, including the 'Ten Major Construction Projects' and the 'Twelve New Development Projects', contributed to the so-called Taiwan Economic Miracle, and facilitated the growth in several important industries such as oil refining, nuclear power, high-tech. Taiwan's per-capita gross national income was approximately US $300 in 1971, second to Japan in Asia (Wang, 2002). In the meantime, many foreign companies, such as IBM and Du Pont, arrived in Taiwan to establish local businesses. Rapid economic growth at that time led to the subsequent development of the PR industry. Some scholars believed that the second half of this stage was the result of a 'period of economic influence' (Li, 1995). The characteristics for this stage are discussed in the following sections.

Government as driving force to establish PR and spokesperson system

The earliest PR unit in the public sector was established in the Ministry of Transportation and Communications in 1953, which administered all aspects of transportation and communications, including postal services, telecommunication services, air transportation, marine transportation, land transportation, and meteorological services, then followed by another PR department in the Ministry of Economic Affairs, which managed Taiwan Sugar Corporation, Taiwan Power Company, Chinese Petroleum Corporation and some other government-owned companies (ibid.). In 1958, the government announced that it would designate either a specialist or a special department to handle PR affairs for the central and local administrations. Because the government proved the effectiveness of PR for propaganda, news media relations and press releases, the Premier's Office set up a spokesperson system for all government agencies in 1979 (Chung, 1993). It also stipulated that each government organization must have a vice senior officer to serve as its spokesperson.

During this time, the government also sent many government officials to the US to study modern public relations and to bring back the new expertise to manage media relations and propaganda. Due to the control of martial law, expression of public opinion was prohibited in the society, and the practice of PR was thus unsophisticated and one-way propagandistic in nature (Sriramesh and Verčič, 2009).

Emergence and internationalization of the first professional association

As early as 1956, Tsai-ping Liang founded the first PR organization, the Chinese PR Association (CPRA). He and the other CPRA members actively participated in various international activities, including the first International Public Relations Association (IPRA) Congress in 1955 at Brussels, Belgium (although IPRA deigned to recognize a Taiwan national PR body), the Public Relations Society of America (PRSA) convention in 1957, Pan-Pacific PR Federation in 1969 at Sydney, Australia, and the first Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) PR Conference in 1978 at Manila, Philippines.

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Emergence of PR in higher education

The first PR department was established in the World College of Journalism (now Shih Hsin University) in 1963 (Wu, 1998). Liang, the founder of the CPRA, was the head of the department. Yung-kai Chung, the first person with PR Master's in Taiwan earned his degree from the University of Iowa, also served as a faculty member. Since then, the Western PR perspectives have been introduced to the college students in Taiwan.

Expanding stage (1987–2000)

The turning point for the development of PR industry in Taiwan occurred in 1987 when the government abandoned martial law and began to liberalize the political system. The economy, society, and mass media all benefited from the change. Society became more liberal-oriented and the economy went through a rapid growth, which brought about vigorous development in the PR industry. Globalization and liberalization in Taiwan attracted more foreign companies. During this period, the government focused on developing high-tech industries and Taiwan gradually transformed from an agricultural to a high-tech economy. The demand for PR professionals accelerated, and thus, the number of PR agencies grew rapidly to meet the need. Most local and international leading PR firms were set up at this time. Specialized PR agencies were also established to meet the demand from high-tech industries. Many scholars who had studied in the US came back to Taiwan during this period. They immediately applied the knowledge they gained to train new generation of PR professionals.

The 1990s were a phase for PR restructuring in Taiwan. From 1996 to 1999, Taiwan enjoyed a period of economic boom. The PR industry also enjoyed a similar success as companies were more liberal with their budget allocations for PR implementation. The number of firms kept increasing at this stage, along with the quality of professional consulting. In addition to media relations, fields such as issue management and risk management were introduced, which led to a more proficient and sophisticated PR industry in professional consulting (Wu et al., 2003). The characteristics of PR industry during this period are as follows.

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Arrival of the international PR groups

Economic globalization in Taiwan appealed to many international firms which set up local operations, and their PR departments also followed suit to provide localized services. In addition, most top-ranked European and American PR groups established companies in Taiwan during this period. Three established independent businesses: Ogilvy and Mather was the first international PR agency to set up in 1987 in Taiwan (Zang and Kong, 1989), followed by Hill and Knowlton in 1989, and then Burson-Marsteller in 1992. Other international PR groups, including Weber Shandwick, Fleishman-Hillard, Ketchum and Manning Selvage and Lee, chose to work with local PR firms.

Rapid increase in the number of local PR firms

Before 1987 there were only about six registered PR companies in Taiwan. By 1993, the number had grown almost ten times to more than 50 firms (Huang, 1994; Wu, Lin and Kuo, 2003). These ranged from large-scale to individual studios to face the great market demand. Advertising agencies began to set up PR departments to win client's PR work (Zhao, 1994). More than 90 per cent of local PR firms cooperated with international PR groups to develop their businesses. The current top two PR groups in Taiwan, Elite and Pilot, were founded in this period.

Emergence of the specialized PR services for political elections, high-tech industries, and financial industry

After the lifting of martial law in 1987, Taiwan transformed into a multi-party system politically; among them were the two majority parties: one is the founding KMT and the other is the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP). Most members of the Legislative Yuan (Assembly) were elected directly, with a small number chosen from the lists of political parties in proportion to the number of votes won by each party. After the presidential election by the direct votes from the citizens in 1996, the two major parties (KMT and DPP) put a greater emphasis on electoral communication, and, as a result, the extremely competitive political elections led to the emergence of political PR firms (Shi, 2012).

Meanwhile, freedom of speech was being realized: both public and private sectors began to face the challenges from citizens regarding basic civil rights. With the development of environmentalism and other

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global movements, the corporate reputations and social responsibilities have gradually gained importance under continuous public scrutiny. As a result of these political and social changes, successful PR strategies became imperative for these organizations (Zang and Kong, 1989). At this stage, a string of corporate crises occurred which forced many companies to consider the importance of crisis management and well-managed communication with the public. These companies, therefore, commissioned PR agencies to handle such needs. In the process of becoming a democratic and pluralistic society, the country became used to activism (Sriramesh and Verčič, 2009), such as environmental movements, political protests, consumerism, and the labour movement. Realizing how influential these active social forces could be, government and corporations began to devote resources into developing specialized PR strategies, including issues management, conflict resolution, crisis management, and community relations (Wu et al., 2001).

At the same time, due to the governmental focus on developing high-tech industry and the offering of comprehensive financial services for many investment projects, specialized PR agencies for 3C (Computer, Communication, and Consumer Electronic Products) and financial services evolved.

Creation of PR courses at university level and international collaboration

PR courses were being offered at four-year universities during this period. Scholars who had studied in the US returned to teach and provided professional training for PR agencies. Many PR textbooks and professional publications were introduced from America. Taiwan also had its very first professional PR publication called *PR Magazine*. The second professional PR organization, Foundation for Public Relations Research and Education (FPRR), was established in 1990, and further applied Western PR theories and professionalism, with the aim to 'make public relations a beneficent, progressive force in Taiwan; to provide guidance, to solve disputes, and to offer ideal alternatives, and to cultivate higher standards of professionalism and greater skills among those in the field'. The FPRR (now Foundation for Public Relations, FPR) held the first 'Taiwan PR Award Contest' in 1992, in which Western professional guidelines were used as evaluation criteria. In the same year, the CPRA began its global

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participation initiative by offering a professional/scholar exchange program with the Russian PR association (Chung, 1993).

Restructuring stage (2001–2009)

After 2001, the PR industry suffered from a decrease in demand due to global economic recession. The annual economic growth rate was reduced to about 4 per cent. Companies were forced to be more prudent when budgeting for marketing expenses. The economic reform in mainland China and its subsequent entrance into the global market also contributed to this downturn. China's rapid economic growth brought about the redistribution of many PR professionals who migrated to China, which further impeded development of the industry. However, there was an exception in the media industry. Due to fierce media competition and increased demand for information, PR was able to develop in this field, and consequently gain its status; PR professionals being more valued than media professionals in the over-commercialized media industry.

Increasing demand for localized PR

The international PR agencies which expanded their businesses to Taiwan from the previous stage found difficulties in dealing with the differences between Eastern and Western cultures, for example in managing media relations. Thus, they had not accommodated well with Taiwanese society. Moreover, the impact of economic recession further worsened this situation. Many either chose to close branch offices or to downsize their businesses. Burson-Marsteller, Hill and Knowlton, and Hoffman were the firms that closed their offices; Weber Shandwick, and Golin/Harris chose to shrink staff size to control the budget (Wu, 2010). However, Ogilvy and Mather tried to adapt itself to the local *guanxi* culture and bought a local specialized PR high-tech agency in order to expand its professional services locally. Aside from the great changes among the international PR firms, local PR agencies expanded market shares by actively establishing affiliations as well as collaboration with other global PR firms in order to manage the increasing business opportunities in mainland China and overseas. As a result, the PR market in Taiwan has been dominated by three major PR agencies, Elite, Pilot, and Ogilvy and Mather, since then.

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Rise in PR status

Due to the economic downturn, many enterprises cut marketing and advertising budgets. Successful PR low-budget campaigns drew much attention from enterprises. In turn, this recognition resulted in greater demand for PR services in this micro-profits era (Hung, 2003). In addition, the need for PR consultancy advice gradually surpassed the need for lower-level PR execution (Wang, 2002).

Media in Taiwan were under governmental control in the period of martial law, with only a small number of media organizations in the market. Journalists' social status was highly regarded at that time. Because of limited news space and time available for PR to provide ready-to-use newsworthy information (i.e. information subsidies), media relation management was crucial for PR agencies in order to gain access to media and obtain time and space. After the end of martial law, newspapers and TV networks turned to commercial business model. With the legalization of cable TV industry, the media market became very competitive, and ratings became the one and only concern for media organizations. Lots of news space and time were released for popular programming, with the result that journalists had to rely on the information subsidies from PR agencies. The entry of the Next Media from Hong Kong in 2003 brought in paparazzi-style news. While many news organizations adopted similar such approaches to compete with the Next Media, they also suffered severe criticism from the public. As a result, journalists' professional image was damaged, whereas PR professionals' social status improved (Lien, 2009)

Entry of traditional media into PR market

The high adoption rate of Internet in Taiwan has taken away the advantage that the traditional media used to have. Witnessing the PR industry as a lucrative market, many media organizations, including television networks and newspapers, established subsidiary companies to compete within PR market. These firms were resourceful in competing with other public and private PR agencies, and were able to balance the losses incurred by their traditional media counterparts. According to the magazine, *Brain*, nearly 30 per cent of PR agencies viewed the competition from the media industry as the biggest threat to the PR industry. For example, the success of the CTV PR Consulting Company, a PR sector spinoff from the China Television Company (CTV), led to many other traditional media organizations which followed suit.

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Transforming stage (2010–present)

Since 2010, the government has planned to transform the country's economy from its reliance on the high-tech OEM industry, which has been the economic lifeline, to one based on value-added manufacturing, including specialized agriculture, leisure and tourism, and service industries. Recent data from the Council for Economic Planning and Development show the service sector accounting for nearly 70 per cent of GDP, similar to other service-based economies such as the US, UK and the Netherlands.

The PR industry has also experienced its own growth and transformation. Public relations practice that once served as a foiling and contrasting element with other marketing tools, by means of only a small budget to produce a proportionately large effect, had started to take on an important role and sometimes a leading role in marketing plans (Wu, 2009). This was especially true with the emergence of social media, which became substantial in the transformation and advancement of the local PR industry. The number of monthly active Facebook users in Taiwan has reached to about 14 million, about 60 per cent of the population, with 10 million using the site daily. This is far more than users in the US, Japan, Korea, Hong Kong and Singapore (Ho, 2013). Characteristics of the PR industry in the recent period are as follows.

Development towards integrated, one-stop shopping services

The PR industry began to offer more services. To keep the costs down while increasing the service quality, more integrated PR groups (such as Elite PR Group, which is a network of specialized agencies) were rapidly developed. Smaller PR agencies followed the team-based approach as they are capable of applying diversified, yet efficiently integrated, resources. These smaller PR agencies were able to maintain a competitive-cooperative relationship with other advertising and media companies. On one hand, they can implement strategies with more flexibility; on the other, they can form alliances with marketing research firms, advertising and media companies. Larger-scale PR groups took a different approach: they created networks of specialized agencies to offer clients a wider range of services.

At this stage, there has been increasing awareness of corporate social responsibility (CSR). Companies have spent more to assure stakeholders

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they were able to implement CSR into their businesses. Under such circumstances, PR firms are expected to have expertise in CSR to assist companies to build reputations and practices, including the promotion of corporate images and corporate commitments in social welfare.

Increasing the value of PR through social media

The rapid growth of social media has been critical for the transformation and advancement of the PR industry. As social media began to prosper, it brought about the situation where anyone could be an information distributor. Brand management became a very delicate subject, especially on social media as the speed of spreading good or bad reputations is extremely fast. At the same time, communications with consumers became more challenging and complicated. In response, PR agencies began to offer long-term PR services, including strategies for risk management, crisis management, and stakeholder management to deal specifically with online social media. The professional PR expertise has focused on the ability to use social media, such as microblogs, like Twitter, Plurk, Weibo, Facebook, BBS, and blogs to achieve the greatest communication effectiveness. It has been important for PR agencies to create new topics for the brand, inviting users to engage in lively discussions, and promoting the brand through word of mouth on social media (Wu and Yeh, 2011; Yang, 2010; Yeh and Sun, 2011).

Conclusion

This chapter has summarized the history of PR in Taiwan and has updated the current situation in PR practice. As noted in the four stages, the termination of martial law in 1987 acted as the watershed between traditional PR and professional PR. Before it was ended (Period 1), PR was mostly used for political propaganda (Wu, 2004); in the post-martial law era (Periods 2 to 4), PR became an important and effective tool for two-way communication between government/corporations and their publics. This was especially true in the second period, the time of dramatic improvements in democratization and economic liberalization, when PR in Taiwan became a professional field. At the current stage, both the changes in the economy and the popularity of social media have contributed to the empowerment and advancement of the national

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PR industry. PR has also been regarded as playing an important and sometimes leading role in implementing marketing strategies.

Professionals, who obtained PR degrees in higher education abroad and then returned to devote themselves to PR development, have contributed much to improvements in Taiwan's PR field. International corporations and PR agencies have also aided industry development by introducing updated information on PR practices. In recent years, professional PR organizations have devoted their efforts to establishing competitive disciplines, marketing rules and ethics for PR practitioners. The Foundation for Public Relations and the Public Relations Association in Taiwan, both acting as the PR industry's leading voices, have conducted PR Awards to honour the most outstanding PR campaigns, programs, tactics and individuals.

Down the road, the PR industry in Taiwan will develop in two opposite directions: the big get bigger, and the smaller remain small. The larger PR firms will continue to grow both in their scale and scope due to their competitive advantages in abundant resources and capability in facing the fast-change environment; however, they also have to deal with the challenges in higher operation and management costs as well as less price elasticity. As for the smaller firms, they will focus on developing niche market. These small-scale PR agencies have the flexibility and mobility to adjust to the market in addition to the lower operating cost, but in contrast to the large firms, they only have very limited resources. Nonetheless, both large and small PR firms will be able to coexist in the market to complement each other. As for the medium-sized PR firms, due to their lack of resources and less well-known brands compared to large PR groups, plus their lack of flexibility and expertise compared to smaller PR firms, their chance of competing successfully in the market will be slim. Overall, the PR industry will benefit from cooperating with China as its economic power continues to grow and become more competitive globally. In conclusion, this chapter foresees an optimistic and prosperous future for the PR industry in Taiwan.

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10
Thailand

Napawan Tantivejakul

Abstract: *The evolution of public relations (PR) after the 1932 Siamese Revolution which led to constitutional monarchy is explored as a four-phase analysis based on the country's political and socio-cultural background. Public relations in the first period – beginning period – started with the government's establishment of the Publicity Department with the aim to promote democracy and to disseminate information to public along with establishing 'Thai' identity through nationalistic propaganda campaign. The government's efforts flourished as PR campaigns were widely adopted by state agencies and enterprises during the 'growth' period. Public information approaches were used to support national development plans. Thai PR education further grew with US influences. The third and fourth periods were the 'booming' period of PR practice in private corporations and the 'globalization' period where PR is used, together with other marketing communication tools, for support of corporate reputation, marketing public relations and corporate social responsibility (CSR) activities. Understanding of Thai culture and values has proved to be a crucial factor for successful PR practice.*

Keywords: history of public relations; public relations evolution; Siamese Revolution; Thailand; Thai public relations practice

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The history of the Thai people and their culture is very relevant to the development of public relations in all forms in Thailand. The nation originated in Sukhothai era in 1237, followed by the Ayudhya and Thonburi eras. The current monarchy dates from the establishment of the Rattanakosin era in 1782. The country has been governed by the monarchy since the Sukhothai era and is predominantly Buddhist in religion and culture (Tanthai, 2007). During early Rattanakosin era, Thailand was ruled by King Rama of Chakri dynasty. Two events vastly changed Thai political, economic and social systems: the signing of the Bowring Treaty in 1885 during the reign of King Rama IV, which liberalized trade with Western nations, and the 1892 Chakri Reformation during the reign of King Rama V, which modernized government. Both continued to have an impact on the subsequent reigns of King Rama VI and VII (Dhiravegin, 2010). These changes led to opening up of the economic and social structures and the emergence of a middle class (Kasetsiri, 2008). Conflicts between the different factions of society became a catalyst for the Siamese Revolution of 1932 during the reign of King Rama VII which ended absolute monarchy, replaced by the present constitutional monarchy (Wyatt, 2002). In addition to political and social systems, monarchy and religion were important cultural factors creating a sense of being a nation, together influencing the path of PR history in Thailand (Tantivejakul and Manmin, 2011).

Four periods of Thai PR

Pitipatanacozit (2000) has divided the evolution of Thai PR into four different periods. These are discussed in this chapter, and they are similar in concept to Bentele's functional-integrative structural model (Bentele, 2010) which has been developed for the evolution of German PR. Both models have strata which build upon earlier periods, rather than succeed them. The periods in Pitipatanacozit's model commence with the 'beginning of PR in different periods of Thai history' period (1283–1932) starting during reign of King Ramkamhaeng of the Sukhothai era and ending in 1932 (Rattanakosin era) when the country became a constitutional monarchy. This is followed by 'the beginning of modern PR (1933–1956)', 'the growth of PR for business sector (1957–1982)' and 'the golden period of PR and the combination of PR and other careers (1983–2000)'. The final 'golden period' period has been extended to 2013.

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Tantivejakul and Manmin (2011) studied the use of PR for national unity during the 'beginning' period from the Sukhothai era to the Rattanakosin era (1932) and found that the royal institution's communication was rooted in religious beliefs and had been used to create national unity. Specifically, King Rama IV's uses of royal gazettes, printed materials, royal photographs and release of information to the press were evidence of PR-type activity to support national governance and imperialism avoidance (Tantivejakul, 2012). In later reigns, Srisai (2011) found PR's use for information dissemination to support social reform via journals, newspapers, and films of King Rama V and the ruling class, and to counter foreign influences during the reign of King Rama VI with his communication emphasis on kingship, national identity, Thai nation and 'Thainess'. All are evidence of the emergence of PR in Thailand.

Beginning of modern period (1933–1956)

As a lingering but consequential result of the 1892 Chakri Reformation, the Siamese Revolution was executed by the People's Party in 1932 and democracy and cabinet government were introduced. During the first 25 years of democracy, prime ministers from the military governed the country for more than 21 years (Trimas, 2007; Dhiravegin, 2010). The economic situation during this period appeared to improve, mainly because the Thai economy prior to the revolution had hit rock bottom. The Thai way of life was as simple and agriculture-based as it was before 1932 (Wyatt, 2002).

In 1933 the government established the Publicity Division. The unit was modelled on the German government's Press Department and had the role of providing information about the new government to the public (Jayanama, 1983). Later, it was renamed the Publicity Bureau, the Publicity Department and finally the Government PR Department (GPRD) in 1952 (Phonchanthon, 1988). The initial work of the PR Department was geared towards persuading the largely uneducated masses about democracy and, most of all, to accept the government's policies together with its activities (Ekachai and Komolsevin, 2004). GPRD expanded operations both in Thailand and abroad by setting-up regional offices in different parts of the country, having a press section for Thai and foreign publications information, as well as establishing the office of press conferences in the UK and the US (Pitipatanacozit, 2000). In addition, government information and news were disseminated through the radio, publications, and speeches from staged events (Phonchanthon, 1988), public communication mobile units and press conferences (Jayanama, 1983). Due to limitations of infrastructures and communication network, the majority of the efforts were concentrated in the central region of the country closer to Bangkok (Kasetsiri, 2008).

There was also evidence of propagandist campaigns being applied by Field Marshal Plaek Phibunsongkhram or Phibun who ruled the country for almost 16 years in two periods from 1938 to 1957, with a break from 1944 to 1948 (Trimas, 2007; Dhiravegin, 2010). Phibun was among the first who recognized the importance of mass media and used radio to promote his policies of nationalism and patriotism ideology with tight control over mass media and strict press censorship (Phonchanthon, 1988; Wyatt, 2002). Phibun and his ideologue, Luang Wichitwathakan, created a cult of the leader (Wyatt, 2002) and put emphasis on creating national unity with an identity of being Thai which means 'freedom' in English via songs, plays, and novels that were aired on radio and published in newspapers and other print materials through advertising (Phonchanthon, 1988; Wyatt, 2002). They announced Westernized cultural mandates and changed the country's name from Siam to Thailand (Numnonda, 1977). Scripts of plays were sent to schools in the distant provinces for re-enactment (Kasetsiri, 2008). Phibun's photographs were distributed to the public, and nationalist propaganda slogans were publicized. Phibun's government aligned with the Japanese in World War II, resulting in a deterioration of the relationship between Thailand and the major Western powers such as the US and the UK (Wyatt, 2002). However, after World War II ended, Phibun changed his stance and claimed that his policies were part of his government's attempts to minimize Japanese influence. In addition Phibun abolished many traditional rituals and activities once performed by the monarch and relegated the monarchy to an inactive role (Kasetsiri, 2008).

In the private sector Shell Thailand, which was established by Royal Dutch Company in 1932, started PR activities in 1952 and established a PR department in 1957 (Pitipatanacozit, 2000). Its work included media relations, internal communication and social contribution with emphasis on the image of the company. In terms of education, PR was first taught as a subject in the Division of Journalism of Social Administration at Thammasat University in 1954. In conclusion, during this 'beginning' period, GPRD played an important role in Thai PR practice by its

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dissemination of government's information and nationalist propaganda to the public. Its efforts were mainly one-way publicity (Ekachai and Komolsevin, 2004). Organizations in both public and private sectors were not aware of PR's importance and had very little idea about it as a professional communication practice.

Growth period (1957–1982)

Thailand during this period was mostly ruled by a military dictator, Field Marshall Sarit Thanarat (Sarit) and his successors. Sarit put his efforts into economic development by establishing the National Economic and Social Development Board and supporting the development of the National Development Plan. For the industrial sector, he promoted local industries as a substitute for import and laid the foundations for infrastructure such as highways, irrigation and electricity. He also supported higher education and the establishment of state universities in different provinces (Dhiravegin, 2010). Thai traditional norm, values, rituals and the monarchy as the central figure for loyalty were promoted with the monarch being positioned as being above politics. As Communists gained strongholds in South East Asia, the US increased its influence in Thailand with its military and economic supports (Wyatt, 2002). The dictatorial rule came to an end in October 1973 when riots demanding democracy resulted in the loss of many lives (Tanthai, 2007; Trimas, 2007). Towards the end of this period, Thailand witnessed mass migration of workers from the agricultural sector into the industrial sector in major cities leading to an expansion of the urban working class. The middle class started to increase in number (Baker and Phongpaichit, 2005). Consequently, the field of PR in Thailand started growing.

GPRD was assigned by Sarit to broaden the government's information flow to the public (Academic Division, 1983). More specific units and offices were founded, for example PR offices in major cities, a public opinion survey unit and a public communications unit. The main content disseminated was to support better living conditions (Pitipatanacozit, 2000). In addition, the concept of a capitalist economy and the threat of communism were also promoted through broadcast radio and television stations, which Sarit developed for nationwide coverage (Hoonthasarn, 2009). In order to create understanding and a good image of the country overseas, GPRD opened offices in the US, UK, Malaysia and Saudi

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Arabia. There were also radio broadcasts in ten different languages (Kusumalvisai and Foreign News Division, 1983). Film documentaries were produced for Thai and international audiences about important royal rites, government policies and government activities, as well as good norms and customs of the people (Government PR Department, 1983). In the state/public sector, a survey of 146 state units in 1976 indicated around three-quarters reported undertaking PR activities. State enterprises were found to be more engaged in PR work than state agencies (School of PR, 1976). The state agencies which gave highest importance to PR were the Ministries of the Interior, Agriculture and Cooperatives, and University Affairs, respectively, as their policies closely aligned with the national development plan's focus. Therefore, PR was used as part of communication for development and mainly came in the form of news releases, newsletters, and features on radio and television and in print media (Pitipatanacozit, 2000). A study of Satavedin et al. (1981) found that 80 per cent of PR activity started after 1977 mostly in state agencies and enterprises. Problems indicated were the lack of personnel trained in PR, budget and equipment, as well as lack of understanding and support from management. A small number of private companies and non-profit organizations engaged in PR work (Pitipatanacozit, 2000). Besides the establishment of PR units at Shell in 1957 and Bangkok Bank in 1962, PR in private sector began its expansion in around 1972 among businesses and the financial sector whereas those in the industrial sector started in 1980 (Phoobuapean, 1990). The first PR firm Presko was also established in 1961 by Esko K. Pajasalmi, a Finnish citizen who had studied PR in the US and previously set up a PR unit in an advertising agency. His clients were primarily foreign firms and later expanded to local companies. The second PR agency, established in 1975, was Ogilvy and Mather PR, which was first a unit within Ogilvy and Mather Advertising. Nowadays it is the top PR agency in Thailand (The Nation, 2009). Thai PR agencies thus grew from the advertising industry.

In PR education, the School of PR was started under the GPRD in 1961 with the goal to provide PR training to staff of state agencies and enterprises (Pitipatanacozit, 2000). Tertiary education expanded and Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok became the second state university to open a department in Mass Media and PR in 1965. In 1974 Bangkok University was the first private institution that offered programs in mass media and PR, while open state university such as Ramkamhaeng University started to offer programs in Advertising and PR in 1977.

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Soon after, in 1978, Chulalongkorn offered a Master's in Development Communication. Most curriculums were designed under the influence of US education (Yuwasirisak, 1984; Pitipatanacozit, 2000). There was limited research conducted in this period as the PR education and profession were just becoming known. The PR work greatly expanded in public sector with an emphasis on public information functions for the benefit of national development.

Golden period (1983–present)

Early in this period, Thailand enjoyed relative prosperity and development with a stable government led by Prime Minister General Prem Tinsulanonda (1980–1988). Prem initiated policies promoting democracy, financial stability, cooperation with the private sector, and development of living conditions in rural areas. This resulted in rapid weakening of the Communist party leading to its eventual dissolution (Charoonsawad, 2005; Tanthai, 2007). The government supported the role of the monarchy in helping the people through the Royal Projects. In this period Thailand experienced rapid growth in the industrial and export sectors as well as in real estate, construction, tourism and finance. Labour moved out of the agricultural sector and migrated to the cities for work. Bangkok became the central hub of growth. While this boom in the industrial and business sectors grew, growth in the government sector declined. It became a period of commercial economy, with more public and private universities opened. In 1992, massive protest against undemocratic government resulted in Bloody May uprising. As an impact of technological change, mobile phones were used as communication device for social mobilization by the middle class protestors (Baker and Phongpaichit, 2005). Later, the 1997 financial crisis occurred after Thailand went through a major economic slump; it obstructed the expansion of businesses (Charoonsawad, 2005; Tanthai, 2007) as well as Thai PR industry (Pitipatanacozit, 2000).

At a national level, government maintained policy of using PR for national development. It appointed the National PR Committee (NPRC) in 1983 to work on the National PR Policy and Implementation and Plan (NPRPP) which came out in 1985 (Pitipatanacozit, 2000; Anantachart, 2002a). This plan aimed to promote government's policies and implementation with effective use of government mass media resources. In

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1993 GPRD upgraded its School of PR to be the National Institute of PR and Mass Communications with the financial support of the UK. It also completed the establishment of offices in each province in 1997. For other government agencies, despite the national PR plan, the central and regional offices of government agencies operated independently, resulting in communication that lacked cohesion (Pitipatanacozit, 2000). Two major problems facing PR in state agencies and state enterprises were the lack of suitable personnel and discontinuity of government policies due to political interference (Pimolsin and Ong-laor, 1995).

In this period PR work in private sector, including privatized public enterprises and PR consultancies, expanded greatly. Large and medium companies accepted the importance of PR and started their own departments (Pitipatanacozit, 2000). Up to 80 leading organizations in private and public sectors in major sectors (e.g. energy, telecommunication, transportation, healthcare, consumer products, hotel and tourism) actively practiced PR (Kleechaya, 1999). Among these, PR was used to gain public acceptance and support as well as to build corporate image and reputation with other integrated marketing communication (IMC) tools in late 1990s (Pitipatanacozit, 2000; Anantachart, 2002a; Srisai, 2011): In other words, the private sector was more involved on corporate PR, marketing PR and social contribution activities. During this period, PR for non-profit organizations started to grow, despite problems such as lack of sufficient budget, qualified personnel and effective utilization of mass media (Pimolsin and Ong-laor, 1995). Many PR agencies started operations, including the subsidiaries of foreign groups as well as Thai start-ups, a majority of which were advertising agencies that also did PR work (Pitipatanacozit, 2000). These companies planned PR in parallel to their clients' marketing plans with emphasis on research in order to develop creative works (Pimolsin and Ong-laor, 1995).

As for practice development, the PR Society of Thailand (PRST), formed in 1965, trained practitioners working in the private sector, in parallel with the School of PR operated by the GPRD (Pitipatanacozit, 2000). However, the membership of almost 2,000 might not have represented the actual number of practitioners, as many did not affiliate with PRST (Ekachai and Komolsevin, 2004). PRST's nine-item code of conduct included one item directly linked to Thai cultural values – respect the Thai social order and moral standards (Anantachart, 2002b) – while the others were similar to those of the PR Society of America (Ekachai and Komolsevin, 2004).

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As a result of the rapid private sector growth, both public and private educational institutions offered more courses at both the Bachelor's and Master's degree levels including distance learning programs of Sukhothai Thammathirat in 1984 and its televized PR courses in 1986 (Ekachai and Komolsevin, 1998). Nationwide PR training programs were introduced by the community-based Rajabhat Institutes (Pitipatanacozit, 2000). The curriculum structures of university programs resembled those offered in the US but were mostly taught in Thai (Ekachai and Komolsevin, 1998; Pitipatanacozit, 2000). This was probably because majority of the faculty at the leading universities had graduated from US universities (Adhikara, 1980, cited in Srisai, 2011). Text books were also mainly Western-based (Ekachai and Komolsevin, 1998). The expansion in PR education greatly increased the amount of graduate research and publication (Pitipatanacozit, 2000). As Ekachai (1995) suggested, PR in public and private sectors in this period still involved one-way information dissemination and favourable image delivery to the public. There were, however, attempts to employ two-way communication approaches. Thai culture, portraying the personality of Thai society and Buddhist-based values, had a major impact upon Thai PR practice comprising professional values, roles, performance evaluation and ethical concerns (Anantachart, 2002b).

Impact of globalization

After Chuan Leekpai's government solved the 1997 financial crisis, parliament was dissolved and an election was held in 2000 (Trimas, 2007). It was won by the party led by telecom billionaire, Thaksin Shinawatra, under the promise of populist policies and of taking Thailand successfully into the age of globalization (Baker and Phongpaichit, 2005). He was ousted by a coup in 2006 with charges of corruption and abuse of power. The past decade has seen Thailand remain embroiled in conflict between Thaksin's supporters and opponents (BBC News Asia Pacific, 2013). Despite the political struggles, the global economic crisis of 2009 and major floods in 2011, Thailand's economy has maintained its growth (The World Bank, 2013). This proved the strong foundation of its business sector (Amranand, n.d.). Other important changes relevant to PR are globalization and media growth, which has increased its reach to a wider populace through newspapers, magazines, television and satellite broadcast (Baker and Phongpaichit, 2005) as well as the proliferation of Internet, mobile technology and digital economy (Internet World Stats,

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2013). Although Thailand has the lowest Internet penetration rate in South East Asia, it has the highest access through mobile phones. This has opened major possibilities for future growth of digital media (The Nation, 2011). However, at national level, it still has major challenges in ICT infrastructure resulting in a major digital divide between rural and urban areas (Schiemer, 2012).

After organizational restructuring of GPRD in 1997 (Pitipatanacozit, 2000), it still faced continuing problems of political interference. The government used PR primarily to disseminate information as well as to promote and defend its policies and actions (Ekachai and Komolsevin, 2004). The state-run media has also been utilized to promote government ideas and policies and, at times, even used to discredit the political opposition (Hoonthasarn, 2009). For other state agencies and enterprises, there is major spending on advertising and PR to disseminate information about projects through mass media to the public. For example, advertising media spending in 2010 showed that the Office of the Prime Minister ranked eighth in the top ten list of spenders, while the rest were major multinational corporations such as Unilever, Proctor & Gamble and Toyota Motor Thailand (The Report: Thailand, 2012). However, state PR projects have been criticized as lacking effective strategies and implementation (Ekachai and Komolsevin, 2004; Benjarongkij, Asavadondeja and Pitpreecha, 2009), even in times of national crisis (Poonsirivong and Pitpreecha, 2013). One reason for their ineffectiveness has been that state agencies' PR strategic planning has been mainly to serve organization's mission and campaigns. PR evaluation is recognized as important but is not implemented on a regular basis. Problems such as inadequacy of staff and top management negligence of PR's importance were stated (Benjarongkij, Asavadondeja and Pitpreecha, 2009); these were the same problems mentioned in previous periods.

For the private sector, in the early 2000s PR was widely used alongside IMC tools and was moving towards newer concepts such as corporate reputation, corporate image building, corporate equity and marketing PR (Pitipatanacozit, 2000; Anantachart, 2002a) and corporate social responsibility in late 2000s (Nokthong and Kleechaya, 2010). Many large corporations, which are members of the Stock Exchange of Thailand, used CSR to support corporate reputation and foster relationships with their publics (e.g. PTT, SCG and big telecommunication companies such as AIS, DTAC and Truemove) (Panichpapiboon and Pitpreecha, 2011). In terms of practice, Pitpreecha (2010) found that in private companies, the

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two-way symmetrical model was most practiced, followed by the two-way asymmetrical model and the public- information model. Among private companies, strategic planning and evaluation is highly valued (Benjarongkij, Asavadondeja and Pitpreecha, 2009).

After 1997 financial crisis, many agencies closed. Those remaining were subsidiaries or affiliates of foreign agencies (Ekachai and Komolsevin, 2004). In early 1990s only few specialized PR agencies were found but by the mid-2000s, the number increased to nearly 90 (Srisai, 2011). PR agencies in Thailand can be found in two forms: offering specialized PR services, and integrating of PR with other marketing communication services. They are both locally owned and under global holding companies, such as WPP, Publicis, Omnicom and Interpublic (Pitipatanacozit, 2000; Vungsuntitum, 2008). Most successful PR agencies are local players who understand Thai business culture and have strong connections to offer clients (The Nation, 2006). There may be up to 100,000 PR practitioners in Thailand, the vast majority not registered with any PR professional body (Srisai, 2011). Apart from the PR Society of Thailand (PRST), the other professional association that plays an active role in PR training field is Thailand PR Association (TPRA). Neither association knows the actual practitioner population, only the number of their members who are mostly recruited from training courses.

In response to sector needs, PR education continued its expansion throughout the country. Hirunrak (2000, cited in Srisai, 2011) reported there were 22 institutions offering PR courses with 11 directly offering advertising and PR concentration in 2000. By 2013, this had grown to least 50 Bachelor's degree programs offering PR as a major or concentration and 15 or more Master's-level degree programs offering PR-related courses (Dek-D, 2013; The Ministry of University Affairs, 2013).

Even though there was recognition about the impact of new media on Thai PR practice (Ekachai and Komolsevin, 2004), Srisai (2011) found that ICT as an alternative communication channel had limited impact on current PR practice which mainly emphasized personal and social relations. Social contribution projects and activities of public and private sectors commonly relate Thai cultural aspects, for example the monarch institution respect, with Buddhist and relationship orientations. Therefore, even though PR practice and education in Thailand had been influenced by the West, PR knowledge, techniques and activities have been adapted in response to Thai context (Anantachart, 2002a,b; Srisai, 2011).

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Conclusion

PR in Thailand after 1932 can be interpreted as three discrete periods: In the 'beginning period' publicity and nationalistic propaganda performed primarily by the Government PR Department in mid-1930s set the context. The notion of PR was later adopted widely by state agencies and enterprises under the National Development Plan through to the 1970s with PR's dominant role in the 'growth period' being development communication. During the first two periods, PR originated by government was used as one-way dissemination of information to the public. Evidence showed that private PR agencies mostly began as units of advertising companies. Thai PR education was developed with influences of the US, in this second period. Thirdly, in the 'golden period' the state agencies continued to emphasize information dissemination about governmental policies, projects, and activities that were often discontinuous due to political interference. This was the period of great expansion of PR in private sectors, with the focus in gaining public acceptance and support, building corporate image based on concentrated business goals with the growing use of integrated marketing communication. Later, despite the multinational environment brought by globalization, state agencies continued to perform the same role of conveying public information. For private sector, PR has been practiced by many corporations with greater focus on two-way relationships with publics. Specialized PR agencies have grown in number. In the last period, private corporations and agencies geared their works towards corporate reputation, marketing PR and corporate social responsibilities. From 1990s onwards, PR as profession and PR education expanded throughout the kingdom. Understanding Thai society's personality alongside cultural aspects such as monarchial institution respect, Buddhist orientation, and relationship orientation have been important issues involved in successful Thai PR practice. Throughout the development of PR history in Thailand, Thai culture and values reflect its influences upon the national practice of PR and made it locally unique, compared with global PR practice.

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11
Vietnam

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Abstract: *There is little knowledge and understanding about public relations (PR) in Vietnam and the profession is just emerging. This shows influences on public relations in the context of Vietnam where the political system belongs to a one-party state, the economy is in transition and the culture values personal relationships. Public relations has been affected by the environment and peculiar cultural characteristics of Vietnam. It is impacted by the use of* quan hệ*, face and favour which are important interpersonal factors in Vietnamese culture. Vietnamese public relations uses a two-way shared perspective which appears similar to the symmetrical model by Grunig and Hunt (1984) but the Vietnamese model focuses on relationships for communication.*

Keywords: cultural factors; one-party state; personal relationships; public relations; quan hệ; Vietnam

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This chapter introduces public relations in Vietnam where there is little in research and the profession is emerging. It shows an influence on PR in the context of Vietnam where the political system is managed by a controlling one-party regime, the economy is in transition and the culture values personal relationships. PR is affected by the environment and distinctive cultural characteristics of Vietnam, such as *quan hệ, face* and *favour*. Vietnamese PR features a two-way shared perspective which appears similar to the symmetrical model (Grunig and Hunt, 1984) but focuses more on PR practitioner-journalist relationships for the enactment of effective communication.

The scholarship of PR in Vietnam and its history is emerging. Although previous research investigated basic PR practice, there was little understanding of local nuances which differ from other national practices and challenge practitioners from other countries. The chapter presents these differences and explicates why current PR literature and theories have not fully described and reflected the status of PR in Vietnam.

PR in Vietnam began to re-emerge and re-evolve in 1986 when the national government launched the *Đổi Mới* policy (also called economic reform or renovation policy). Before then, Vietnam had a closed-door policy with a centrally planned economy and one-way propaganda communication (Dinh, 2008). Since 1986, Vietnam's economy has transformed into a limited market economy, and many international corporations have entered and established businesses. An outcome of the economic development policy resulted in the appearance and rapid development of the PR industry.

Vietnamese context

Vietnamese historical records indicate thousands of civil conflicts and combats against foreign invaders during its history. The Chinese controlled the country for 1,000 years until the 9th century. In the middle of the 19th century, Vietnam was dominated by the French and then by the Japanese (Nguyen, 2009). On 2 September 1945, the Communist Viet Minh seized power from the Japanese and declared the country's independence. A year later, the French took over until they were defeated in Vietnam in 1954. The Geneva Agreements were signed in the same year in which the French troops withdrew from the country and Vietnam was divided into two regions: the North was controlled by the

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Communists and the South was supported by the United States (Nguyen, 2009). Propaganda has been used significantly during the long history of invasions, particularly in the wars with the French and Americans in the 20th century. It was an effective tool to win the hearts and minds of peasants. During that time, many important campaigns were carried out for fundraising, encouraging people to join the army, and reducing the illiteracy. For example, in 1945 the illiteracy elimination campaign was launched by Ho Chi Minh (President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, 1945–1969) and was promoted from 1956 to 1958 for the people in the North (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2011). *Dân vận* (PR in politics) was used by the Communist Party in the North in this period (and also in Vietnam today). *Dân vận* included propaganda to encourage contributions from the people and support for the party. The purpose was to build and develop the party's policies and political programs.

PR began in Vietnam after 1954 as the American armed forces and organizations that supported them appeared in South Vietnam. The Americans brought knowledge of PR to Vietnam from their perspective (Huynh, 1975); however, there has been little understanding of PR in this period, due to the lack of documents and research (Dinh, 2008). PR activities were mostly found in South Vietnam in this period in the form of press briefings about war information (Hallin, 1992). The term *PR* has been mentioned in books related to communication and journalism for undergraduate students in the South before 1975, and was taught by several universities in South Vietnam in the early 1970s (Huynh, 1975). After the end of the war in 1975, Vietnam was reunified under the control of the Communist Party of Vietnam. Propaganda, an effective tool of the Communist Party of Vietnam before 1975 in North Vietnam, was used as the primary communication method in almost all organizations after reunification (Dinh, 2008). Due to political sensitivity, all PR education and training programs in the South of Vietnam were suspended and no PR course was taught across the country. Most governmental organizations in Vietnam after 1975 had propaganda departments which only informed and propagandized the governmental decisions and policies to their people.

After 1975, the country's economy fell into a nationwide crisis especially in the mid-1980s as the government pursued a closed-door policy and business and global trade were not encouraged (Turner and Nguyen, 2005). The government applied the principles of the centrally planned economy in the North (from before 1975) to the South where

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the economy had been market based. Due to the lack of governmental economic management experience, the application of the centrally planned economy into the South was ineffective. Eleven years later, after the reunification, in 1986 at the 6th Congress of the Communist Party, the government began to promote the *Đổi Mới* policy with the focus on economic reform; however, the political environment in Vietnam has not been changed. The Communist Party of Vietnam still adheres to orthodoxy (Marxism) to control the country (Turner and Nguyen, 2005) and the country is not in political transition. The introduction of a market-based economy has, however, changed the socioeconomic environment and resulted in significant increases in foreign investment in the country. *Đổi Mới* has opened the door, with one of the benefits of the changing economic environment being that professions such as PR have begun to be recognized. International organizations and companies, such as Coca Cola, Unilever, and Ogilvy PR, have come to Vietnam and brought PR principles and practices, thinking that they are universal and appropriate for Vietnam.

National media is controlled by the national government and the Communist Party (Stanton, 2009). All media outlets are owned by, and under the control of, the party and government. The role of the media is mainly to support the Vietnamese government's policies. Due to *Đổi Mới*, the government today allows the establishment of private media organizations in some fields such as program production, advertising and media training: voices from non-government sectors are allowed expression. Nevertheless, overall control remains with the government. There are limitations to journalists reporting sensitive political and economic problems. These influence the way PR activities are conducted, particularly media relations. Journalists focus on political duty rather than professional duty. They tend to avoid giving unfavourable information about the government, its policies and fields it manages into news releases and editorials. The accuracy of information in creating news is not the first priority of the media (Van, 2013). This attitude helps to explain why journalists allow PR practitioners affect media agendas including PR editorials if they are in the same network (see *quan hệ* section).

Vietnamese culture has been influenced by many cultures such as Southeast Asian, Chinese, Japanese, French, and American; however, Chinese culture has been a significant influence on it due to the control of the Chinese over Vietnam for many centuries (Tran, 2004). Vietnamese

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culture is influenced by Confucianism which belongs to the Chinese tradition. Some cultural characteristics such as *quan hệ* (also means personal networks and similar to *guanxi* in Chinese culture), face-saving and favour which belong to the Confucian culture are evident in Vietnam. A traditional family in Vietnam is an extended family in which different generations live together in one household in villages. The village culture resulted in the importance of kinship, meaning that the relationships among people in the same village and home town are more important than other relationships. Personal relationships or personal networks thus are most important to Vietnamese culture: they are important to PR practice and all the private and business aspects of Vietnamese life.

Development of PR

The first course of PR after the *Đổi Mới* policy was taught at Ho Chi Minh City Open University, in the South of Vietnam in 1993 (Huynh, 1994). The first textbook, *PR in Business* by Huynh Van Tong, was published a year later. Between 2004 and 2005, the first two foreign books of PR that were translated into Vietnamese were *PR (Frameworks)* by Frank Jefkins and *The Fall of Advertising and the Rise of PR* by Al Ries and Laura Ries. By the end of 2006, one of the first academic conferences about PR, Opportunities and Challenges in PR Education, was organized by the Academy of Journalism and Information in Hanoi (Academy of Journalism and Information, 2007). Most speakers commented that PR in Vietnam was in its infancy, there was need for PR knowledge to be expanded in practice, and academic programs of PR were important. As a result, the first program of PR for undergraduate students was introduced after the conference, in the Department of PR and Advertising in this academy. By the end of 2010, a Bachelor of Communication program was offered at the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology Vietnam (the Asian hub of RMIT, headquartered in Australia) (RMIT Vietnam, 2011). By 2012, just six universities provided PR courses from a total of 412 universities in Vietnam (Vietnamese Education, 2012). The reason for this slow growth being that Vietnam lacks PR academic lecturers (Van, 2013).

Domestic consultancies such as PR BiCultural Consulting or PUBCOM were established in 1995 in Hanoi (Vietnam's capital city), and Max Communications commenced in 1997 at Ho Chi Minh City

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(Vietnam's largest city) (McKinney, 2000). John Baily and Associates from Australia, Ogilvy PR (part of the Ogilvy and Mather advertising, marketing and PR firm owned by the WPP Group), Leo Activation (Leo Burnett), and JWT Vietnam (J. Walter Thompson) were four of the first international consultancies to provide PR services in Vietnam in the mid-1990s (Van, 2011). Clients of these consultancies have mainly been international business corporations such as Nestlé and Dutch Lady (dairy products). However, some clients left them for Vietnamese consultancies due to cheaper fees and the ease of business agreements. Some international consultancies then withdrew from the market because of a failure to compete with local consultancies, and an insufficient understanding of how to carry out effective PR in Vietnam. Cooperation with a local consultancy might be long-term solution for these firms. One of the first joint ventures between a local PR firm, T&A Communication, and an international firm, Ogilvy and Mather was set up in 2009 (WPP, 2009). More recently, in 2012, Edelman, the world's largest PR firm, has established a partnership with AVC, a Vietnamese PR consultancy.

The number of consultancies and firms which provide PR services in recent years has increased, especially after Vietnam joined the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2007. Compared with 11 PR firms in 2006 (McKinney, 2006), the number of consultancies providing PR services reached 300 by 2008 (Nguyen, 2008); however, there were only 20 professional PR firms, which have a PR specialization rather than a marketing focus (FTA Market Research, 2010). One explanation is that, due to the increasing need for PR in the changing and rapidly expanding markets, many other business sectors, including advertising, moved into PR sector and set up services. According to General Statistics Office of Vietnam (2011), foreign direct investment (FDI) in Vietnam reached a peak of more than US$71 million in 2008, a year after joining WTO – six times greater compared with 2006. PR in Vietnam has been mainly used by foreign organizations (Stanton, 2009) so the FDI statistics imply that the high number of PR consultancies set up in 2008 was to meet market demand. Nevertheless, in the top 20 PR consultancies in Vietnam, there was only one joint-venture, between Vietnamese and American consultancies; the rest were domestic consultancies. The ranking of consultancies was the result of a survey of 150 business leaders in Vietnam who had used PR services in agencies in 2009 (FTA Market Research, 2010). The majority of international PR consultancies in Vietnam have come from the United States and Australia. FTA Market Research's results for 2010

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imply that domestic consultancies provide PR services that are more appropriate than international consultancies. The culture and business practices of Vietnam continue to challenge international consultancies.

There are no statistics about the current PR agency situation because there is no official organization that oversees PR activities in Vietnam. PR in Vietnam needs codes of practice and a professional body of knowledge (Van, 2013). It also needs principles and policies for the PR industry, standards for PR education and training, and ethical guidelines for the PR profession. Even though establishing a PR association is a desire of many PR practitioners, it has not yet been set up. One of the difficulties relates to the Vietnamese government's policies about professional codes. This is a sensitive issue in Vietnam because the government wants to control associations and their activities and does not give them autonomy to develop and frame their own professional codes (Van, 2013).

PR challenges in Vietnam

The data and discussion in this section is drawn from semi-structured interviews conducted by the author among 29 consultants and in-house PR practitioners, in both Vietnamese and international organizations, operating in the country (Van, 2013). The author's starting point was when the recent history of PR in Vietnam was characterized by the entry and then withdrawal of external PR consultancies, and that market share was largely held by domestic PR service providers. For example, John Baily and Associates, an Australian consultancy, left the Vietnamese market despite being a very early entrant and Ogilvy and Mather opened a joint-venture with Vietnamese consultancy several years after starting a stand-alone operation (WPP, 2009). Why were international PR consultancies from other countries (e.g. the United States) so challenged in Vietnam? Was the style and theorization of PR, which they brought, not applicable to the Vietnamese context? Knowledge of the historical context of PR in Vietnam and cultural differences would have enabled them to be more successful in their establishment and created sustainable businesses.

Quan hệ

One of the biggest challenges to PR practitioners from other countries is understanding and having regard for Vietnamese culture. *Quan hệ* (personal networks) are a central focus of PR in Vietnam. *Quan hệ* are

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used for media relations in which practitioners provide PR information and draw media attention to their products and organization. PR practitioners use *quan hệ* to build and maintain the connection between their organization and the public. They use *quan hệ* to participate in, and influence, the process of media agenda-setting, and then create the media agendas. PR practitioners and journalists use *quan hệ* to develop their networks and then collaborate to shape public agendas.

It takes time, effort and sensitivity to build and develop these relationships, relationships with journalists, in particular. PR practitioners create databases about journalists, which include personal details of journalists and their families. They use information in these databases to approach journalists and then build trust with them. Journalists tend not to cross-check information provided by PR practitioners for editorial material if they have good *quan hệ* or belong to the same network: they trust PR practitioners. International PR practitioners have found this alien to their experience, as they consider journalists must cross-check information they use before creating news: that is the duty of journalists.

Trust in relationships between PR practitioners and journalists in Vietnam does not seem to be the same as 'trust' as a relationship dimension found in earlier research in Western countries (Hon and Grunig, 1999; Ledingham, 2006). To these scholars, trust is an indicator to manage the relationships between an organization and its people. PR practitioners tend to provide correct information, instead of concealing it, relating to their products and organization for the public. However, Vietnamese PR practitioners build trust with journalists to get what they want for their organization (e.g. to influence media agendas). This was part of the manner by which 50 per cent of research respondents practiced PR. Trust building in Vietnam is different to that in Western countries – the name *trust* is the same but its meaning is different. It is an important difference for Vietnamese PR practice as trusting relationships with journalists are workable and effective for PR; it is not part of open communication to the public as in Anglo countries.

Through *quan hệ*, PR practitioners and media people work together to develop agendas for the public, but that is only one part of the relationships. PR practitioners actually act as journalists. Journalists allow PR professionals to conduct and put PR editorials in newspapers; in other words, they do the job of journalists. Although not many PR organizations can create PR editorials due to the lack of professionals in the field, it is evident that PR professionals shape media agendas. PR professionals

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have to think and behave as journalists and have good writing skills. The way Vietnam conducts PR is thus different to the way PR is practiced in Anglo countries. Even though in Vietnam, the government controls the media and media agendas are controlled by the government, PR professionals have power in terms of impacting PR editorials as they want. As such they affect the communication to the public about organizations' products and services.

Face and *favour*

Face is a characteristic of the Confucian as well as the Vietnamese culture. People in these cultures tend to protect their personal image, appearance and prestige. They focus on *face-saving* in their social relations or personal relationships because they want other people in their network to respect and value them (Huang, 2001; Hwang, 1987). *Face* is important in the relationships between PR practitioners and journalists. Saving journalists' face is also a way to maintain good *quan hệ* with them. Journalists want respect from other people in their social connections such as PR practitioners and colleagues. They will withdraw from their network without saying anything if they feel they are losing their *face*. This is subtle because journalists do not tend to tell the truth about why they withdraw from their network with PR practitioners or why they do not help PR practitioners in terms of PR. *Face* is a relationship indicator to maintain relationships between organizations and their public (Huang, 2001). It originates in the Asian Confucian cultures, including the Vietnamese culture, but is not a feature of PR in Western countries.

Favor is a way in which individuals in Asian cultures, especially those with Confucian aspects, use their personal network. An individual tends to use a resource such as information as a gift to express his or her sympathy or to build a good relationship with another individual in the same personal network (Hwang, 1987). Vietnamese PR practitioners use tips, gifts, greetings, sympathies and visitations as favours with target public, such as media contacts. International practitioners, especially from the Anglo countries such as the United States, find it difficult to use *favour* in PR. While Vietnamese practitioners often use *favor* in practicing PR, international practitioners avoid using it in their communication with journalists, and feel uncomfortable about it.

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To international PR people, especially Western people, doing favours in PR looks like an unethical activity, whereas to many Vietnamese, it belongs to their culture. Recent data indicates that international professionals face difficulties because they use ethical principles from Western countries, and ethical codes of practice (Van, 2013). This finding supports previous research (Hwang, 1987; Huang, 2000) which implied that personal relationships or *quan hệ* (including using *favor*) in Confucian cultures are a particular characteristic which is not reflected in the ethical principles and codes of Western culture. If international practitioners do not use *favour* to build personal relationships with their strategic public to conduct PR in Vietnam, their PR is ineffective in terms of outcomes and relationships. International PR practitioners may be missing out on advancing the most effective PR strategies and tactics as they attempt to conduct PR in ways they find comfortable but are not part of Vietnamese culture.

Face and *favour* are important features for the creation of quality relationships in PR. They are not in the list of relational indicators (investment, commitment, trust, openness, involvement, satisfaction, control mutuality, power in relationships) which previous research suggested (Ledingham and Bruning, 2000). Research in Vietnam (Van, 2013) does not support the relationship theory offered by Ledingham (2006) which emphasized these features (e.g. no *face* and *favor*) as important indicators for effective organization-relationships, and thus effective PR practice.

Two-way shared perspective

PR practitioners in Vietnam not only communicate with and influence their target public such as journalists, but journalists also inform and consult PR practitioners about PR activities. There is evidence of the use of *favour* for journalists by PR practitioners, but there is little understanding of that for PR practitioners by journalists. Recent data also show that journalists are willing to use *favor*, to inform PR practitioners about PR articles appearing in a newspaper, and it is an expectation of both parties that this sharing takes place (Van, 2013). This issue has not been mentioned in research, especially in Asian countries such as Japan, Korea and India (Sriramesh et al., 1999), where personal relationships are important in PR.

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PR in Vietnam appears to use a quasi-symmetrical communication model. Although its appearance looks similar to two-way symmetrical communication (Grunig and Hunt, 1984), in practice it is not. There is exchange between PR practitioners and journalists before and after conducting PR (e.g. constructing PR plans). Before PR programs, PR practitioners exchange information with journalists or news media in order to create effective PR strategies. After PR programs are completed, journalists inform PR practitioners about their PR effectiveness in the media (e.g. when PR editorials are published in mass media).

Practitioners in Anglo countries use communication to understand their public and build mutual understanding between organizations and their public. They use negotiation to manage conflicts and mediation to satisfy their public's interests (Grunig and Hunt, 1984). However, because of the strong focus of relationships in Vietnam, it is the relational context that is the key for practitioners. They use relationships to communicate and build mutual understanding with their strategic public. Communication is facilitated by relationships. Practitioners in Vietnam use relationships for communication whereas PR in Anglo countries uses communication for relationships. Although, in each of these models, the relational focus is recognized and understood.

Conclusion

This chapter provides evidence to point that a different cultural setting can change the nature of PR. The historic evolution of PR in Vietnam adds to the body of knowledge of international PR, in particular Asian PR which has begun to research their origins recently. The existing PR body of knowledge is challenged as it has not reflected local variances of a cultural setting which impacts upon PR in a non-Western practice, such as *quan hệ*, *face* and *favor* that are exhibited in Vietnam. The history of PR also shows how the country has resisted Western methodology which was inoculated by the American influence in the period from the late 1950s to 1975 and the re-opening of the economy in 1986. The strong and continuing government control of media and the use of propaganda in the North of the country from 1954 onwards have also created special national characteristics of PR practice which may influence re-theorization or lead to new theory in the future.

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