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(Linda Aldoory); "It Depends:· A Contingency Theory of Accommodation
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Toward an Understanding of Cultural Values
Manifest in Advertising:
A Content Analysis of Chinese Television Commercials
from 1990 and 1995

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ABSTRACT

Based on Richard Pollay's (1983) concept that advertising is a "distorted mirror," this paper content analyzed 483 Chinese television commercials from 1990 and 1995. Results show that "modernity," "technology" and "youth" predominate Chinese advertising in the 1990s, and the dominance of "quality" in 1990 was superseded by "tradition" in 1995. Symbolic values from both Eastern and Western cultures occurred more frequently in 1995. This implies that contemporary Chinese advertising is not only a "distorted mirror," but also a "melting pot" of cultural values. Results also indicate that the new advertising law taking effect on February 1, 1995 did not reduce Western values depicted in Chinese commercials.

INTRODUCTION

As a form of communication, advertising is a carrier of cultural values. Over the past three decades, there has been a constant scholarly interest in the need for relating advertising to culture (Cheng 1994). Research in cultural values reflected in advertising content gained great momentum from the debate over the standardization or specialization of international advertising messages in different countries around the world (Mueller 1987, 1992).

Defined as "the governing ideas and guiding principles for thought and action" in a given society (Srikandath 1991, p.166), **cultural values** conveyed through advertising messages are regarded as a powerful force shaping consumers' motivations, lifestyles and product choices (Tse, Belk and Zhou 1989).

As the core of advertising messages, cultural values are endorsed, glamorized and reinforced in advertising (Pollay and Gallagher 1990). The way advertising achieves the "transfer" of cultural values is to establish a nexus between what is viewed as desirable in a culture and a particular product (Srikandath 1991). Thus, as "a privileged form of discourse" in modern society, advertising makes us "accord what it says a place or special prominence in our lives" (Leiss, Kline and Jhally 1990, p.1).

Despite a long-standing scholarly interest in the need for relating advertising to culture, inadequate attention has been given to the cultural content of advertising in China. Since 1979 when advertising came back to life in China, it has experienced rapid and continued growth. Its annual business volumes rose at an average rate of over 40 percent between 1981 and 1993 (Advertising Digest 1994b), far faster than the increase in the GPA of the country. As Parsons (1993) observed, "China's advertising industry is witnessing its fastest growth ever" (p.18). In 1986, the business volume of Chinese advertising only ranked thirty-fourth in the world (Xu 1989), but in 1993, it had climbed to the fifteenth (Advertising Digest 1994b; China Guide 1994). In 1995, its business volume further increased from 1994's slightly more than 20 billion yuan to 27.3 billion yuan; its

employees totaled 470,000, a 16.4 percent increase from 1994 (<u>Advertising Digest</u> 1994a, 1994b; Fan 1996; Lu 1995). This paper is intended to address the cultural role advertising plays in China by examining the cultural values reflected in Chinese television commercials from 1990 and 1995.

THEORETICAL CONCEPT

In 1983, Richard W. Pollay criticized that even though much of the previous critical discussion of advertising had revolved around its cultural consequences, no appropriate and applicable method for measuring the cultural values manifest in advertising had ever been formulated. In his seminal research, Pollay (1983) developed a coding framework for measuring cultural values in advertising. Suggesting forty cultural values to be measured in advertising, Pollay's framework has proved to be applicable to all media.

Three years later, Pollay reviewed the work of significant humanities and social science scholars for their thoughts and theories about advertising's social and cultural consequences. Based on a wide range of sources, he formulated "a framework that structures advertising's supposed effects and causalities" (Pollay 1986, p.18). In this framework, Pollay pointed out that "not all cultural values are employed and echoed in advertising" (p.32). In an explanation of his innovative metaphor of the "distorted mirror" for advertising, Pollay (1986) stated,

> Not all values are equally suited for use in commercials. Some are more plausibly linked to the products in current production, some are more dramatically visualized, and some are more reliably responded to by the consuming public. Thus, in the aggregate, some of our cultural values are reinforced far more frequently than others. Hence, while it may be true that advertising reflects cultural values, it does so on a very selective basis, echoing and reinforcing certain attitudes, behaviors, and values far more frequently than others. Thus, it becomes a serious research question, which values are subjected to this selective reinforcement and which suffer from neglect, however benign? (pp.32-33)

In 1990, Pollay and Gallagher tested the notion of "the distorted mirror" in an empirical study. Based on random representative samples of 2,000 advertisements in mass-

circulated magazines from 1900 to 1980 and 250 television commercials from 1970 to 1980, they content analyzed cultural values manifest in North American advertising. As a result, they identified twenty-five cultural values frequently reflected in the advertisements. Their findings showed "high consistency over time and across media" (Pollay and Gallagher 1990, p.359). They again concluded that if advertising is a mirror, "it is a distorted one" (p.370). Pollay and Gallagher (1990) further elaborated,

> The mirror is distorted . . . because advertising reflects only certain attitudes, behaviors and values. It models and reinforces only certain life-styles and philosophies, those that serve seller's interests. It displays those values that are most readily linked to the available products, that are easily dramatized in advertisements, and that are most reliably responded to by consumers who see the advertisements. Advertising is, therefore, a selective reinforcement of only some behaviors and values (p.360).

Pollay's formulation cast much light on the nature of cultural values manifest in advertising messages. In this paper, his "distorted mirror" metaphor for advertising is used as a theoretical foundation. Since Pollay's model is largely based on North American experience, a major purpose of this study is to find out how the mirror of contemporary[1] Chinese advertising is distorted the "Chinese way." It is hoped that this study will clearly present what cultural values are most favored in contemporary Chinese television commercials, what are less favored, and what are not favored at all.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Studies of the relationship between advertising and culture started in the early 1960s (Cheng 1994). All those studies conducted in the 1960s and 1970s can be best summed up by Unwin's (1974) statement that advertisements are "the folklore of the twentieth century" (p.24).

It was not until the early 1980s, however, that more close and analytical studies were to be devoted to the cultural values manifest in advertising content when Pollay

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[1] By "contemporary," the author refers to the 1990s.

(1983) developed his seminal coding framework for measuring cultural values in advertising. Applying a modified version of Pollay's framework, Srikandath (1991) examined the cultural values depicted in Indian television commercials. Results of this study indicated that "Indian television advertising is to a large extent, if not predominantly, promoting the values of high-technology and modernization, as well as consumerism" (p.48).

In the meantime, several cross-cultural studies were focused on the comparison of Eastern and Western cultures. Initially, a series of studies were conducted by Belk, Bryce and Pollay (1985), Belk and Pollay (1985), and Belk and Bryce (1986) on American and Japanese advertising. They found that although Americanization was clearly increasing in Japanese advertisements, deep-rooted Japanese cultural values still remain strong (Belk and Pollay 1985).

Focusing on the same theme, Mueller (1987) discovered that the cultural appeals used in Japanese and American magazine advertisements tend to differ in degree rather than in kind. In 1992, she updated and furthered her 1987 study, pointing out that "Japanese advertising is still far from being westernized. In fact, there are indicators that it may be coming increasingly Japanese" (p.22). Mueller's results supported Belk and Pollay's (1985) findings.

Similarly, Lin (1993) compared the cultural differences in message strategies between American and Japanese television commercials. While noticing the differences that dictate the strategies adopted to convey product information in American and Japanese commercials, Lin observed that "certain commonalities in each's advertising approach are apparent" and believed that "there is a 'common ground' rooted in modern materialism across cultures" (p.46). In a follow-up study of American and Japanese television commercials, Lin and Salwen (1995) came to two important findings: First, American commercials were prone to pursue "the completeness and perfection of either a rational or an emotional appeal in their product information strategy" (p.63). Second, Japanese

commercials tended to seek "the sophistication of either a physical or emotional embodiment" (p. 63).

In 1990, Tansy, Hymen and Zinkhan focused on advertisements for one particular product and examined cultural themes in Brazilian and U.S. auto advertisements. They discovered that values concerning work, leisure and urban life evidently differed in the auto advertisements from the two countries.

Instead of focusing on one particular product, Frith and Sengupta (1991) paid particular attention to one culture value important to international advertising. They reported significant differences in the use of individualism in magazine advertisements from the United States, the United Kingdom and India.

While most researchers devoted their studies to two or more drastically dissimilar cultural environments when addressing the issue of standardization or specification in international advertising, others compared countries "with similar cultural origins and languages or target audience with similar cultures" (Lee et al. 1992, p.165). Tse, Belk and Zhou (1989) reported the different values conveyed in the printed advertisements of three Chinese-speaking societies -- Hong Kong, the PRC and Taiwan. They believed that the differences in cultural values depicted in advertisements resulted from societal differences in attitudes towards consumerism.

Frith and Wesson (1991) found that the use of individualism, egalitarianism and direct speech in American and British magazine advertisements differed significantly. Also focusing on the United Kingdom and the United States, Katz and Lee (1992) explored differences in television commercials of these two countries. Adopting the social communication approach formulated by Leiss, Kline and Jhally (1990), they integrated information content analysis with a comparison of cultural values. They suggested that cultural differences may be important, but product categories are more determinant for the advertising format used.

5 9

Also addressing the similar cultural theme in international advertising, Pasadeos and Chi (1992) found that both advertisements from Hong Kong and Taiwan showed the presence of more Western than traditional cultural appeals. After a comparison of three life-style magazines from the United States and the United Kingdom, which have common titles, indigenous editors and similar audience, Mehta (1992) reported that "fewer ads were standardized than specialized" (p.171).

Inspired by those studies, Cheng (1994) conducted a study on cultural values reflected in advertisements from China, one of fastest-growing and largest markets in the world today. Through a content analysis of 572 Chinese magazine advertisements from 1982 and 1992, he identified "modernity," "technology" and "quality" as three predominant cultural values manifest in Chinese magazine advertisements over those ten years. He also found that the values less often used in 1992 advertisements were utilitarian in nature and centered around product quality, and the values increasing in their occurrences were more symbolic and suggestive of human emotions.

In 1996, Cheng and Schweitzer content analyzed 1,105 PRC and U.S. television commercials from 1993 and identified eight cultural values dominating either Chinese or U.S. television advertising. They found that Chinese commercials resorted more often to symbolic cultural values while U.S. commercials tended to use both symbolic and utilitarian ones.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS STUDY

Although preliminary studies on the cultural values reflected in Chinese advertising content have been done (Cheng 1994; Cheng and Schweitzer 1996), some important questions still remain unknown, which call for continued studies. First, as an initial endeavor to examine cultural values manifest in Chinese advertising, Cheng's 1994 article paved the way for future studies relating culture to Chinese advertising. But after all, the database for that study was magazine advertisements, of which business volume since the

early 1980s has been less than 5 percent of the total generated by all advertising media in China (Advertising Reference Materials 1995). Were the findings reported in that study representative of the cultural values depicted in advertising messages via other media, especially television, in China? As documented in Chinese government publications, television is the most influential mass medium and television commercials are the most sophisticated form of advertising in the country (China Advertising Yearbook 1992). Between 1990 and 1994, the business volume of television advertising ranked either first or second among all advertising media in China. Since 1990, television advertising's business volume has been growing at a rate between 43.3 percent and 100.5 percent annually, far faster than most other advertising media in the country (Advertising Reference Materials 1995).

Second, Cheng and Schweitzer's (1996) article was partly about Chinese television commercials, but the focus of that study was a synchronic, cross-cultural comparison with U.S. television commercials, based on the data of 1993. Far more important, when the data were collected for Cheng's (1994) and Cheng and Schweitzer's (1996) studies, the Advertising Management Regulations proclaimed in 1987 was still in effect in China. So, neither of the two studies could examine the impact of the new Advertising Law of the People's Republic of China, first of its kind in Chinese history. The new advertising law came into effect on February 1, 1995 and superseded the regulations of 1987.

In short, a further diachronic comparative study of Chinese television commercials from 1990 and 1995 are of great necessity and significance. This study can at least contribute to our understanding of Chinese advertising in three ways: First, it will find out the differences and similarities, if any, across media regarding cultural values reflected in Chinese advertising content. Second, it will find out the changes, if any, in cultural values reflected in television commercials in the first half of 1990s when China witnessed a major economic boom in general and advertising growth in particular. Third, to select the years 1990 and 1995 for study will enable the author to monitor the impact, if any, of the new

advertising law of 1995 on advertising messages in China, which might serve as a benchmark for future studies on Chinese advertising.

HYPOTHESES

Cheng (1994), Cheng and Schweitzer (1996), and Srikandath (1991) found respectively that "modernity" and "technology" were most dominant in Chinese and Indian advertisements. Since Chinese television commercials from 1990 and 1995 were produced at a similar stage of economic development and targeted to similar consumers in a developing country, a hypothesis for this study is formulated as follows:

> **H1**: "Modernity" and "technology" were two dominant cultural values in both 1990 and 1995 Chinese television commercials.

In 1994, Cheng found that utilitarian cultural values were less often used in Chinese magazine advertisements from 1992 than those from 1982. As average Chinese consumers became more commercially "mature" and "sophisticated" in 1995 than in 1990 because of the rapid economic development and increased disposable income over those five years, marketers would also resort less frequently to utilitarian cultural values that mainly emphasize product information. Therefore:

> **H2**: Product information-centered cultural values occurred less frequently in Chinese television commercials from 1995 than in those from 1990.

Cheng (1994) also found that Chinese magazine advertisements from 1992 had tended to use more symbolic cultural values than those from 1982. Since Chinese television commercials share a similar social and cultural environment with Chinese magazine advertisements, they may have the same tendency. Therefore:

> **H3**: Symbolic cultural values were depicted more often in Chinese television commercials from 1995 than in those from 1990.

In 1985, Belk and Pollay suggested that although Americanization was clearly increasing in Japanese advertisements, deep-rooted Japanese cultural values still remained strong. Seven years later, Mueller (1992) concluded that Japanese advertising had become

more Japanese. Since both China and Japan are typical of Eastern culture, Chinese television commercials may follow the same pattern of growth and become more Chinese. Therefore:

> **H4**: More traditional Eastern cultural values were reflected in Chinese television commercials from 1995 than in those from 1990.

Cheng (1994), and Cheng and Schweitzer (1996) found that imported products acted as a pace-setter for some Western cultural values depicted in Chinese advertisements from early 1980s and early 1990s. As the number of imported products are still increasing in the Chinese market, television commercials for imported products may continue to play such a role. Therefore:

> **H5**: Imported products continued to be a pace-setter for Western cultural values manifest in Chinese television commercials from 1990 and 1995.

As a continued governmental effort to "standardize advertising activities across the country" (Guangming Daily 1994, p.8), the new advertising law that came into effect on February 1, 1995 was intended to tighten the control over advertising business in China. When compared with the Regulations for Advertising Management, effective from December 1987 through January 1995, the new law, as Cheng (1996) summed up, holds four major new features. First, it is much less ideology oriented than the 1987 regulations. Although the word "socialism" is used twice in the new law (Articles 1 and 3) (Guangming Daily 1994, p.8), those more aggressive political terms such as "the dignity of the Chinese nation" and "reactionary," used in the 1987 regulations (Article 8) (China Advertising Yearbook 1992, p.48), do not occur in the new law.

Second, the new law is more consumer oriented. As stated in the beginning of the law, it is formulated to protect consumers' legal rights (Article 1). The new law includes special items on advertisements for medications, medical equipment (Articles 15 and 16), pesticides (Article 17), foods, alcohol and cosmetics (Article 19) (Guangming Daily 1994). All are products closely related with consumer health and safety.

Third, the ban on cigarette advertising in the new law is extended from radio, television and newspapers in the 1987 regulations to magazines and public arenas such as waiting rooms in airports and railway stations, cinemas and theaters, and sports venues (Article 18) (Guangming Daily 1994).

The most outstanding feature of the new advertising law, as Cheng (1996) noticed, is its stipulation of more severe punishments for malpractice than the 1987 regulations. In the Detailed Rules of Regulations for Advertising Management promulgated by the State Administration for Industry and Commerce (SAIC) in January 1988 to supplement the 1987 regulations, the maximum fine for malpractice in advertising was 10,000 yuan (China Advertising Yearbook 1992). But this amount has become the minimum fine in the new law, and the maximum fine can be either 100,000 yuan or five times the advertising fee involved (Articles 37-44) (Guangming Daily 1994).

It seems that the new advertising law has been enforced pretty rigidly. Just before it took effect on February 1, 1995, three hundred commercials, about one third of the total, being aired and to be aired by the China Central Television (CCTV) were revised in order to conform to the new law. In a sample of 1,500 commercials the SAIC examined from eleven television stations in several major cities during the first two weeks after the new advertising law had been enforced, more than ninety were found to have violated the law. Punishments were reportedly imposed on parties involved. Most of those commercials "in trouble" were puffy and misleading (Li 1995).

Based on the above close reading of the new advertising law and information about its enforcement, the new law appears not intended to reduce Western cultural values depicted in advertisements in China. Therefore,

> H6: Cultural values suggesting Western lifestyles did not occur less frequently in Chinese television commercials from 1995 than in those from 1990.

METHOD

This section reports how data were collected, coded and analyzed in this study of the cultural values depicted in Chinese television commercials.

Sample Collection

Two Chinese television channels -- Channel One of China Central Television (CCTV1) and Shanxi Television (STV) -- were selected for this analysis. CCTV1 is broadcast nationwide and has the largest viewership in China. STV mainly serves the viewers in Shanxi Province, one of the industrial bases in the country. Economic development and living standards in Shanxi Province are about average for the nation, so STV's commercials may be representative of those aired by provincial television stations in China. The major reason for merely selecting CCTV1 and STV for 1995 was because television commercials of 1990 were also only available from these two stations when data were collected for this study.

Television commercials from the two channels constituted the sampling universe. For television commercials of 1990, convenience samples were gathered from CCTV1 and STV respectively, based on the availability of the commercials. The sample commercials were aired between May and December 1990.

For television commercials of 1995, systematic samples were collected from CCTV1 and STV respectively. Two weeks' worth of prime-time television was videotaped in June and November 1995. Two hours a night of commercial broadcasting was collected, giving a total of fourteen hours for each channel. All sample commercials from both 1990 and 1995 were videotaped in color.

The time frames for the recording in 1995 were the last week of June and the first week of November. There were no important holidays during the two selected weeks, so they were believed to be quite representative of the "average" commercials broadcast in that year. Meanwhile, it was hoped that the selection of one week respectively from the months

of June and November would give an equal chance to any possible seasonal differences such as different product categories promoted in different seasons.

The dates for the 1995 sample included all seven days of the week. The time blocks for the sample were from 6:00 to 7:00 p.m. and from 9:00 to 10:00 p.m. each day. The selected two hours during prime time included daily major national news shows as well as major entertainment programs. Taping of the commercials in the two Chinese channels in 1995 rotated through the fourteen days in the two sample weeks. Thus, for example, CCTV1 was taped from 6:00 to 7:00 p.m. and STV from 9:00 to 10:00 p.m. on first Sunday; STV was taped from 6:00 to 7:00 p.m. and CCTV1 from 9:00 to 10:00 p.m. on first Monday.

Coding Instrument

The unit of analysis was each complete television commercial. Any duplicate commercials for the same brand were excluded from the sample "in order to eliminate any redundancies which may have skewed the results" (Stern and Resnik 1991, p.39).

The coding design in this study was largely based on Cheng's (1994) framework, originally built on Pollay's (1983) typology of the cultural values manifest in advertising and many others' studies on cultural values (Bond *et al.* 1987, Chu and Ju 1993; Frith and Frith 1990; Mueller 1987, 1992; Pan *et al.* 1994; Srikandath 1991; Tse, Belk and Zhou 1989; Xu 1990).

A pretest of about ten percent of the usable commercials in the database was conducted to test the applicability of Cheng's (1994) framework. As a result of this pretest, three values, "knowledge," "ornamental" and "practicality," in the former coding scheme that identified twenty-eight values were eliminated while six values were added to the current framework. These six additions were "competition," "enjoyment," "natural," "nurturance," "wisdom" and "work." Thus, the coding scheme for the current study consists of thirty-one cultural values. Together with a coding sheet, a codebook with operationalizations for each of the thirty-one cultural values was prepared (Table 1).

These thirty-one cultural values can be divided into two groups -- utilitarian and symbolic. **Utilitarian values** refer to those emphasizing product features or qualities, such as "economy," "effectiveness" and "safety." **Symbolic values** are those suggesting human emotions, such as "collectivism," "enjoyment" and "social status." Many of these values can be regarded as typical of either Eastern or Western culture. For example, while "collectivism" and "tradition" are typical Eastern cultural values (Bond *et al.* 1987; Chu and Ju 1993; Frith and Frith 1990; Lin 1993; Mueller 1987, 1992; Pan *et al.* 1994), "individualism" and "modernity" are typical of Western culture (Frith and Frith 1990; Lin 1993; Mueller 1987, 1992; Pollay 1983; Pollay and Gallagher 1990).

While the television commercials were coded according to which product categories they fell into (Table 2), they were also coded according to their product origins classified as "domestic," joint-venture" and "imported" (Table 5).

Coding Procedure

The dependent variables in this study were the cultural values depicted by Chinese television commercials. The independent variables were the two years under study. In addition, product categories and product origins were employed as two control variables to help examine the cultural value differences.

A total of 483 Chinese television commercials -- with 189 from 1990 and 294 from 1995 -- were coded independently by a pair of selected and trained coders who are fluent in both Chinese and English. The coders did not know the hypotheses for this study when doing the coding. They were instructed to identify two most dominant values in each commercial, which were decided mainly by the overall first impression or the key elements of the commercial's "gestalt" -- the end result or total message possibly received by viewers (Mueller 1992). The dominant values were manifest in the visuals depicted such as the setting or the model of the commercial, accompanied by audio messages, background music or captions. Both coders focused on the cultural values manifest in a given

commercial rather than the qualities that flowed out of the advertised product itself (Srikandath 1991).

Interjudge reliability of the coding was calculated by using a per-item-agreement method suggested by Kassarjian (1977). A sample of forty-eight commercials (ten percent of the total commercials coded) were systematically selected and respectively coded for all variables by the two coders. A percentage of agreement was calculated, item by item. The reliability coefficients for the thirty-one cultural values ranged from 85.42 percent to 98.21 percent. The reliability coefficients were 99.14 percent for product categories and 100 percent for product origins. In all cases, coefficients exceeded the minimum interjudge reliability of 85 percent suggested by Kassarjian (1977). Thus, the coefficients of reliability obtained are believed to be satisfactory.

RESULTS

Results of this project are presented in Tables 2-5, which support four of the six hypotheses formulated for this study. It was hypothesized that "modernity" and "technology" were dominant cultural values in both 1990 and 1995 Chinese television commercials. As shown in Table 3, Hypothesis 1 was supported. It is evident that both "modernity" and "technology" were the two most dominant cultural values in Chinese television commercials in the two years under study. In 1990, the frequencies of the two values were 43.9 percent and 19.6 percent respectively. In 1995, the frequencies of the two values slightly increased to 45.9 percent and 22.1 percent respectively. But both changes were statistically insignificant.

In the meantime, Hypothesis 2 was confirmed, too. Product information-centered cultural values occurred less frequently in Chinese television commercials from 1995 than in those from 1990. The first evidence to support this hypothesis was the frequency of the value "quality" that dropped significantly from 18.0 percent in 1990 to 5.1 percent in 1995 (with $X^2 = 20.960$, p < .001, df = 1). Secondly, three other product information-centered

utilitarian cultural values -- "economy," "effectiveness" and "health" -- were found significantly less often used in 1995 television commercials (Table 3).

It was also found that Chinese television commercials had portrayed more symbolic cultural values in 1995 than in 1990. Therefore, Hypothesis 3 was supported. As presented in Table 3, all the six cultural values that occurred significantly more often in 1995 than in 1990 are symbolic in nature and suggestive of human emotions. They are "competition," "courtesy," "enjoyment," "individualism," "patriotism" and "tradition."

Table 3 shows that of the six increasingly used values in 1995, three ("competition," "enjoyment" and "individualism") are more typical of Western culture while other three ("courtesy," "patriotism"[2] and "tradition") are from Eastern culture. Therefore, Hypothesis 4 that predicted more traditional cultural values were reflected in Chinese television commercials from 1995 than in those from 1990 was not confirmed.

The above results about the dominant cultural values and the frequency changes in all the thirty-one cultural values examined in Chinese television commercials are more illustrative when jointly observed with the findings presented in other tables. Table 5 shows that three Western cultural values, "modernity," "technology" and "youth," occurred most frequently in commercials for imported products. In the meantime, however, other Western values like "beauty," "enjoyment" and "leisure" were used most frequently in commercials for joint-venture products. Therefore, Hypothesis 5 predicting that imported products continued to be a pace-setter for Western cultural values manifest in Chinese television commercials from 1990 and 1995 was not supported.

Again, as presented in Table 3, "enjoyment" and "individualism," two values suggesting Western lifestyles, were depicted significantly more often in Chinese television commercials from 1995 than those from 1990. These two findings supported Hypothesis

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[2] The reason for regarding "courtesy" and "patriotism" as Eastern cultural values here is that they were listed in several major scholarly works particularly devoted to the study of traditional Chinese cultural values (Bond *et al.* 1987; Chu and Ju 1993; Pan *et al.* 1994). On the contrary, these two value were not mentioned in Pollay's (1993) widely-cited typology for measuring cultural values manifest in advertising.

6 that predicted those cultural values suggesting Western lifestyles would not occur less frequently in Chinese television commercials from 1995 than in those from 1990.

DISCUSSION

As mentioned earlier, five of the six hypotheses formulated for this paper were derived from previous studies on advertising in China and other countries. Of the five hypotheses, two were not supported by the findings. This has two indications: First, the cultural values depicted in Chinese advertising content over the first half of the 1990s changed considerably in comparison with the values manifest in Chinese advertisements over the 1980s. Second, compared with the situation in some other countries, the pattern of cultural values reflected in Chinese advertising content appears more complicated.

Dominant Cultural Values

Results of this study indicate that "modernity" was by far the most dominant cultural value used in Chinese television commercials from 1990 and 1995 (Table 3). This finding suggests that television commercials in China did hold the essential "characteristics" of advertising -- promoting things that are new and encouraging change rather than maintaining the status quo (Rotzoll, Haefner and Sandage 1976).

Many products promoted in Chinese television commercials were either new or fashionable to Chinese consumers. These products ranged from "cars and motorcycles" to "industrial products," and from "household appliances" to "personal care and fashion" (Table 4). So, it was natural for marketers to use "modernity" in their advertising campaigns to promote these new products in the Chinese market.

In fact, there were more reasons for the predominance of "modernity" in Chinese television commercials over those five years. As an overwhelming national theme, modernization was continuously promoted by Chinese leadership in the 1990s. Those commercials holding "modernity" as a dominant value were in accord with government policy. So, it was easy for them to win approval of the Administration for Industry and

Commerce which supervised advertising business in China at both national and local levels. A more important point here is that to Chinese leadership, modernization does not mean Westernization. So, it has always tried to draw a line between the two notions, with a clear preference for modernization without Westernization.

"Technology" was the second most dominant cultural value depicted in Chinese television commercials from 1990 and 1995 (Table 3). As sophisticated high-tech often added charm to "modernity," it is understandable that the value "technology" was also important in Chinese television commercials.

"Youth" was also one of the most dominant cultural values manifest in Chinese television commercials (Table 3). This finding suggests that in addition to promoting things that are new and encouraging change rather than maintaining the status quo, television commercials in China, like its counterpart in the West, tended to target young consumers more often than people of other demographic segments in the marketplace (Hovland and Wilcox 1989).

The consumer materialism, more influential in China than before (Tse, Belk and Zhou 1989; Pollay, Tse and Wang 1990), is clearly more appealing to the youth than other demographic segments. A survey in the early 1990s by the <u>China Youth News</u>, a Beijing-based newspaper, reported that young people in China were more willing to spend their money on expensive health tonics, clothes, electronic commodities, and entertainment and leisure than other age groups (Xu 1990).

"Quality," the third most often depicted cultural value in 1990, became significantly far more less frequently used in 1995. With increasing competition in the Chinese market over those five years, the problem of product quality, a major concern of average Chinese consumers for years, became less annoying. Many household appliances such as television sets, refrigerators and stereos were no longer rarities to Chinese urban families in the mid-1990s. It was natural, therefore, for marketers to explore other cultural values rather than merely sit on the value "quality."

While "modernity" was predominant in both 1990 and 1995 television commercials, "tradition" became the fourth most frequently portrayed cultural value in Chinese television commercials from 1995 (Table 3). The favor marketers gave to "tradition" was consonant with the social trend of China in the 1990s. During the Cultural Revolution (1966-1967), the Chinese people experienced a "cultural void" because Mao Zedong waged nationwide campaigns to assault many traditional cultural values. But recent years have seen a return of some traditional values in the country, which, mixed with certain Western values, are forming a "semi-traditional" and "semi-modern" culture in China (Chu and Ju 1993).

When the above finding about "tradition" is looked at together with product categories, it becomes more meaningful. This value was used most frequently for "food and drink" (Table 4). It is evident that products in this category often have a long history, which, to a large extent, suggests good quality and wide popularity.

Symbolic Cultural Values

The result that Chinese television commercials tended to reflect symbolic cultural values more often in 1995 than in 1990 indicates that the historical model of advertising development initiated by Leiss, Kline and Jhally (1990) is applicable to the Chinese context. With a rapid growth for nearly two decades, advertising in China has become much more "mature" than before, having obviously stepped beyond the product information phase described in Leiss *et al.*'s model.

Another possible reason for Chinese marketers' willingness to portray symbolic cultural values is that China is typical of high-context culture (Hall 1989), which usually values "consensus and harmony in interpersonal relations and social circumstance" (Lin 1993, p.44). As Mueller (1987, 1992) pointed out, advertising in a high-context culture tends to rely on soft-sell appeals which are mainly based on symbolic cultural values.

Eastern vs. Western Cultural Values

It is found in this study that both Eastern and Western cultural values were frequently depicted in Chinese television commercials. The author sees several reasons for this pattern. First, those frequently used cultural values, Eastern and Western alike, have one thing in common -- they help sell products. Outside advertising, some traditional cultural values, such as "diligence," "frugality" and "tolerance," have been found still widely held in contemporary China (Chu and Ju 1993; Pan et al. 1994; Xu 1990), but they do not have much selling appeals. So, none of these values could be found in the Chinese television commercials under study.

Another possible reason is that today's China is not as traditional as it is often assumed to be by many people. In the late 1980s, the Chinese Cultural Connection, an international network of social scientists, identified forty traditional Chinese cultural values (Bond et al. 1987). But as clearly documented in several more recent studies on contemporary Chinese culture, only part of those traditional values are still prevalent in the country today (Chu and Ju 1993; Hinkelman 1994; Pan et al. 1994; Xu 1990). Based on a large-scale empirical study of cultural change in contemporary China, Pan and his collaborators (1994) concluded that today's China is even "less traditional" than some other areas under the influence of Confucianism such as Taiwan and Korea.

In 1994, Cheng suggested that advertisements for imported products were a pace-setter for Western cultural values manifest in Chinese magazine advertisements from 1982 and 1992. The current study indicates, however, that the "leadership" of advertising for imported products was challenged by that for joint-venture products. This is probably because joint-venture products were quite similar to imported products in nature, so they tended to resort to more Western values to attract Chinese consumers.

Another explanation is that Chinese government's censorship over television commercials could be more lenient for joint-venture products than for imported products.

This position is supported by the fact that joint ventureship has become a major strategy for foreign companies to enter the Chinese market today (Cheng and Frith 1996).

Interestingly, while the "leadership" of advertising for imported products was challenged by advertising for joint-venture products, television commercials for imported products were found to depict some typical Eastern cultural values, such as "courtesy" and "tradition," more often than commercials for joint-venture products. The reason might be two-fold. On the one hand, it may suggest that marketers for imported products realized that traditional Eastern values were sometimes more effective than Western cultural values in stimulating consumers' liking for their products. One the other hand, it may imply that foreign marketers had to find a way helping their commercials go through the government censorship in China. To use some traditional Eastern cultural values was understandably an easy and safe way to take.

Impact of the New Advertising Law

The findings of this study indicates that the advertising law that came into effect on February 1, 1995 has not affected much the Western cultural values portrayed in Chinese television commercials. Instead of reducing Western cultural values in Chinese advertising content on the whole, the new advertising law seems, as what previous advertising regulations did, to only gatekeep certain Western values, which are regarded as either politically or culturally unacceptable in China (Guangming Daily 1994). Politically "unacceptable" values have never been a serious problem for advertising in China. No marketers, domestic and foreign alike, would resort to, for example, "Western democracy" and "freedom of speech" to promote their products or services in China. Culturally "unacceptable" values have been consistently under control in Chinese advertising. The most illustrative example is the value "sex," which remained among the most infrequently portrayed in Chinese television commercials from both 1990 and 1995 (Table 3).

CONCLUSION

The findings generated in this study lead to a few conclusions which have important implications. First, Pollay's conceptual metaphor of the "distorted mirror" for advertising in North America is applicable to the Chinese context. As a "distorted mirror," Chinese television commercials also merely reflected those cultural values that help sell products and ignored those that cannot benefit advertisers. In addition, the mirror of advertising was distorted one more time in China. That is, it favored certain Western cultural values and disfavored others because of the "idiosyncratic" social and cultural reality in the country.

An important new finding in this study is that, however, the "double-distorted mirror" was more "accessible" for some Western cultural values (such as "enjoyment" and "individualism") in 1995 than in 1990. This suggests that hedonism is becoming more acceptable and influential in China nowadays than five years ago as a result of the economic booming. It also implies that Chinese government policies, including the new advertising law, are more tolerant to hedonism today than in the early 1990s. This finding certainly conveys a more optimistic message to those international advertising professionals interested in the Chinese market -- China is even more open today! This finding presents a challenging but interesting topic for international advertising researchers as well -- the role that advertising plays in promoting hedonism in this fast-growing marketplace needs to be further studied.

While some Western cultural values were found used more often in 1995 Chinese television commercials, some typical Eastern cultural values were also found reflected more frequently. This finding is particularly significant for this study. Together with the typical Eastern value "tradition," other two values, "courtesy" and "patriotism," were also used significantly more often in 1995 Chinese television commercials (Table 3). The increased use of the value "courtesy" can be regarded as a result of a "spiritual civilization"[3]

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[3]The "spiritual civilization" is a political campaign incarnated by the "Five Stresses and Four Points of Beauty" which stand for stress on decorum, manners, hygiene, discipline and morals, and beautification of

campaign continuously carried out in China while the country has been striving for "material civilization," which is embodied by the ongoing "Four Modernizations" program.

The increased use of the value "patriotism" in 1995 Chinese television commercials was by no means accidental. It suggests that the recent years' economic booming has, to some extent, resumed Chinese people's self-confidence. For years, political turmoils and economic failures had disheartened them tremendously. But the rapid and continued economic development is helping rebuild their confidence in the country.

Third, the finding that more symbolic cultural values were used in Chinese television commercials from 1995 than those from 1990 supports the results of a few previous studies on Chinese advertising (Cheng 1994; Cheng and Schweitzer 1996) and Japanese advertising (Belk and Pollay 1985; Lin 1993; Mueller 1987, 1992). As both Chinese advertising and Japanese advertising operate in similar Eastern, high-context cultures (Hall 1989), it is very natural and normal for them to resort to more symbolic cultural values to implement soft-sell strategies. The increased portrayals of symbolic cultural values in Chinese television commercials from 1995 indicates that Chinese advertising has become more "mature" than before and has started to find a style more appropriate for its own cultural context rather than blindly following the hard-sell approach, which has been found more popular in American advertising (Mueller 1987 and 1992).

Fourth, this study has found a return of some traditional cultural values in Chinese television commercials, mixed with certain increasingly used Western cultural values. This finding indicates that the cultural orientation in contemporary Chinese advertising is not a matter of being more "Chinese" or more "Western." Rather, it is truly emerging as a "melting pot" of Eastern and Western cultural values. This "melting pot," to a great extent, keeps abreast of the national trend of reviving those "good" traditional Chinese values and

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the mind, language, behavior and the environment. This campaign has been continuously promoted by the Chinese government in the 1990s.

accepting those "good" Western ones, which are believed to benefit the ongoing "Four Modernizations" program.

Finally, the finding that the new advertising law becoming effective on February 1, 1995 did not reduce the Western cultural values reflected in Chinese television commercials from 1995 implies that the conventional wisdom that the new law would create a hostile marketing environment for foreign advertising is ungrounded. As noticed earlier in the paper, the major targets of the new law are pufferies and deceptive advertisements. So long foreign advertisements are honest and appropriate to the Chinese social and cultural context, they might find the Chinese market more open for them than before.

In short, the results about the cultural "melting pot" and the "double-distorted mirror" imply that advertising in China is still in a state of flux. This unique characteristic of Chinese advertising has important implications for both international advertising professionals and researchers. For the former, the opening feature of the "melting pot" and the closing tendency in the "double-distorted mirror" imply that those who want to enter and stay in the Chinese market may be both optimistic and cautious, trying to select the cultural values not only aggressively promoting their products, but also fit neatly into China's social and cultural context. For the latter, the unique characteristic of Chinese advertising poses a challenging but exciting research topic, which calls for an "idiosyncratic" treatment in comparison with advertising in other developing countries as well as other parts of "Cultural China" (Frith 1996).

Table 1   **Operationalizations of Cultural Values**
Examined in Chinese Television Commercials

Beauty	This value suggests that the use of a product will enhance the loveliness, attractiveness, elegance or handsomeness of an individual.
Collectivism[b]	The emphasis here is on the individual in relation to others, typically the reference group. Individuals are depicted as integral parts of the group.
Competition[b]	The emphasis here is on distinguishing a product from its counterparts by aggressive comparisons. While explicit comparisons may mention the competitor's name, implicit comparisons may use such words as "number one" or "leader."
Convenience[a]	A product is suggested to be handy and easy to use.
Courtesy	Politeness and friendship towards the consumer are shown through the use of polished and affable language in the commercial.
Economy[a]	The inexpensive, affordable and cost-saving nature of a product is emphasized in the commercial.
Effectiveness[a]	A product is suggested to be powerful and capable of achieving certain ends.
Enjoyment[a]	This value suggests that a product will make its user wild with joy. Typical examples include the capital fun beer or soda drinkers demonstrate in some commercials.
Family[a]	The emphasis here is on the family life and family members. The commercial stresses family scenes: getting married, companionship of siblings, kinship, being at home, and suggests that a certain product is good for the whole family.
Health[a]	This value recommends that the use of a product will enhance or improve the vitality, soundness, strength and robust of the body.
Individualism[b]	The emphasis here is on the self-sufficiency and self-reliance of an individual, or on the individual as being distinct and unlike others.
Leisure[a]	This value suggests that the use of a product will bring one comfort or relaxation.
Magic[a]	The emphasis here is on the miraculous effect and nature of a product. e.g., "Bewitch your man ...;" "Heals like magic."
Modernity[a]	The notion of being new, contemporary, up-to-date, and ahead of the times is emphasized in a commercial.

Natural	This value suggests spiritual harmony between man and nature by making references to the elements, animals, vegetables or minerals.
Neatness[a]	Cleanness and tidiness are stressed in the commercial.
Nurturance[a]	This value stresses giving charity, help, protection, support or sympathy to the weak, disabled, young or elderly.
Patriotism	The love of and the loyalty to one's own nation inherent in the nature or in the use of a product are suggested here.
Popularity[a]	The focus here is on the universal recognition and acceptance of a certain product by consumers. e.g., "Best seller;" "Well-known nationwide or worldwide."
Quality	The emphasis here is on the excellence and durability of a product, which is usually claimed to be a winner of medals or certificates awarded by a governmental department for its high grade, or is demonstrated by the product's excellent performance.
Respect for the Elderly[b]	The commercial displays a respect for older people by using a model of old age or asking for the opinions, recommendations and advice of the elders.
Safety[a]	The reliable and secure nature of a product is emphasized.
Sex[a]	The commercial uses glamorous and sensual models or has a background of lovers holding hands, embracing or kissing to promote a product.
Social Status[a]	The use of a product is claimed to be able to elevate the position or rank of the user in the eyes of others. The feeling of prestige, trend-setting and pride in the use of a product is conveyed. The promotion of a company manager's status or fame by quoting his words or showing his picture in the commercial is also included.
Technology[a]	Here, the advanced and sophisticated technical skills to engineer and manufacture a particular product is emphasized.
Tradition[b]	The experience of the past, customs and conventions are respected. The qualities of being historical, time-honored and legendary are venerated. e.g., "With eighty years of manufacturing experience;" "It's adapted from ancient Chinese prescriptions."
Uniqueness[a]	The unrivaled, incomparable and unparalleled nature of a product is emphasized. e.g., "We're the only one that offers you the product."
Wealth	This value conveys the idea that being affluent, prosperous and rich should be encouraged, and suggests that a certain product or service will make the user well-off.

Wisdom[a]	This value shows respect for knowledge, education, intelligence, expertise or experience.	
Work	This value shows respect for diligence and dedication of one's labor and skills. A typical example is that a medication has regained a desperate patient his or her ability to work.	
Youth[a]	The worship of the younger generation is shown through the depiction of younger models. The rejuvenating benefits of the product are stressed. e.g., "Feel young again!"	

[a] Adapted from Pollay (1983).

[b] Adapted from Mueller (1987, 1992).

Table 2   Frequencies of Product Categories Coded by Year

Product Categories	Years				X^2 Values[b] (df = 1)
	1990 (n = 189)		1995 (n = 294)		
	Frequencies	%[a]	Frequencies	%[a]	
Cars & Motorcycles	8	4.2	32	10.9	6.701**
Food & Drink	24	12.7	65	22.1	8.537**
Household Appliances	65	34.4	57	19.4	17.357***
Medicine	38	20.1	53	18.0	.225
Personal Care & Fashion	28	14.8	67	22.8	4.630*
Services	13	6.9	9	3.1	3.856*
Industry Products	9	4.8	13	4.4	.0306
Miscellaneous	6	3.2	2	.7	4.394*

[a] Percentages may not total 100 percent because of rounding.

[b] X^2 values indicate differences in the frequencies of each product category regarding years.

* $p < .05$;   ** $p < .01$;   *** $p < .001$

Table 3 Frequencies of Cultural Values Manifest in Chinese Television Commercials by Year

Cultural Values	Years				X^2 Values[b] (df = 1)
	1990 (n = 189)		1995 (n = 294)		
	Frequencies	%[a]	Frequencies	%[a]	
Beauty	10	5.3	8	2.7	2.118
Collectivism	16	8.5	34	11.6	1.191
Competition	0	0	15	5.1	9.952**
Convenience	2	1.1	3	1.0	.0002
Courtesy	8	4.2	27	9.2	4.195*
Economy	5	2.6	0	0	7.859**
Effectiveness	17	9.0	9	3.1	7.952**
Enjoyment	0	0	22	7.5	14.818***
Family	16	8.5	25	8.5	.0002
Health	19	10.1	11	3.7	7.867**
Individualism	0	0	14	4.8	9.269**
Leisure	20	10.6	18	6.1	3.156
Magic	2	1.1	1	.3	0.961
Modernity	83	43.9	135	45.9	.186
Natural	0	0	5	1.7	3.248
Neatness	2	1.1	0	0	3.124
Nurturance	6	3.2	9	3.1	.005
Patriotism	1	0.5	12	4.1	5.544*
Popularity	4	2.1	6	2.0	.0032
Quality	34	18.0	15	5.1	20.960***
Respect for the Elderly	14	7.4	27	9.2	.467
Safety	2	1.1	0	0	3.124
Sex	0	0	3	1.0	1.941
Social Status	6	3.2	5	1.7	1.123
Technology	37	19.6	65	22.1	.443
Tradition	17	9.0	45	15.3	4.096*
Unique	7	3.7	1	.3	7.990*
Wealth	8	4.2	7	2.4	1.311
Wisdom	7	3.7	7	2.4	.715
Work	2	1.1	8	2.7	1.569
Youth	33	17.5	52	17.7	.004

a Percentages may not total 100 percent because of two values were coded for each television commercial.

b. X^2 values indicate differences in the frequencies of each cultural value regarding years.

* p < .05;   ** p < .01;   *** p < .001

Table 4 **Frequencies of Cultural Values Manifest by Product Categories in Chinese Television Commercials[a]**

Cultural Values	CM (%)	FD (%)	HA (%)	ME (%)	PF (%)	SE (%)	IP (%)	MI (%)	X^2 Values[b] (df = 7)
Beauty	7.5	0	.8	0	13.0	9.5	0	0	36.738***
Collectivism	5.0	19.1	9.0	8.8	1.1	14.3	14.3	71.4	46.396***
Competition	2.5	3.4	3.3	4.4	3.3	0	0	0	2.163
Convenience	5.0	0	1.6	0	1.1	0	0	0	8.970
Courtesy	7.5	14.6	2.5	4.4	1.1	42.9	9.5	0	57.961***
Economy	0	0	2.5	1.1	0	0	0	14.3	17.165*
Effectiveness	0	0	4.1	19.8	0	0	14.3	0	54.864
Enjoyment	5.0	9.0	1.6	2.2	7.6	4.8	0	0	10.903
Family	0	13.5	11.5	5.5	8.7	9.5	0	0	11.651
Health	0	4.5	1.6	19.8	6.5	0	0	0	39.499***
Individualism	7.5	0	3.3	2.2	5.4	0	0	0	9.453
Leisure	7.5	7.9	19.7	9.0	6.5	0	0	0	6.244
Magic	0	1.1	0	2.2	0	0	0	0	5.923
Modernity	72.5	27.0	58.2	18.7	60.9	47.6	47.6	14.3	70.074***
Natural	0	0	2.5	2.2	0	0	0	0	6.439
Neatness	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	28.6	136.566***
Nurturance	0	5.6	.8	7.7	1.1	0	4.8	0	13.964
Patriotism	5.0	4.5	2.5	3.3	0	4.8	0	0	5.734
Popularity	7.5	7.9	0	0	0	0	0	0	28.040***
Quality	9.8	14.6	15.0	7.7	6.5	9.5	9.5	14.3	5.066
Respect for the Elderly	2.5	5.6	4.1	22.0	3.3	9.5	14.3	28.6	34.943***
Safety	0	0	0	2.2	0	0	0	0	8.651
Sex	0	2.2	0	0	1.1	0	0	0	6.023
Social Status	0	0	3.3	3.3	3.3	0	0	14.3	9.895
Technology	22.5	4.5	42.6	16.5	9.8	0	61.9	0	85.416***
Tradition	7.5	36.0	4.1	14.3	4.3	4.8	19.5	0	60.932***
Uniqueness	0	3.4	1.6	2.2	1.1	0	0	0	3.452
Wealth	0	0	1.6	0	6.5	33.3	0	0	76.154***
Wisdom	0	5.6	1.6	5.5	2.2	0	0	0	8.033
Work	0	1.1	0	6.6	3.3	0	0	0	14.679*
Youth	20.0	10.1	14.8	7.7	42.4	9.5	4.8	14.3	52.818***

CM = Cars & Motorcycles   FD = Food & Drink   HA = Household Appliances
ME = Medicine   PF = Personal Care & Fashion   SE = Services
IP = Industrial Products   MI = Miscellaneous

[a] Percentages for each product category may not total 100 percent because of two values were coded for each television commercial.

[b] X^2 values indicate differences in the frequencies of each cultural value regarding product categories.

* p < .05;   *** p < .001

Table 5   Frequencies of Cultural Values Manifest
           by Product Origins in Chinese Television Commercials[a]

Cultural Values	Domestic (%)	Joint-Venture (%)	Imported (%)	X^2 Values[b] (df = 2)
Beauty	2.6	8.6	2.0	7.673*
Collectivism	12.6	7.5	0	8.331*
Competition	3.5	2.2	2.0	.660
Convenience	.6	3.2	0	5.539
Courtesy	8.5	2.2	8.2	4.457
Economy	.9	2.2	0	1.722
Effectiveness	7.6	0	0	11.443**
Enjoyment	2.6	12.9	2.0	18.500***
Family	9.7	8.6	0	5.167
Health	7.0	6.5	0	3.655
Individualism	2.3	3.2	6.1	2.215
Leisure	7.0	11.8	6.1	2.542
Magic	.9	0	0	1.257
Modernity	36.1	60.2	79.6	43.349***
Natural	1.5	0	0	2.104
Neatness	.6	0	0	.836
Nurturance	2.6	6.5	0	5.563
Patriotism	3.8	0	0	5.563
Popularity	1.2	3.2	6.1	5.935
Quality	12.6	5.4	2.0	8.123*
Respect for the Elderly	11.1	2.2	2.0	10.526*
Safety	.6	0	0	.836
Sex	0	2.2	2.0	7.256*
Social Status	2.3	2.3	2.0	.0263
Technology	21.4	17.2	26.5	1.734
Tradition	15.8	3.2	10.2	10.722**
Uniqueness	2.3	0	0	3.387
Wealth	2.9	3.2	4.1	.194
Wisdom	3.5	2.2	0	2.114
Work	2.3	2.2	0	1.167
Youth	13.5	21.5	38.8	20.102***

[a] Percentages for each product origin may not total 100 percent because of two values were coded for each television commercial.

[b] X^2 values indicate differences in the frequencies of each cultural value regarding product origins.

* $p < .05$;   ** $p < .01$;   *** $p < .001$

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The Impact of Advertising Distance on International Advertising: An Analysis of Creative Strategy in Magazine Advertisements from the U.S., Japan and Korea

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The Impact of Advertising Distance on International Advertising: An Analysis of Creative Strategy in Magazine Advertisements from the U.S., Japan and Korea

Background and Study Focus

The development of cross-border communications, global media and advanced technologies has led to a single global marketplace. Such a trend seems to be the driving force in the demand for universal brands and uniform advertising within the multinational arena. However, psychological or perceived barriers between country borders still remain. For example, two neighboring countries (UK and France) can be more dissimilar to each other than two countries situated on opposite sides of the globe (UK and Australia).

Regional differences have resulted in a variety of different cultural and socio-economic models which in turn have impacted the configuration of multinational marketing communications. This trend has forced global marketers to look toward more local consumer markets, which calls for a profound understanding of consumer cultures. Also, markets are shifting from mass market products to specially tailored products designed to meet highly differentiated consumer needs in a variety of cultural settings (Homma, 1991). This transition has prompted Transnational Advertising Agencies to follow the lead of the global marketers into those countries where consumer markets have appeared viable. The goal of TNAA is to develop international advertising campaigns to communicate their global clients' message to consumers (Mueller 1987). Thus, their immediate tasks focus on the key question of devising advertising campaigns for foreign markets: determining if the targets should be considered as separate individual consumers or as collective global consumers.

To explore this question further, this study will examine cultural and market-related factors as major explanatory variables for the diverse advertising campaigns in international contexts. Specifically, the study will focus on the impact these factors have on the creative strategy of the advertising information content and its level of informativeness. Furthermore, this study will examine how cultural distance and market distance of cultural groups influence the practice of standardization versus localization in international advertising.

Using Cultural Distance, Market Distance and Creative Strategy

Cultural Distance

As Samovar, Porter and Jain (1981) proposed, the influence culture has on intercultural communication situations is dependent on the dissimilarity or distance between cultures. Cultural distance is concerned with the degree of dissimilarity between message senders and message receivers. So, as the cultural distance is similar

- socially, politically, psychographically and demographically - the more similar the communication is likely to be. Therefore, the message communicated between culturally similar countries allows for the receiver to decode the message as intended by the sender, making standardization of messages more realistic. This suggests that standardized advertising campaigns would be more common between countries with little cultural distance.

Cultural Scale. Based on this concept of cultural distance, Samovar et al. (1981) suggested the use of a measuring scale to assess the variation of cultural distance between cultures. The amount of difference between two cultural groups depends on the relative social uniqueness of the two groups. Such a social uniqueness is qualitatively and subjectively determined by a number of cultural factors which are subject to variation: physical appearance, religion, philosophy, social attitude, language, heritage, basic conceptualizations of self and the universe, and the degree of technological development (Samovar et al. 1981). Although this may seem simplistic, its conceptual model and scale are valuable in providing a standard guideline for measuring the degree of similarity/ dissimilarity between cultures.

Cultural Characteristics. Some cross-cultural studies have used Western cultural backgrounds and criteria in order to assess global differences in ads (Frith and Frith 1990; Frith and Wesson 1991). An early study (Lenormand 1964) maintained that cultural differences such as basic customs, religious beliefs and living standards, are too great to overcome. In the early 1970s, Britt (1974), Green and Langeared (1975), and Green, Cunningham and Cunningham (1975) reported that because consumers evaluated the attributes of the same product differently across cultures, this should be reflected in different advertising approaches.

Frith and Frith (1990) identified key cultural differences between Western and Eastern cultures that are reflected in advertising. These cultural characteristics were direct and indirect discourse, individualism and collectivism, horizontal and vertical identification of personal relationships, determinism and fatalism, and logical and intuitive problem-solving. Other studies also have compared Eastern and Western cultural traditions or standards to assess major differences in ads (Hong et al. 1987; Mueller 1987, 1991, 1992; Sriram et al. 1991; Chang 1991). They argued that distinct cultural characteristics are embedded in advertising appeals, which are used in varying degrees to convey advertising messages of various cultures: these are emotional and cognitive orientations, soft-and-hard sell appeals, power distance, individualism-collectivism and uncertainty avoidance. Martenson (1989) and Kweon et al. (1992) added the concept of contextual culture and time perception, from which a clear difference between East and West was found.

As such, cultural characteristics have had mixed agreement and support among researchers primarily because these dimensions are never completely exclusive and independent. However, Zandpour and his associates (1994) systematically restructured the criteria for cultural characteristics into four distinct categories: Individualism-collectivism, power distance, uncertainty avoidance and perception of time. The representativeness of these cultural characteristics have been tested and substantiated in terms of their ability to explain differences in consumer behavior (Lynn, Zinkhan and Harris 1993). Although there are more cultural characteristics that may be relevant to advertising, these four characteristics seem to be the most parsimonious criteria used to classify the different patterns of advertising expressions among cultures. In fact, Zandpour et al. (1994) found all of these cultural dimensions independently affected the creative strategy and executions of international advertising campaigns in twenty three countries.

These findings clearly explain the cultural focus of advertising and provide useful guidelines in recognizing that the more similar the cultures are, the more similar the advertising becomes. Therefore, this study will focus on the cultural characteristics examined by Zandpour et al. (1994): individualism-collectivism, power distance, uncertainty avoidance and perception of time.

Individualism-Collectivism. It has been suggested that individualism-collectivism is the major dimension of cultural variability (Zandpour et al. 1994). Individualism is defined as "a situation in which people are supposed to look after themselves and their immediate family only," whereas collectivism is defined as a "situation in which people belong to in-groups or collectivities which are supposed to look after them in exchange for loyalty (Chang 1991; Hofstede and Bond 1984). The emphasis in individualistic societies is on a person's initiative and achievement, relying on factual information for decision-making as opposed to seeking group harmony and consensus (Zandpour et al.1994; Gudykunst and Nishida 1986).

Power Distance. Power distance is concerned with the relationship between authority and social perception (Hofstede 1991). It can be a measure of interpersonal power or influence between two people (Sriram and Goppalakrishna 1991). This is the degree of inequality among people within a population, ranging from extreme inequality to relative equality (De Mooiji 1994; Hofstede 1991). In high-power distance cultures, people tend to obey the recommendations of authority figures such as parents, teachers and bosses in comparison to cultures that have little tolerance for authority (Hofstede 1991; Zandpour et al. 1994).

Uncertainty Avoidance. Uncertainty avoidance is the degree to which people prefer structured to unstructured situations, and ranges from extremely rigid to relatively flexible (De Mooiji 1994; Hofstede and Bond 1984). This measures people's tolerance of

uncertainty (Sriram and Gopalakrishna 1991). Cultures with high levels of uncertainty avoidance rely more on formal rules, absolute truth and advice of those whom they consider to be experts (Hofstede 1980; Rubin 1992; Zandpour et al. 1994). Learning by trial and error and experimentation, searching for innovation, and acceptance of a high level of mobility, all express a low level of uncertainty avoidance.

Perception of Time. Perception of time is another dimension that may distinguish people of different cultures (Hall 1983). Different cultures have different concepts of time. Time is used as a measuring instrument and a means of controlling human behavior by setting deadlines and objectives (De Mooiji 1994). Although it might be devised only from Western perspectives, Hall (1990) argued that time is tangible; like an object, it can be saved, spent, found, lost and wasted. He describes time as **monochronic and polychronic.** People from monochronic cultures tend to do one thing at a time; they are organized and methodical, and their workdays are structured to allow them to complete one task after another. Polychronic people on the other hand tend to do many things simultaneously. Polychronic cultures rely more on implicit and nonverbal information as opposed to monochronic cultures that seek explicit communication (Hall 1983; Zandpour et al. 1994).

Market Distance

As Johansson (1994) argued, culture alone does not explain the unique nature of a country's advertising. To develop a deeper understanding, it is reasonable to investigate market conditions related to the advertising industry, which might play a role as another explanatory variable for ad dissimilarity. Market distance is defined as dissimilarity or difference between markets in terms of market conditions which are generally defined as visible or invisible factors directly or indirectly related to economic market or relevant environment in a country (Schiffman and Kanuk 1991; Kotler 1984). In general, these six broad categories are discussed: 1) institutional arrangements (e.g., advertisers and ad agency structure) (Johansson 1994), which suggests that the institutional structure leads to creative freedom in advertising; 2) legal environment or government regulation (Cutler 1992; Boddewyn 1983; Lorimore 1979; Miracle 1968), which suggests that the extent of government control for advertising results in creative diversities; 3) media characteristics (Rau and Preble 1987; Sorenson and Weichman 1975; Lenormand 1964), which summarizes that media-related factors affect the development of international campaigns; 4) product positioning (Jones 1992; Moriarity and Duncan 1991 Sorrenson and Weichman 1975), which asserts that products are diversely positioned according to consumers' use and gratifications in an international context; 5) different product categories (Chang 1991; Cutler 1991; Stern, Krugman and Resnik 1981) and the product life cycle (Miracle et al. 1991; Chang 1990) for which different message strategies are required.

As a step toward a more specific approach Zandpour et al. (1994) identified and examined seven elements related to advertising industry environment from the above categories. Institutional arrangements was defined as advertising expenditure per capita, presence of U.S. advertisers, advertising personnel shortage and U.S. advertising agencies. Government control was expanded to include legal environment. And product categories were defined by the type of products. These categories seem to be more specific and will be used as a conceptual building block to examine market conditions in the present study.

Advertising Expenditure Per Capita. In industrialized countries, there is generally a greater variety of goods available for consumers, consumers have greater per capita income with which to purchase goods, and the marketplace is more consumer oriented. Therefore, we can assume that in more industrialized countries firms employ advertising more extensively to improve or hold their competitive position in the marketplace.

Presence of U.S. Advertisers. Since U.S. advertising has by far the largest advertising expenditure and dominates the world market, their advertising policies and strategies could influence the advertising of a target country.

Advertising Personnel Shortage. Advertising personnel is concerned with the availability of qualified resources in the advertising industry. This could potentially determine the quality of advertising in a market.

U.S. Advertising Agencies. U.S. advertising agencies exist almost ubiquitously. They primarily take charge of the advertising strategy, and policy and management decisions in accordance with the guidelines put forth from U.S.-based headquarters. For the most part, advertising for U.S. brands tend to be controlled by U.S. advertising agencies even in countries outside U.S.. Often they tend to follow the standardized guidelines set by U.S. headquarters for economic reasons.

Government Control. The legal regulation by the government is always a barrier in international advertising. Government control is defined as any form of restriction exercised by the legislation, court, consumer protection, and administrative department in the government of a target country (Cutler 1991; Boddewyn 1982).

Type of Product. The nature of the advertising is most often a consequence of the type of product advertised (Zandpour et al. 1994). Ryans (1969) suggested that product type is one of the main determinants for advertising standardization.

Creative Strategy

Creative strategy comprises the "what is said" in an advertisement rather than "how it is said," which is an executional question (Ramaprasad and Hasegawa 1992). Frazer (1983) defined creative strategy as "a policy or guiding principle which specifies the general nature and character of messages to be designed." Although creative

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strategy has generated theoretical interests, it has received very little attention from cross-cultural comparative studies (Ramaprasad and Hasegawa, 1992; Zandpour et al. 1994).

Simon (1971) originally proposed a set of ten creative strategies which have been widely accepted in marketing and advertising fields: information, argument, motivation with psychological appeals, repeated assertion, command, brand familiarization, symbolic association, imitation, obligation, and habit starting (Appendix A). Simon's classifications have been extensively used primarily in the analysis of television commercials across countries. Frazer (1983) culled a list of six creative strategies such as generic, preemptive, unique selling position (USP), brand image, positioning, resonance and affect. However, this classification has not successfully been employed in cross-cultural research studies of advertising (Laskey 1989). Crask and Laskey (1990) modified Frazer's (1983) classifications by adding an informational (or image) and rational dimension to their categories. Synodinos, Keown and Jacobs (1989) conducted a survey of leading brand advertisers in fifteen countries with their own six sets of creative strategy: product identification, benefit awareness, dominant photo, slice-of-life, humor, animation.

Obviously, there are a variety of approaches in studying creative strategy in cross-cultural advertising however, most of these categories are repetitive and overlap. Among them, Simon's (1971) classification is considered to be the most exhaustive and distinct by researchers (Zandpour et al. 1992, 1994; Ramaprasad et al. 1992; Martenson 1987). Recently, Zandpour et al. (1994) used this classification to examine the interaction of cultural differences and creative strategy, by singling out mutually unrelated categories such as information, argument, symbolic association, motivation with the psychological appeals and imitation, among others.

Simon's classification schemes seem to be exhaustive and distinct, and their use has produced the most far-reaching observations and findings from cross-cultural comparative advertising to date. Although few studies have applied these creative strategies to print, this study will expand their use to study consumer magazine advertisements from three countries.

Country Profiles

For this study, three countries were selected from North America and Asia, the two largest marketing continents. They are the U.S., Korea and Japan. From a cultural perspective, Korea and Japan represent traditionally Eastern cultures, while the U.S. represents the West (Mueller 1987; Chang 1991; Frith and Frith 1991; Frith and Wesson 1992).

Cultural characteristics. The communication objectives in Asian cultures are directed toward achieving consensus and harmony in interpersonal relations and social circumstance (Lin 1993). For this reason, Korean and Japanese cultures are found to be collectivistic in emphasizing these values. In contrast, the United States is considered a culture that relies heavily on its Western rhetoric and logical tradition to relate thoughts and actions to people and their environment (Hall and Hall 1989; Wells 1987; Lin 1993). Therefore, U.S. culture is regarded to be highly individualistic (Hsu 1981; Hofstede 1984; Bella et al. 1985; Shiffman and Kanuk 1978; Chang 1991).

Korean culture is even more collectivistic than Japanese culture (Gudykunst and Nishida 1986; Hofstede 1984). This finding was confirmed by Klopf (1981) who reported that in Korea, the family unit is more important than the individual, and decisions are made in favor of the entire family, rather than for the sole benefit of a single individual of the family. Both Korean and Japanese cultures have mostly been influenced by Confucianism which stresses the importance of maintaining proper human relationships. The Western spirit of adventurism and conquest guides U.S. culture to express more challenges and confrontation to the status quo (Lin 1993). Thus, U.S. culture is characterized as direct, explicit (Frith and Wesson 1991) and distrustful of authority (Norton 1964). According to Hofstede's (1984) survey, Asian countries tended mostly to be in high-power distance cultures, whereas most of Western countries were more likely to belong to low-power distance cultures.

Americans live easily with uncertainty and base many of their daily decisions on probabilities (De Mooiji 1994). The Asian people, on the other hand, shun insecurity. Hofstede (1984) showed that Asian people tend towards a stronger need to avoid uncertainty than people of any other nationality. Regarding the perception of time, Americans tend to do one thing at a time in the way of handling time, monochronic in nature. Korean and Japanese are more likely to be polychronic, in that they tend to do many things simultaneously (De Mooiji 1994; Hofstede 1984).

Market conditions. The U.S. is the leader in the advertising industry, but is closely followed by Japan. In advertising expenditures, the U.S. is the leader, followed by Japan, and Korea is listed as ninth in the world (International 1994).

Overall, general trade volumes and economic indicators show that the U.S. and Japan are in a leading position with mature market levels. Kotler (1993) compares market level to the concept of product life cycles. This would indicate that while Japan and the U.S. are in a maturity stage, Korea is a developing market in the growth stage. Furthermore, government control in Japan and Korea is stricter than in the U.S. which is much more moderate than any other country (Boddeywn 1986; Cutler 1991).

Although U.S. companies are not among the top ten advertisers within Japan or Korea, there are more U.S. agencies among the top ten advertising agencies in Korean

than Japan (Zandpour et al. 1994). The typical Western ad agency is independent of the media and considers it unethical to accept as clients competing in the same market (Johansson 1994). However, the ad agencies in Korea and Japan do not face these limitations. The larger agencies have direct influence in the media and customarily maintain business relationships with competing advertisers. In terms of ad personnel shortage, obviously the U.S. has more abundant access to a ready supply of personnel, compared to Japan and Korea (Zandpour et al. 1994). Japan has a higher rate of advertising personnel shortage than Korea. Details of market conditions among three countries are summarized in Appendix B.

From this comparison, the U.S.-Japan dyad seems to have more in common than the Japan-Korea or U.S.-Korea dyads. While Japan and Korea share cultural perspectives, they differ in market conditions. The U.S. and Japan have similar market conditions, but exhibit diversely opposite cultural characteristics.

It becomes difficult then to establish which has more impact on the difference in ads between countries - cultural characteristics or market conditions. However, this study expects that cultural characteristics will largely - but not absolutely - be more impactful than market conditions. The major criteria for cultural distance is related to socio-cultural uniqueness which encompasses all the consumer-related factors such as language, values, attitudes, and other psychological variables. In contrast, market distance is expected to form the external structure of advertising, which is more directly related to the industrial environment of advertising than to the consumer environment. Thus, these arguments will boil down to the question of which influence has more priority in creating difference of ads: consumer factors or market factors?

When applying these concepts to the cultural and market distance scale as in Figure 1, any difference of ads between U.S. and Japan will be attributed to the difference of cultural characteristics. Any difference of ads between Japan and Korea will be ascribed to the dissimilarity of market conditions. Finally, the difference between the U.S. and Korea will be explained by the difference in both cultural characteristics and market conditions.

Figure 1

Cultural and Market Distance Scale for Country Dyads

Country Dyad	Maximum	Factors	
		Market	Culture
U.S. - Korea		Different	Different
U.S. - Japan		Similar	Different
Korea - Japan		Similar	Similar
	Minimum		

Hypotheses and Rationale

U.S. and Korea. These two countries differ in both market conditions and in cultural characteristics. Therefore, this represents a typical example of <u>maximum difference</u> (i.e., Western vs. Asian) according to the "cultural scale" (Samovar et al. 1981).

As a consequence, this study can formulate a hypothesis about how a maximum difference in cultural distance would be reflected in an advertising campaign conducted in these two countries? First, cultural dimensions between U.S. and Korea will lead to differences in creative strategy, information content and ad appeals. In particular, U.S. ads will have more information strategy, reasoned argument strategy, and less psychological appeal, compared to Korean ads. This is because people of individualistic cultures such as U.S. rely on factual information for decision-making and insist on drawing their own explicit conclusion (Zandpour et al. 1994). Also, people with low tolerance for ambiguity (i.e., Korean) may not be able to handle scattered facts with no explicit conclusions. Frith et al. (1991) report that respect for authority (high-power distance) in England could be manifested by British advertisers using company representatives (authority figures) as spokesmen in their advertising more frequently than would American advertisers (low-power distance). Thus, it is expected that Korean ads will use authority figures (i.e., imitation strategy) as spokesmen in their ads more often than U.S. ads. It is also expected that ads in Korea with higher power distance will use less command strategy than those in U.S. with lower power distance.

Similarly, this study also expects that apart from differences in cultural characteristics, differences in market conditions between U.S. and Korea will be linked to differences in creative strategy. To elaborate, it is predicted that argument and information strategy will be used more frequently in U.S., compared to Korea. This is because the U.S. is an example of the most typical market with more competitive

products, more multinational advertisers and higher advertising expenditures. Such a market characteristics of the U.S. is also expected to use more "free gift for information" to solicit more customers and to have them feel grateful from such a service. Thus, it is expected that more obligation strategy will be found in U.S. ads, compared to Korean and Japanese ads. In addition, as Weinberger and Spotts (1989) suggested, stricter regulation may lead to a reluctance on the part of advertisers to put hard facts in commercials. Thus, it is expected that a market with stricter government control of advertising like Korea will be related to lower levels of pertinent information than U.S. with much less strict regulation. Such a stricter regulation might also make Korea use less comparative techniques and less hard-sell appeal in the ads.

H1: There will be significant differences between U.S. and Korean ads in creative strategy.

Specifically, it is expected that U.S. ads will have more information, more reasoned arguments, less motivation with psychological appeals, more command, less symbolic association, less brand familiarization, less imitation, and more obligation strategy, compared to Korean ads.

U.S. and Japan. These two countries have similar market conditions but clear differences in cultural characteristics. Culturally, at a glance, they also lie on the maximum difference level - difference between Western and Asian like the case of U.S-Korea comparison. However, considering their economic similarity, cultural and market distance between U.S. and Korea is to a certain degree greater than the one between U.S. and Japan.

Since there is similarity in market conditions and differences in cultural characteristics between the two countries, differences in advertising can be explained by differences in cultural characteristics. Likewise ad similarities would be attributable to similarities in market condition. Both U.S. and Japanese markets are common in terms of advertising expenditures. Because of the collectivistic spirit and respect for authority, Japanese ads place more importance on collectivism and higher power distance which tend to respect group consensus, harmony and horizontal and hierarchical authority among group or interpersonal dyads. Further, because of such a group consciousness, their arguments and behaviors are more likely to be indirect and circuitous. Observations derived from previous research point out that Americans want their advertising messages quickly and directly, while the Japanese prefer soft music, beautiful scenery and soft voices (Ramaprasad et al. 1990; Lin et al. 1995). Thus, it is expected that such collectivism and the higher power distance tendency of the Japanese will lead to less information, more emotional, more psychological, soft-sell appeal, more fantasy-oriented, more imitation-oriented, whereas the U.S.'s individualism and low-power distance

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proclivity will result in ads with more information, more arguments, and more command strategy.

H2: <u>There will be significant difference between U.S. and Japanese ads in creative strategy</u>.

Specifically, it is expected that U.S. ads will have more information, more reasoned arguments, less motivation with psychological appeals, more command, less symbolic association, less brand familiarization, less imitation and more obligation strategy, compared to Japanese ads.

Korea and Japan. These two countries seem to have major cultural similarities, but market differences. However, they do share a great deal of common traditions in cultures for thousands of years, influenced by both Confucianism and Buddhism (Chang, 1991). Thus, when assessed from the cultural scale of Samovar et al. (1981), these countries parallel U.S American/British or American/Canadian relationship (i.e., closest to minimum difference level).

Although there are few comparative studies between Korea and Japan, it is expected that there will be more similarities than differences between the ads of Korea and Japan. However, if any differences in ads exist between these two countries, then it would be attributed to differences in market conditions rather than on the basis of cultural characteristics.

It is reasonable to assume that in the Japanese market with more advertising expenditures, advertising expenditure per capita and the number of multinational advertisers, agencies or TNAAs, advertisers will attempt to provide their audiences with more pertinent information than in Korean market. For this reason, ads in Korea are predicted to be more symbolic and emotional than those in Japan. Also, the presence of more multinational products and multinational advertisers in Japan will explain Japan's more Westernized tendency, which means that Japanese ads are closer to American ads than are Korean ads.

H3: <u>There will be significant difference between Japanese and Korean ads in creative strategy</u>.

Specifically, it is expected that Japanese ads will have more information, more reasoned arguments, less motivation with psychological appeals, less symbolic association, less brand familiarization, less imitation, and more obligation strategy, compared to Korean ads.

So far, comparisons within each country dyad has been made regarding the predicted interaction among cultural characteristics, market conditions and creative strategy in advertising. The next step is concerned with comparisons between country dyads, which is the question of where in the cultural scale each dyad could be positioned. Further, it is expected that advertising difference will vary according to cultural and

market distance between country dyads. Among the three country dyads, the U.S.-Korea comparison is at the maximum difference level, while the Korea-Japan comparison is at the minimum difference level according to cultural scale developed by Samovar et al.(1981) (refer to Figure 1). Thus, when these comparisons based on cultural distance are applied in an advertising context, it can be expected that advertising difference between U.S. and Korea will be greater than the one between U.S. & Japan or Korea & Japan. Further, it can be also predicted that advertising difference between U.S. and Japan will be greater than Korea and Japan. Therefore, the hypotheses will be as follows:

H4: The differences between U.S. and Korean ads are greater than those between U.S. and Japanese ads in creative strategy.

H5: The differences between U.S. and Korean ads are greater than those between Korean and Japanese ads in creative strategy.

H6: The differences between U.S. and Japanese ads are greater than those between Korean and Japanese ads in creative strategy.

Method

Sample. Consumer magazine advertisements from the U.S., Japan and Korea were content analyzed for this study. Magazines were selected as they are the most consistent, documented evidence of advertising content in structuring advertisements directed to specific audiences. Furthermore, magazines offer the highest and most consistent reproduction quality in the print media. Advertisements of at least one-half page in size were content analyzed for multinational common brands from the U.S., Japan and Korea.

These advertisements were obtained by purposive sampling, i.e, advertisements were selected on the basis of specific characteristics or qualities. Advertisements for common international brands advertised in these three countries in Winter (January), Spring (March), Summer (June), and Fall (September) 1995 publications were obtained in order to control for possible seasonality effects. Editions from as many titles of magazines with mass circulations as possible were used to obtain a maximum number of common ads. As a result, a total of 243 magazine ads were collected from U.S. (n=81), Japan (n=81) and Korea (n=81) from 65 magazine titles - approximately 500 issues.

Coding. The sets of ads were analyzed according to creative strategy and degree of similarity between paired countries. The ten categories from Simon's (1971) creative strategy were measured. (See Appendix A)

Three independent coders were recruited to code the ad-related factors. Fluency in Japanese and Korean was a requirement. High intercoder reliability was found using Scott's pi procedure: American/Korean (85.3%), American/ Japanese(85%) and Korean/Japanese(93.5%).

Results

U.S. and Korea

The results show that creative strategy in advertising is a reflection of both culture and market conditions. As expected, U.S. ads have significantly more information, more psychological appeals, more command, less symbolic association and more obligation strategy, compared to Korean ads (Table 1). Contrary to the hypothesis, argument, brand familiarization and imitation strategies were not significantly different between ads from these two countries. Overall, the results partially support the hypothesis on creative strategy between U.S. and Korean ads.

Table 1
Creative Strategy Between Korean and U.S. Ads

Strategy	U.S. (%)	Korea (%)	Significance Level
Information	92.59 n=75	72.84 n=59	$X^2 = 11.1, p < .01$
Argument	67.9 n=55	53.1 n=43	n.s.
Motivation with Psychological Appeals	27.2 n=22	51.89 n=42	$X^2 = 10.3, p < .01$
Repetition[a]	3.7 n=3	13.6 n=11	
Command	48.2 n=39	13.6 n=11	$X^2 = 22.7, p < .01$
Brand Familiarization	61.7 n=50	63 n=51	n.s.
Symbolic Association	39.5 n=32	83.9 n=68	$X^2 = 33.9, p < .01$
Imitation	44.4 n=36	46.9 n=38	n.s.
Obligation	51.9 n=42	9.9 n=8	$X^2 = 33.4, p < .01$
Habit[a]	4.9 n=4	1.2 n=1	n=4

[a] Cells were too small for statistical analysis.

U.S. and Japan

The results in Table 2 show that no significant difference was found in information strategy and argument strategy between U.S. and Japanese ads. However, as expected, Japanese ads had more motivation with psychological appeals, more brand familiarization, and more symbolic association strategy than their U.S. counterparts. Further, expectations that the U.S. ads would contain more command and obligation strategies than Japanese ads were confirmed.

Table 2

Creative Strategy Between U.S. and Japanese ads

Strategy	U.S. (%)	Japan (%)	Significance Level
Information	92.59 n=75	92.59 n=75	n.s.
Argument	67.9 n=55	60.5 n=43	n.s.
Motivation with Psychological Appeals	27.2 n=22	44.44 n=36	$X^2 = 5.3, p < .05$
Repetition[a]	3.7 n=3	7.4 n=6	
Command	48.2 n=39	16.1 n=13	$X^2 = 19.2, p < .01$
Brand Familiarization	61.7 n=50	83.9 n=68	$X^2 = 10.1, p < .01$
Symbolic Association	39.5 n=32	64.2 n=52	$X^2 = 9.9, p < .05$
Imitation	44.4 n=36	54.3 n=42	n.s.
Obligation	51.9 n=42	32.1 n=26	$X^2 = 6.5, p < .05$
Habit[a]	4.9 n=4	7.4 n=6	

[a] Cells were too small for statistical analysis.

Japan and Korea

Table 3 suggests that Japanese ads had more information, less symbolic association and more obligation strategies, compared to Korean ads. This supported the hypothesis as well. However, no significant differences were found in argument, motivation with psychological appeals, command and imitation strategies between these countries. Contrary to the expectations, Japanese ads had more rather than less brand familiarization strategy, compared to Korean ads.

Table 3
Creative Strategy Between Japanese and Korean ads

Strategy	Korea (%)	Japan (%)	Significance Level
Information	72.84 n=59	92.59 n=75	$X^2 =11, p <.01$
Argument	53.1 n=43	60.5 n=43	n.s.
Motivation with Psychological Appeals	51.89 n=42	44.44 n=36	n.s.
Repetition[a]	13.6 n=11	7.4 n=6	
Command	13.6 n=11	16.1 n=13	n.s.
Brand Familiarization	62.9 n=50	83.9 n=68	$X^2 =9.2 , p <.01$
Symbolic Association	83.9 n=68	64.2 n=52	$X^2 =8.2 , p <.01$
Imitation	46.9 n=38	54.3 n=42	n.s.
Obligation	9.9 n=8	32.1 n=26	$X^2 =12.1, p <.01$
Habit[a]	1.2 n=1	7.4 n=6	

[a] Cells were too small for statistical analysis.

Discrimination from U.S., Japan and Korea

From canonical discriminant analysis, variables in creative strategy were relatively well discriminated among U.S., Japan and Korea (Table 4). Among them, symbolic association (r=-.65) was the strongest discriminator, followed by brand familiarization (r=.63), information (r=.51), command (r=.51), motivation with psychological appeal (r=.48), and obligation (r=.45) elements. Overall, at least 56.8% of the ads were successfully classified into their original groups.

Table 4
Standardized Canonical Discriminant Coefficients for Creative Strategy

	Function 1	Function 2
Information	.34	.51*
Argument	-.28	.14
Motivation with Psychological appeal	-.21	.48*
Repetition	-.21	.17
Command	.49	-.51*
Brand Familiarization	-.29	-.63*
Symbolic Association	-.65*	-.24
Imitation	.27	.34
Obligation	.45*	.15
Habit Start	-.13	.28
Eigenvalue	.47	.14
Canonical Correlation	.57	.35
Wilk's Lambda	.59	.87
Chi-square	122.7	31.1
Significance	.000	.0003

* $p <.05$

Degree of Similarity Between Country Dyads

U.S./Korea and U.S./Japan

Table 5 displays the significant differences between U.S./Korean and U.S./Japan dyads. These results suggest that the creative strategy between ads in U.S. and Japan is more similar than between the U.S. and Korean ads. Again, showing support for hypothesis 4.

Table 5

Mean of Creative Strategy

U.S./Korea vs. U.S./Japan

	U.S./Korea	U.S./Japan	t	1-tailed p.
Creative Strategy	3.60 (162)	3.89 (162)	-2.42	p <.01

U.S./Korea and Japan/Korea

The analysis shows that the difference in creative strategy between U.S. and Korean ads is significantly greater than the differences between Japanese and Korean ads (Table 8). Creative strategy between Japan and Korean ads is more similar than the strategy between ads in U.S. and Korea. This substantiates hypothesis 5 stressing the impact of the relative distance of ads between different cultural groups. This result was also confirmed for such product categories as alcohol-tobacco and jewelry (Table 9).

Table 6

Mean of Creative Strategy

U.S./Korea vs. Japan/Korea

	U.S./Korea	Japan/Korea	t	1-tailed p.
Creative Strategy	3.60 (162)	3.98 (162)	-3.39	p <.01

U.S./Japan and Japan/Korea

Hypothesis 6 was not supported as significant difference was found in creative strategy between U.S./Japan and Japan/Korea dyads (Mean=3.88 vs. Mean = 3.99, t (160)= -.88, p = .17).

Discussion and Implications

Overall, the results show that creative strategy, is reflective of cultural characteristics and market conditions. Although the comparisons of ads between countries were partially confirmed, the results are salient enough to give pause to practitioners or academicians who advocate either comprehensive standardization or complete localization in global advertising.

Creative strategy in ads turned out to be significantly different among U.S., Japan and Korea. Specifically, of the ten creative strategies, U.S. and Korean ads differed significantly in five categories. U.S. ads had more information, more command, more obligation, less psychological appeal, and less symbolic association strategy than Korean ads. In the comparison between U.S. and Japanese ads, there were also significant differences in five categories. Japanese ads used more psychological appeals, more brand familiarization, more symbolic association, and used less command and obligation strategies.

In addition, Japanese and Korean ads differed significantly in four categories. Japanese ads had more information, more brand familiarization, more obligation and less symbolic association strategies.

Overall, the differences in five strategies between U.S. and Korea, information, command, psychological appeal, symbolic association, and obligation, could be explained by both cultural and market difference in tandem. Differences in creative strategies between U.S. and Japan which included brand familiarization, command, psychological appeal, symbolic association and obligation, could be explained mainly by cultural differences. Finally, differences between Japan and Korea in such creative strategies as information, brand familiarization, symbolic association and obligation, could be explained mainly by market differences. Specific explanations follow:

Information: U.S. and Japanese ads employ significantly more information strategy than Korean ads. No significant difference was found between ads in U.S. and Japan. This result supports the notion that information strategy is used for people in more monochronic cultures - i.e., paying attention to and doing only one thing at a time. This follows the linear form so familiar in the West, preferring less scattered fact and more explicit conclusions with plain facts. Also, information strategies are more indicative of an individualistic culture, where there is a strong demand for factual information for individual decision-making. This finding suggests that within cultural characteristics, monochronism-polychronism and individualism-collectivism are more useful in explaining the difference in information strategy between the three countries.

Furthermore, this findings supports the expectation that markets with less strict regulation of ads and more advertising personnel - i.e., U.S. and Japan - are more likely to use information strategy. This difference in information strategies between U.S. and Korean ads could be explained by both cultural and market differences. The lack of significant difference between U.S. and Japanese ads could be explained by their market similarity. This might suggest that market similarity may more useful in explaining similarity in information strategy between U.S. and Japanese ads, rather than cultural difference.

Obligation: U.S. ads tend to use obligation strategy the most frequently, while Koreans ads use it the least often. The result supports the expectation that this strategy would be used in monochronic cultures with explicit conclusions and direct suggestion. Furthermore, obligation strategy appeared in markets with high advertising expenditures per capita, with the presence of more top ten U.S. advertisers and less strict regulation of advertising. One explanation is that the more mature and the more competitive the market is, the more obligation strategy will be used to solicit consumer purchasing (Benedetto et al. 1992; Yum 1987).

Motivation with psychological appeals: The results showed that Korean and Japanese ads tend to use this strategy significantly more often than the U.S., but no significant difference was found between Japanese and Korean ads. This finding is consistent with the prediction that collectivistic cultures with high-power distance are more likely to use this strategy. As expected, a lack of specific factual information may have made this strategy less appealing to individualistic cultures, as compared to cultures with high-power distance, that are not as likely to question the factual basis of such motivational claims (Zandpour et al. 1994). It may also be possible that cultures with stricter government control of advertising need to rely more on psychological appeals rather than factual information.

Therefore, cultural characteristics such as individualism-collectivism and power distance, and market conditions such as legal regulation of advertising were contributing factors to the difference in this strategy between U.S. and Korean ads. However, the expected differences in market conditions between Korea and Japan were not found. Perhaps the psychological appeal is related more to cultural characteristics between Japan and Korea than market conditions.

Symbolic Association: The results show that Korea is the most frequent user of symbolic association in advertisements, followed by Japan. It was expected that this strategy would appear in polychronic cultures with high-power distance, and avoided in individualistic cultures due to its lack of specific factual information. These results also supported the Zandpour et al. (1994) finding that markets with lower advertising expenditures per capita, strict government control of advertising, and available advertising personnel tend to use this strategy more often.

Overall, it can be argued that both cultural characteristics and market conditions are useful factors in explaining differences of symbolic association strategy between U.S. and Korean ads. Differences between U.S. and Japanese ads use of this strategy could be explained by cultural differences rather than market conditions. And the difference in market conditions between Japan and Korea might have influenced the use of this strategy in the advertisements.

Command: According to these results, the U.S. ads use of command strategy more than Japanese or Korean ads. No significant difference was found between Japanese and Korean ads. As expected, this strategy is used more in monochronic, individual cultures favoring the hard and direct selling approach. This strategy is seldom used in polychronic cultures emphasizing the polite, indirect or soft selling approach toward their customers - i.e., more collectivistic cultures such as Japan and Korea which do not even have any of top ten U.S. advertisers who are fully oriented toward this technique. Moreover, this strategy is obviously avoided in cultures with high-power distance emphasizing a vertical relationship between consumer and advertisers, and with strict government control of advertising, as in Japan and Korea.

The difference in command strategy between U.S. and Korea could be explained by differences of both cultural and market dimensions. However, since no relevant difference was found between Japanese and Korean ads, market conditions may have influenced the difference in this strategy, and the cultural similarity (e.g., polychronism and high-power distance) may have overridden the market difference.

Brand Familiarization: Japanese ads tend to use brand familiarization strategy more than the U.S. or Korean ads. No significant difference was found between the U.S. and Korean ads. This creative approach is more likely to be used in collectivistic cultures in favor of indirect, but a soft and friendly selling approach. One explanation is that Japan is more likely to be flattering, friendly and harmonious than any other culture. The Japanese core value in the relationship with customers is to entertain them as agreeably and affectionately as possible. This seems to be how the Japanese create the trustworthiness of advertisers and reinforce the loyalty to their brands. It is possible that the U.S. ads tend to display the product more aggressively with explicit conclusions, compared to Japanese ads. Another possibility is that the Korean consumer, who is the most conservative among the three countries, are more likely to be resistant to friendliness or flatter, and be reserved in interpersonal relationship (Park 1979).

Argument: Results showed no significant differences in the use of argument between ads from these three countries. This strategy was expected in monochronic cultures with low-power distance - i.e., in favor of horizontal human relationship - and high uncertainty avoidance. Cultures with these characteristics appreciate the linear and logical thinking, explicit conclusions and do not tolerate ambiguity. Furthermore, this strategy requires some conceptual integration and consequently a higher degree of expertise on the part of the advertising personnel (Zandpour et al. 1994). This led to the expectation that it would be prevalent in markets where experienced advertising personnel are more are readily available. However, looking at ads in detail, this strategy was almost evenly prevalent among the three countries for cars, electronics and cosmetics. This suggests that for such multinational products requiring high involvement

decision-making (high financial and psychological risks), this strategy could be a common denominator for the three countries without regard to cultural and market difference.

Imitation: Contrary to the expectation, no significant difference was found among three countries using imitation strategy. This strategy was expected to be used in polychronic cultures with high-power distance and uncertainty avoidance such as Japan and Korea. This strategy was identified on the basis of testimonials from celebrities or persons within the ads whom consumers would identify. Looking at the ads in detail, models and celebrities were featured most often in ads for clothing, cosmetics, tobacco, and jewelry among three countries. This strategy might be another common denominator multinational products tend to universally use without regard to cultural and market difference.

Repeated Assertion: No significant difference was found among the three countries, contrary to the expectation. Repeated assertion was expected to be used in monochronic cultures with low-power distance in association with hard and direct selling. It is possible that the use of this strategy might be more prevalent in TV commercials rather in print ads, because repeated assertions in creative strategy is usually intended to enhance aural effects rather than visual impact.

Habit-starting: No distinct difference was found in the ads regarding the habit starting strategy. Because this strategy is similar to obligation, it was expected to be found in monochronic cultures with logical reasoning and explicit conclusions. It is inherently intended to make consumers find explicit reasons to reinforce or maintain their habit pattern, usually by offering free samples. However, this strategy tended to be avoided among the three countries. It is possible that this strategy is inappropriate for many of the multinational brands in this study, based on their value or image (e.g., Rolex watch, Hermes accessories, Pierre Cardin jewelry).

Conclusion

These results suggest that creative strategy between Japan and Korea, which have cultural similarity and market distance, is more similar than between Japan and the U.S., with market similarity and cultural distance, and the difference between the U.S. and Korea with both cultural and market distance. In other words, cultural similarity seemed to play a more significant role in getting Japan and Korean ads closer than other country dyads.

Although there continues to be great disagreement between the advocates of "think global" and the proponents of "think global but act local", the results of this study seem to support the latter argument. There are overall differences in advertising patterns among the three countries. Although there is some mixed support for the hypotheses, there is some evidence that cultural and market differences dictate the

strategy adopted to convey product information in the U.S., Japan and Korea. The results also suggest that cultural characteristics and market conditions are not absolutely invariable. Therefore,when developing localized ads among countries, cultural, market and other intervening variables should be defined and evaluated in terms of their weighted magnitude. If market conditions in the international environment continues to evolve, ads may develop more standardization. Therefore, market conditions could lead to its own effect on advertising difference with no help of cultural characteristics. This would suggest that the combination of cultural and market conditions will not always be a valid measure for clustering countries in terms of their homogeneities.

In conclusion, as seen from the results regarding the similarity of ads, localization and standardization approaches are not mutually exclusive, but coexistent. International marketers should capitalize on which creative strategy is valid for each market. More important to this consideration is the relative communication distance (cultural and market distance) between cultural groups. Toward that end, a combined approach - weighing cultural and market dimensions - could prove to be a significant step toward determining a viable strategy in approaching global advertising.

Appendix A

Simon's Creative Strategy Classifications

Creative Strategies	Descriptions
Information	Presentation of unadorned facts, without explanation or argument, merely "news about" the product concerned.
Argument	Relating of facts (reason why) in some details to the desired purchase; copy especially important; logical :"playing on established desires" in presenting "excuse" to buy.
Motivation with psycho-logical appeals	Explicit statement of how the product will benefit the consumer; use of emotion and appeals to self-interest in creating desires not previously readily apparent; interpretation of facts in an "especially for you" framework.
Repeated assertion	Hard-sell repetition of one basic piece of information; often a "generality" unsupported by factual proof.
Command	A non-logical reminder (either hard sell or soft sell) to predispose audience favorably; may be reinforced by an authoritative figure.
Brand familiarization	Friendly, conversational feel few or no "selling facts" but suggestions of "loyalty" to and "trustworthiness" of the advertiser; keeps brand name before the public.
Symbolic association	Subtle presentation of a single piece of information; links the product to a place, event, person of symbol (any positive connotation); sales pitch usually not explicit, copy usually minimal and product, in general, not featured.
Imitation	Testimonial, by a celebrity, by "hidden camera" participant or by individuals unknown but with whom readers can readily identify (or whom they respect because of specified characteristics).
Obligation	Free offer of a gift or information, or touching sentiment; some attempt to make the reader feel grateful.
Habit-starting	Offer of a sample or reduced price to initiate a "regular practice or routine"; product usually "featured".

* **Source** : Simon, Julian L. The management of advertising, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1971.

Appendix B

Market Conditions of U.S., Japan and Korea

Market Conditions	U.S.	Japan	Korea
Total Ad Expend. (bill.)	$ 134	$30.5	$4
Total Per capita Ad Expenditure	513	311	66
Exports ($ bn)	456.9	351.3	96.3
Imports ($ bn)	589.4	209.8	102.3
GDP ($ bn)	6,343	468.6	380.4
Major Advertisers (Top 5)	P&G, Philip Morris, GM, Sears Roebuck, Pepsico	Matsushita,Kao Toyota, NEC Honda	Daewoo, LG, Lotte, Haitai Samsung
Population (Mil.)	258.3	124.7	44.5
Age Breakdown (Millions)			
0 to 14	56.9	21	8.2
15 - 24	36	9	7.3
25 - 44	82.8	34.9	13.6
45 - 64	49.6	32.9	11.2
65 and Up	32.7	16.5	4.2
Daily Newspapers	1,570	68	45
Magazines	2,869	2,424	197
Ad Industry: Presence of American Companies among top 10 Advertisers	10	0	0
Level of Government Control	Moderate	Strict	Strict
Presence of US Companies among top 10 agencies	9	1	7
Advertising Personal Shortages	0	13	6

Compiled from:
1) Advertising Age, Mar 1994.
2) Zandpour et al. (1994).
3) Boddewyn (1988) and Cutler (1991).

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"Kodak Moments" for Marketers:
The Exposure Potential for Ads, Brands, Sponsors,
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Abstract

As integrated marketing communications becomes standard practice for more and more marketers, one channel of increasing popularity is product and brand name exposure through sports. This study content analyzes one year of Sports Illustrated to identify the amount of exposure potential available in print media.

Results reveal over 1,400 brand name and logo exposures during the 1994 publishing year in Sports Illustrated. Implications are drawn considering three perspectives: marketers, advertising media planners and journalists.

"Kodak Moments" for Marketers:
The Exposure Potential for Ads, Brands, Sponsors,
and Symbols in Editorial Photographs in Sports Illustrated

Among the most debated topics in advertising in the last few years has been the direction that the future of the field will take. The opinion of some alarmists is that traditional mass media advertising is in irreversible decline (The advertising industry, 1990; Rust & Oliver, 1994). Spending patterns indicate there may be validity to such concerns as measured media advertising revenues have been flat or in decline for most product categories (Spending by category, 1994).

It seems evident that marketers will continue to look beyond traditional paid advertising messages in communicating with existing and potential customers. One group of practices that has attracted particular attention and research interest as non-advertising elements of the promotion mix involves various means of exposing consumers to a brand or product in entertainment, programming, or editorial environments. These include product placement in films (Karrh, 1995), in video games (Pope, 1994), and in television shows (Hume, 1990). Others include exposure to logos and brand symbols in sports, where almost $4 billion is spent annually in the U.S. to sponsor and market through sports (Savage, 1994). In some cases a marketer will pay to have their brand shown or used, while in others there is no payment required and the resulting exposures might be considered a form of free publicity. As product placement has become more widely employed, questions of legality (Critics seek FTC, 1991) and effectiveness

(Vollmers & Mizerski, 1994) have been raised by activists and scholars.

An area that seems to have escaped the notice of most who have studied or commented on product placement and alternatives to media advertising is the exposure resulting from a product's inclusion in news or editorial photographs in the print media. The coverage of news events by newspapers and magazines is commonly accompanied by photos of people and scenes. When these photos also show an identifiable product, logo, brand name, or even an advertisement, the result is the print equivalent of movie or broadcast product placements.

Any actual effects of exposure to such a photograph will likely be different than those coming from exposure to movie and broadcast placement scenes in the same way that print and tv advertisements differ in what they can achieve. Other points to consider in beginning to evaluate the impact and prevalence of what might be thought of as "print placements" include the matter of audience involvement levels with news photos as compared to ads and the fact that journalistic ethics probably preclude print placements ever being available on a paid basis.

Questions related to such issues deserve a place on marketing and communication research agendas in the near future. The purpose of the present paper is to examine the extent to which editorial photographs include brands, ads, symbols or other identifiable references to particular marketers. Previous research has established a tenfold increase in the number of

exposures appearing in editorial photos over the past 20 years and double the average size (cite withheld pending review). The frequency, size, and settings of these exposures in one magazine, Sports Illustrated, will be studied over a one year period to provide a description of the phenomenon and to give some estimation of the volume and potential for exposure to this form of nonpaid media space Three different perspectives will be considered throughout this paper: 1)first and foremost, the marketers' perspective on existing opportunities and exposure potential; media placement directors and their concerns for the frequency, size and timing of such exposure opportunities; and journalists, whose concerns focus on whether or not policies on editing and publishing such photos needs attention.

The choice of Sports Illustrated is based on the feeling that magazine production quality is superior to that of newspapers and the color and clarity of objects shown in magazine photographs will be enhanced. Existing literature on the inclusion of ads and brands in sports scenes on television (Pokrywczynski, 1993; Causey, 1995) shows exposure opportunities are plentiful and impactful, and the use of Sports Illustrated will allow some cross-media comparisons of sports based content. Sports Illustrated is a premiere sports and advertising vehicle, with paid circulation of 3.25 million and advertising revenues ranking it third among all magazines (Top 300, 1995)

Methodology

To obtain a census of magazine news photos for analysis,

every issue of <u>Sports Illustrated</u> for 1994 was assessed for this study. All editorial photographs were examined for evidence of identifiable brands and products. Specifically, placement of logos, advertisements of different types, and sponsorships were noted. Each photo containing such a placement was also coded for the product categories or type of marketers pictured, the sport involved, and the setting (sport in action, nonaction, or away from setting of sport). The area or size of each photo and of every placement was measured in millimeters (mm).

Coding categories were established based on a pretest of a subsample of photographs. One individual was trained and coded all items. Intra-coder reliability was assessed by having that individual recode a portion of the photos and an inter-coder reliability measure was calculated by using a second coder on a different subsample. In all cases, reliability coefficients were above .90 and the single coder's decisions were used in the final data set.

Findings

Photographs in the magazine issues studied contained a total of 1,435 placements. The average size per exposure equalled 88.56 sq mm (1 3/4 sq inches). Exposure frequency varied throughout the year with a general upward

Figure 1
Monthly exposures-1994 SI
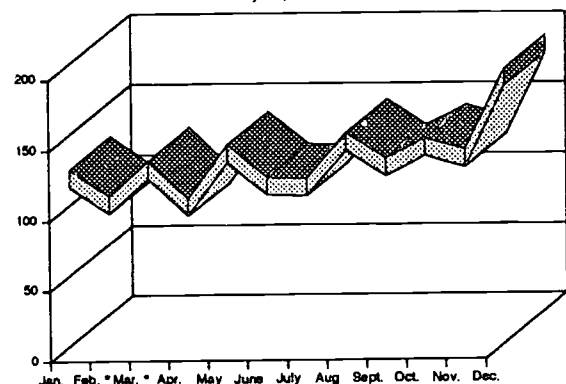
trend in number of exposures by end of year (See Figure 1).
One occasional event, heavily corporate sponsored World Cup
soccer, occurred during 1994, possibly raising summer exposure
levels above normal levels.

For the entire sample, 1180 or 82 percent of the placements
showed the brand, ad, or logo in the setting of a sport in
action, such as during the playing of a game or event. Exactly
170 (almost 12 percent) were set at the game or event location
but away from action, such as during a timeout or post-game
interview outside of a stadium. The remaining 85 placements
(almost six percent) showed settings completely removed from any
game site or sport location, such as in-home shots of athletes or
business office situations.

The kinds of marketers receiving print photograph placements
are listed in Table 1. By far the most common placements in
Sports Illustrated are for athletic apparel and equipment.
Combined, these two categories account for nearly 79 percent of
the total.

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- -----------------
  Table 1 about here
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A summary of the sports being reported on when editorial
photographs include placements is given in Table 2. As
shown, NFL Football clearly provides the most opportunities for
exposure, with NHL Hockey and Major League Baseball a distant
second. Skiing and soccer provided a surprising number of
exposures, especially when compared to heavily sponsored sports

such as auto racing and golf. When sports are ranked by average size of exposure, NFL Football provides small amounts of space (avg=25 sq mm) compared to soccer (avg=454 sq mm) boxing (avg=292 sq mm) tennis (avg=149 sq mm) and bike racing (avg=174 sq mm). Another interesting interpretation of these findings is to consider the ratio of space taken by the ad placement relative to the entire picture. Overall, exposures averaged one-half of one percent of the total photo size. The most dominant placement took up about 20 percent of the photo of soccer action. Soccer provided the best average ratios (2 percent) for placements among sports.

Table 2 about here

Table 3 shows the actual type of placements found, their frequency, and average size in the photographs. Visible clothing and equipment logos are by far the most common with 718 (50 percent) and 386 (27 percent) occurrences respectively. The largest placements are those in the form of temporary advertisements inside a stadium, such as the banners commonly hung over the scorers' table at NBA basketball games or walls surrounding a playing surface(889 sq mm), and advertisements placed on scoreboards at sports arenas and stadiums (395 sq mm).

Table 3 about here

Further analysis in the form of inferential statistics such

as analysis of variance and crosstabulation likelihood ratios are not provided here because of unequal group sizes. As an exploratory query into the topic, it is felt that descriptive results are the most informative and useful.

Discussion and Conclusions

It is clear that at least in Sports Illustrated, marketers receive intended or unintended placement in editorial photographs. Over the one year period studied, over 1,400 placements appeared, with an average of just over 30 per issue (30.53).

From the perspective of a marketer seeking potential exposures and free publicity via such placements, the frequency of these opportunities seems encouraging. Whether due to changes in the publication's use of photography, its editorial policy, or factors that marketers have some control over themselves, there are far more ads, brands, sponsors, and marketing symbols shown in news photos than there were in the past. In fact, while there is no concrete way to test the idea with the data reported here, if these numbers continue to grow as expected, soon there may be reason to worry about clutter among different types of placements.

The likelihood of placement in Sports Illustrated is greatest for those marketers who can establish a presence in the midst of action at sporting scenes. The fact that about 95 percent of the placement photos were set at the location of a sporting activity and most of those were taken with the activity

in progress has obvious implications for brands and marketers
going after placement exposures. Quite simply, the closer to the
center of a news story, or in these cases a sporting event, the
better the chances of being seen. However, the best <u>future</u>
opportunities for certain marketers, such as clothing
manufacturers, may lie in non-settings. Sports editorial
coverage has already begun to shift away from game action to non-
event issues on athletes' personal lives, business dealings, etc.
Ample opportunities in a relatively uncluttered environment would
appear to exist for marketers to get their clothing onto athletes
photographed in these settings. Currently, auto racing and NFL
football offer the most non-event exposure opportunities.

Similarly, the kinds of marketers receiving placements seems
related to their natural centrality to the news matter being
reported on. For sports stories, those products and brands that
are themselves a part of the game appear to have a huge
advantage. Thus, while a wide range of marketers were
represented in <u>Sports Illustrated</u>, it is no surprise that
athletic apparel and athletic equipment both have over twenty
times as many placements as the next largest category, soft
drinks. Innovative approaches and unexpected settings might have
some limited payoff to marketers trying to secure print
placements, but for the most part placements should be consistent
with the subject matter of a photograph and publication. The
same principles and conclusions would probably hold if a marketer
were to think of placements in a audience targeting context.

From a media placement perspective, the results concerning frequency and size of placements raised some interesting issues. Professional football, hockey and baseball lead the list for sports with most placements, giving marketers year around continuity for exposure (Fall, Winter and Summer respectively). For most sports, coverage of professional leagues and events includes more placements than coverage of the same sport on the college or amateur level. This finding may be due to editorial decisions of what is newsworthy or to the more commercial nature of professional sports currently, but college sports are rapidly becoming more marketing savvy, as can be witnessed by college football bowl sponsorships.

The size of a placement is also an important media placement issue in the same sense that the size of a paid advertisement is important. That is, larger exposures are more likely to be noticed and more likely to have some effect. Soccer, tennis and college basketball offered fewer but sizable exposures, offering reach over frequency, in media parlance. Soccer seems to hold the best potential, both because of its current exposure opportunities and because of its ranking as an "up and coming" sport by several polls, including a recent one by ESPN/Chilton (Wolfley, 1996). NBA basketball and track also hold future potential because they tend to receive larger photos and close-up angles.

It is possible that placement items that are in reality quite small might occupy more space than larger items when shown

in a photograph. Overall, however, the placements found in
Sports Illustrated are in proportion to their true size. The
largest ones are for stadium and scoreboard advertisements and
the smallest are ads and logos on clothing. The implication here
is that while small logos and brand symbols appear as placements
with greater frequency, they are not likely to provide the sheer
size (nor impact) of items that are indeed large in reality.

From a journalistic perspective, two issues raised by the
results of this study concern the exposure of controversial
product sponsors such as cigarettes and alcohol and digital
editing of news photographs. Even though tobacco and alcohol
placements appeared less than 50 times during 1994, they tend to
dominate as sponsors in sports such as boxing and auto racing,
sports that receive considerable coverage and attention beyond
Sports Illustrated. Publishers who refuse or who are prohibited
from accepting paid advertising from marketers of controversial
products face a dilemma in publishing editorial photos that
include logos and brand names of these same sponsors. Recent
efforts by the Clinton administration to remove all paid
advertising by cigarette manufacturers from Sports Illustrated
because of its readership among kids forces the very publication
studied here to determine policy on photo exposures. This issue
could disappear if other companies adopt Philip Morris' agreement
to stop placing signage in view of television cameras in sports
arenas (Hwang, 1995).

This conflict leads to a related issue concerning policy on

the digital editing of photos that include the controversial
logos. Technology in the newsroom currently allows photographs
to be digitally re-done quickly and inexpensively. However much
controversy and discussion about policy has emanated from this
technology, as witnessed by the digital altering of photographs
of O.J. Simpson around the time of his arrest on murder charges.
Controversy has already surrounded the digital removal of a
product package/symbol/logo when in 1989 the St. Louis Post-
Dispatch removed a soft drink can in a photo of an award winner
sitting in his office (Rogers, 1989). Television technology,
with a system called "Imadgine" allows producers to digitally add
billboards where they don't exist in the sports arena, or
localize an existing sign with different languages for
internationally televised events (Shapiro, 1996). Publishers and
journalists will continue to face these dilemmas as the use of
placements for brand exposure proliferates.

In conclusion, this paper has offered some initial findings
and ideas about the inclusion of placements or identifiable
brands and marketers in photographs used to report on news
stories in Sports Illustrated. It has identified opportunities
for placement exposure by highlighting top sports, top formats to
achieve exposure, and amount and size of exposures marketers can
expect.

Future research should build on this study by using other
magazines or newspapers and should turn to questions of what
audience effects exposure to such placements might have. Since

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emotions are increasingly found to play important roles in

product purchases (New report, 1996), the positive attitudes

generated from exposures associated with fun, thrilling

activities like sports make for a key variable to study for

future effects research.   As advertising practitioners attempt

to redefine and expand their roles, print placements might be an

area for greater involvement and would seem to fit within the

realm of integrated marketing communications.

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Table 1

Types of Marketers Shown

Type of marketer	Frequency
Athletic apparel/shoes	697
Athletic equipment	429
Soft drinks	28
Beer	24
Cigarettes/tobacco	23
Credit cards	21
Airlines	18
Electronics/stereos	18
Gasoline companies	16
Tires/oil/auto supplies	13
Fast food	12
Business supplies/services	11
Cameras/film	10
Retailers	10
Newspapers	10
Food brands	8
Watches	4
Razors	4
Hotel/motel	4
Phone company	4
Car rental	3
Nonathletic apparel brand	3
Computers	1
Others	37

Table 2

Frequency and Size of Placements by Sport

Sport	# of photos w/ placements	Avg. Size(sq mm)
NFL Football	336	25
NHL Hockey	180	51
Major League Baseball	178	59
College Football	143	20
NBA Basketball	120	86
Skiing	87	58
Auto Racing	70	102
Track and Field	58	58
Tennis	54	149
Soccer	52	454
College Basketball	41	121
PGA Golf	29	28
Bicycle Racing	17	144
Boxing	14	292

Table 3

Frequency and Size of Placement Types

Type of placement	Frequency	Avg. size (sq mm)
Clothing logo	718	31
Equipment logo	386	48
Ad on athlete clothing	127	57
Temporary stadium ad	58	889
Permanent stadium ad	37	161
Ad on automobile	35	149
Event sponsor	33	234
Ad on nonathlete clothing	25	208
Scoreboard ad	7	395

Effects of Celebrity Endorsement
on Brand Recognition and Advertising Liking

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Effects of Celebrity Endorsement
on Brand Recognition and Advertising Liking

Abstract

This study tested the effects of celebrity endorsement on television viewers' recognition of the advertised brand and their liking of the ad. A theoretical model was proposed, in which celebrity figures are assumed to increase audience's attention to ads, and lead to more positive attitudes toward the ads. Both, according to the model, should lead to a higher recognition rate for the brand. A naturalistic quasi-experiment was designed. The data are from content analysis of three years of Super Bowl advertising, 1992-1994, and responses of more than 1,100 randomly selected Super Bowl viewers, who were interviewed through the phone 24-72 hours after the Games. The empirical findings are in general consistent with the hypothesized model.

Effects of Celebrity Endorsement
on Brand Recognition and Advertising Liking

Celebrities in the United States began endorsing products no later than 1864 (Kaikati 1987). A few celebrities appeared in television commercials in the late 1960s, and this became a popular marketing technique in the following decade. Gallup and Robinson (cited in Forkan 1975) reported that 15 percent of prime-time advertising featured celebrities. Three years later, 20 percent to 35 percent of television advertisements featured famous endorsers (*Advertising Age* 1978; *Business Week* 1978). The number of prime-time advertisements featuring celebrities rose 70 percent between the early 1970s and the late 1970s (Gallup and Robinson, cited in Slinker 1984). In the 1980s advertisers used celebrities even more often (Alsop 1987; Kaikati 1987; Kamins, Brand, Hoeke and Moe 1989; Sherman 1985; *Time* 1989), and this trend continued in the early 1990s (Shani and Sandler 1991). Content analysis indicates that American advertisers use celebrities more often than their European and Asian counterparts (Zandpour, Chang and Catalano 1992).

Some ad watchers consider celebrity endorsement "a powerful marketing tool" (Miller 1991, p. 2; Swenson 1987, p. 8) or "the ultimate marketing ploy" (Miller 1989, p. 8). Because of perceived advantages, advertisers who are unable to afford or obtain celebrities use look-alikes and sound-alikes despite the considerable legal risks (Blanket 1981; Borchard 1985; Major 1989; Light and Tilsner 1993).

Celebrities, however, "can become too expensive" (Swenson 1987, p. 8). Even minor stars on a network series commanded $25,000 per commercial in the mid-1980s (Block 1987). Higher prices are considered the number one reason why "some advertisers question the use of sports celebrities" (Shani and Sandler 1991, p. 8). Other risks exist, as well. An endorser's image can fail to mesh with the intended image of a product or fail to appeal to the taste of the target audience. Celebrities may lose popularity or become

overexposed; scandals can cheapen their images (Kaikati 1987; Kent 1987; Swenson 1987). Having had bad experiences with celebrity endorsers, some corporate executives consider the use of them to be "a very risky business" and have vowed not to "enter the celebrity arena again" (Ward 1989, p. S9; also see Miller 1991; Swenson 1987).

Some researchers agree. Based on a questionnaire survey, Hume (1983) wrote an article titled, "Stars Are Lacking Luster as Ad Presenters." Cooper (1984) wrote an article titled, "Can Celebrities Really Sell Products?" Walker, Langmeyer and Langmeyer (1992), titled their journal article, "Do You Get What You Pay For?" The answers to these questions were "no," based on an unpublished study of McCollum/Spielman and Co. and a questionnaire survey of 101 undergraduate students, respectively. Kaikati (1987, p. 101) concluded, "Research findings on the effectiveness of these (celebrity) ads is contradictory." Synthesizing the empirical evidence, he argued that the power of celebrities has declined since the beginning of the 1980s.

But more research is needed in this area, we argue, because of the limited scope of prior studies. The objective of this study is to use a natural design to investigate whether the celebrity advertisements aired during the 1992, 1993 and 1994 Super Bowl games generated higher or lower brand recognition and more or less favorable attitudes toward commercials when compared with non-celebrity ads aired during the same games.

Celebrity Effects on Attitude Toward Commercials

Attitude toward any given commercial has been shown to be an important mediator between input and outcome variables (Calder and Sternthal 1980; Mitchell and Olson 1981; Shimp 1981; MacKenzie, Lutz and Belch 1986).[1] In celebrity effect studies, like in other advertising studies, attitude toward ad often has been used as an indicator of advertising effectiveness (Friedman, Termini and Washington 1976; Atkin and Block 1983; Freiden 1984; Kamins 1989). In popular literature, the regularly publicized Ad

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Meter studies (*USA Today*, 1992,1993,1994) have used it as the sole criterion in deciding the winners and losers of annual Super Bowl game advertising competitions

Several empirical researchers have tested the effect of celebrities on attitude toward advertisements. These studies indicate mixed results. Friedman et al. (1976) reported more favorable attitudes toward celebrity ads than toward non-celebrity ads, but the difference was statistically non-significant. Atkin and Block (1983) found statistically significant effects in the same direction. Freiden (1984) reported statistically non-significant results in the opposite direction: celebrity endorsement had an edge in some situations, but non-celebrity endorsements yielded more favorable attitudes under other conditions. Friedman and Friedman (1979) also indicated that celebrity figures brought more favorable attitudes for some products, with statistically significant interaction effects. A more recent experiment by Kamins (1989) reported a negative albeit statistically non-significant effect.

The empirical evidence on this topic quite obviously is weak. And opportunities also exist for further, more thorough theorizing. Existing theories about celebrity effects focus on attitude toward product rather than on attitude toward advertisement. Early researchers based their theories about the endorsement process on source credibility and source attractiveness variables (Hovland and Weiss 1951-1952; Hovland, Janis and Kelley 1953; McGuire 1985). According to those theories, a message is most effective when a source, or an endorser in the case of advertising, is perceived as credible (trustworthy and believable) and attractive (familiar, likable and similar to a message receiver). McCracken (1989), arguing that these two elements alone could not explain the whole process, proposed a meaning transfer theory. According to McCracken, the image of each celebrity endorser carries a certain cultural meaning in the minds of consumers which may be transferred to an advertised product in the process of advertising. The celebrity, therefore, can help a marketer when the meaning is desirable and the transfer successful.

It is logical to infer that a meaning transfer may occur not only between the endorser and the product, but also between the endorser and the advertisement. Because an advertisement acts as the medium during a transfer, it should be easier to detect the impact on attitude toward the ad than to detect the impact on attitude toward the product. If there is only a small effect on attitude toward the ad, this implies an even smaller effect on the attitude toward the product.

The weak evidence compiled in previous studies may not point to a lack of celebrity effects on ad attitude; the results of these studies may be products of methodological limitations. The earlier experiments, like other experiments studying other aspects of celebrity effects (e.g., Buhr, Simpson and Pryor 1987; Frieden 1982; Friedman and Friedman 1979; Kamins 1990; Misra and Beatty 1990; Mowen and Brown 1981), used print ads as the stimulus. These print ads were produced or altered particularly for the purpose of the experiments. The earlier studies also typically used one brand or one product type per condition in their design, and students as the subjects. Textbook writers and other researchers, including those who have studied celebrity effects (e.g., Fletcher and Bowers 1991; Friedman and Friedman 1979; Haskins and Kendrick 1993; Jackson and Jacobs 1983) have often cautioned against generalizing results from such designs to the effects of "real" television ads in the "real" world. Further, if we accept the premises of the meaning transfer theory, there are additional reasons to seek verification using a different methodology. The transfer may have a better chance to succeed when professionally made, high-quality advertisements are used, and the unusually high involvement level in a laboratory room may artificially facilitate or hinder the transfer. Also, the student subculture may nurture meanings that are different from those perceived by the general population.

Our hypothesis is based on the above discussion about meaning transfer theory and two additional assumptions. First, most advertisers during the 1992-1994 Super Bowl Games were able and careful enough to select spokespeople who were attractive, popular

and likable. Second, those advertisers were able and careful enough to produce effective advertisements that enabled the positive meanings to be transferred from the celebrities to the advertisements. Hence, our hypothesis may be stated as follows:

> H1) The attitude scores for advertisements featuring celebrities should be higher (more favorable) than the attitude scores for advertisements featuring no celebrities.

If, however, celebrity endorsements do indeed help, this information alone is not sufficient. In deciding whether high-price celebrities are worth the price tags that accompany them, advertisers must also ask, "*How much* do they help?" Therefore, our research question:

> Q1) By how much are average attitudes toward celebrity advertisements higher or lower than average attitudes toward non-celebrity advertisements?

Celebrity Effects On Memory

Among some two dozen empirical studies of celebrity endorsement, only a few have examined the impact on consumer awareness or memory. Kamen, Azhari and Kragh (1975) reported consumers' awareness of Amoco's advertising campaign increased after the company introduced John Cash as a spokesman. In Friedman and Friedman's (1979) experiment of print ads, subjects demonstrated a higher recall for celebrity ads than for non-celebrity ads. Ray (1982) cited several Gallup and Robinson studies that credited celebrity ads with a 12 percent higher recall rate than non-celebrity ads, but little is known about the methods or the measurements used in those unpublished studies.

Additional study is needed, if only because of the scarcity of empirical evidence. The lack of recent evidence is particularly disturbing given significantly intensified

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competition in the past decade among media, vehicles and advertisements (Townsend 1988).

Practitioners and researchers often cite celebrity figures' power of attracting audience attention; they say celebrity figures help a commercial to stand out in an increasingly cluttered environment (Kaikati 1987; Ward 1989). We will label this line of thinking the "attention attraction" theory. There should be, we further speculate, two paths in the process. First, when an attractive, popular and familiar person appears in an advertisement, the audience should be more likely to be *exposed* to the advertisement. Second, if the meaning transfer is successful, the advertisement should carry some of those positive meanings; therefore, viewers should be more likely to cognitively *process* the message. As is shown in Figure 1, both paths should give celebrity endorsed brands an advantage in terms of higher awareness and memory.

Figure 1 About Here

Some different methodologies might be applied in testing such theories. For better generalizability, it would be desirable to use multiple products and brands. We might also want to use television advertisements in a natural viewing environment. This is particularly important because attention is a mediating *variable* according to the theory. The often used controlled experiment and print stimuli (e.g., Friedman and Friedman 1979) tend to *fix* subjects' attention at a certain (typically very high) level.

Our second hypothesis is based on the above discussion about attention attraction theory and meaning transfer theory, and on the assumption that most Super Bowl advertisers have done a good job in selecting attractive spokespeople and producing effective advertisements. Hence:

H2) Recognition rates for brands endorsed by celebrities should be higher than recognition rates for brands not endorsed by celebrities.

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Like the first hypothesis, this one is also paired with a research question:

Q2) By how much are the recognition rates of celebrity-endorsed brands higher or lower than recognition rates of other brands?

Design and Measurements

Aside from the typical laboratory experiments and questionnaire surveys, many gigantic experiments are being run every day -- with tens of thousands of television advertisements as the stimuli, millions of audience members as the subjects and thousands of advertisers as the experimenters. All three major elements of television advertising -- advertisements, audience and viewing environment -- are natural and representative. Most of the costs, from those associated with advertising production to fees for media placement, are paid for by the advertisers. This is not, of course, a completely controlled experiment. The subjects are not randomly assigned into different conditions; nor are the stimuli counterbalanced. This is, therefore, a "quasi-experimentation" (Cook and Campbell, 1979) and various techniques of field studies may be employed to take advantage of its strengths and address its weaknesses.

Quasi-experiments typically are incomplete. The independent and dependent variables are not measured, the data are not entered into a computer and the analysis is never conducted. We identified the annual Super Bowl game as one of these quasi-experiments -- but we are able to measure and enter the data, and to complete the analysis.

Spots during the Super Bowl games have been the most highly priced advertising spots during the year; costs approach $1 million for a 30 second placement (Moore 1993, 1994). The games are probably also the most visible advertising event of each year. Not surprisingly, the games have become a point of interest for advertising researchers

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(Pavelchak, Antil and Munch 1988; *USA Today* 1992, 1993, 1994; Zhao, Bleske and Delancy 1993; Zhao, Shen, and Blake 1995).

The implication of such studies may go beyond the games. Some national advertisers use the games to release new advertisements, while others re-run their favorites. In any case, these ads are often of very high quality. Many not-so-good advertisements are also aired by local advertisers. The game is more than a sporting event. As the single highest-rated television program in any given year, it most resembles a festival that many non-sports fans also attend (Garfield 1993). Of course, no single event is representative of all viewing situations. But among single events, the Super Bowl game probably has the most representative audience and arguably presents the widest range in advertising quality.

High ratings allow cost-efficient telephone interviews to be conducted; these are needed to measure audience memory and attitudes, our dependent variables. The unit of analysis in this study is each brand advertised during the games. The dependent variables were measured through survey interviews and then aggregated across respondents. The independent variable was measured by content analyzing the television advertisements taped during the games. Although such a design is rarely seen in advertising research, it has been often used in other disciplines. Agenda setting researchers, for example, typically aggregate survey responses to measure dependent variables, content analyze media coverage to measure independent variables, and use "issue" as the unit of analysis (McCombs and Shaw 1972; Shaw and McCombs 1977). One difference is that we will analyze more than 150 "units" (brands), while agenda setting studies typically analyze fewer than 15 "units" (issues).

Dependent Variables -- Brand Recognition and Advertising Liking. Three telephone interviews were conducted from Monday through Wednesday evenings following the 1992, 1993 and 1994 Super Bowl games. Graduate and undergraduate students enrolled in research classes of a major university conducted telephone surveys of

local residents. Random digit dialing was used to include unlisted numbers. The interviewers asked for that person who had the next birthday in the household. If a call yielded no answer, that number was re-dialed at least three times before being discarded. A total of 1,134 interviews were completed, with an average response rate of 62.6 percent.[2] Each year, more than two thirds of the respondents reported having watched the game[3].

The relatively high ratings support our speculation that the Super Bowl is not a regular sporting event -- that non-sports fans also watch it. Our samples resembled the local population with regard to demographic characteristics. There were no significant differences between those who watched the games and those who did not. No respondents knew beforehand that we would be conducting the interviews after the games, so the viewing situation was completely natural.

Following an introduction, interviewers asked each respondent whether he or she had watched the Super Bowl game, and which part. Those who watched any part of the game were given a list of brand names, which the students recorded during the game and the instructor and teaching assistant verified via video tapes. For each brand, respondents were asked if they remember seeing a commercial for that brand during the game[4]. The recognition (or aided recall) rate for each brand is calculated as the following:

Number of respondents who remembered the brand
--- X 100
Number of respondents who watched the segment
of the program in witch the brand was advertised

Memory could have been measured via free (unaided) recall -- but in most purchasing situations recognition represents sufficient memory retrieval to affect consumer decisions (cf., Lynch and Srull 1982; Bagozzi and Silk 1983). The recognition measure, however, also has its shortcomings. A problem of false alarms exists; respondents may

claim recognition of an ad when they don't actually remember seeing it. To address this concern, interviewers emphasized to respondents that the brands may or may *not* have been advertised during the game. Further, false-alarm tests were conducted in 1992 and 1994. The results indicate a relatively small number and a relatively limited impact of false alarms.[5]

We measured advertising liking by asking those respondents who remembered seeing an ad how good or poor they thought the ad was (see earlier footnote for wording details). Likert scales (1-7 for 1992 and 1994, 1-9 for 1993) were used. To facilitate interpretation, all the liking scores were linearly transformed to a 0-100 scale, where 100 represents the best and 0 represents the poorest. Those scores were then averaged across respondents for each brand for each year.

Experimental studies and conventional surveys often employ multiple items to measure attitudes. The limited length of a telephone interview and the relatively large number of brands involved in this study have forced us to use a single-item measure, which means that an inter-item reliability (Cronbach alpha) can not be calculated. Our measure's reliability is verified in another way: We aggregate likings across tens or hundreds of respondents. Since we consider the respondents to be the coders judging the likability of ads, we might say that our large number of coders minimizes the impact of any individual errors.[6]

Independent Variable -- Celebrity Endorsement. In this study, a celebrity figure was operationalized according to Friedman and Friedman's (1979, p. 63) definition: "An individual who is known to the public (actor, sports figure, entertainer) for his or her achievements in areas other than that of the product class endorsed." By analyzing the commercials taped during the games, coders placed the advertised brands into two categories: Celebrity endorsed (coded 1 for later analysis) and non-celebrity endorsed (coded 0). The results were verified by the researchers. Of the 159 brands advertised

during the three games[7], 36, or 22.6 percent, used celebrity endorsers in at least one of the advertisements aired during the games.

Independent Variable for Comparison -- "Ordinary People" Endorsement. In comparing celebrity endorsed ads with other ads, different responses, if any, could be attributed to the "human" (as supposed to non-human) aspect of those ads rather than the "celebrity" (as supposed to non-celebrity) aspect of the endorsers. To address this concern, a dichotomous independent variable was created: 116 (73 percent) brands that used ordinary people (non-celebrities) as endorsers were coded 1, and others were coded 0. By comparing the impact of this variable with that of the celebrity endorsement variable, we were able to differentiate "celebrity effects," if any, from "human effects."

Control Variables -- Year, Frequency and Product Category. Each year meant a different game, a different list of advertisements, a different class of students interviewed and a different sample of local residents. We realized that when we pooled the data together, there was a chance that differences between the years could confound celebrity effects. To address this concern, we created two dummy variables, Year 1993 and Year 1994 (therefore, 1992 serves as a comparison). We thus controlled for Year in our regression analysis.

Some product categories may use celebrities more often than others, and brands in a certain product category might be more easily remembered than brands in other product categories. Six dummy variables were, therefore, created to represent six product categories --services (such as airline service or financial service); automobile (cars, car dealer, car parts stores); clothes and shoes; health and beauty products; household products (vacuum cleaners, VCRs, mattresses); and food and beverages (soft drinks, beers, restaurants). A seventh category, public announcements (public service organizations, anti-drug and anti-drunk driving messages) served as the comparison group and, therefore, has no particular dummy representation.[8]

Another possible source of contamination is frequency -- a brand that places more ads should be more likely to have a celebrity than a brand airing fewer ads. Celebrity effect, if any, could actually result from high frequency. Frequency, therefore, is controlled in our regression analysis as a continuous variable.

Mediating Variable -- Liking of Ad. While Figure 1 illustrates a theory, it can also be viewed as a path model. A definitive test of the model cannot be conducted in the present study because we did not install cameras in viewers' living rooms to measure attention; otherwise, the design would not have been completely natural. So we tested the model's other half. We tested the mediating effect of liking.

Liking as a mediating variable in the model and liking as a dependent variable measured through telephone interviews should be highly correlated with each other. But conceptually, they are not exactly the same. The telephone interviews gauged that part of attitude that is retrievable, or the attitude of those who remembered. We use it as the dependent variable because that is the part of the attitude most likely to affect a purchase decision. The concept in the path model, however, relates to attitude during watching -- part of which may not be retrievable later.

Every year, *USA Today* recruits a group of consumers to watch the Super Bowl game. They ask these consumers to rate the commercials on a 0-10 scale as they watch them. The results, aggregated across subjects, are called Ad Meter scores (See *USA Today* 1992, 1993, 1994 for details). For our analysis, we linearly transformed the scale to 0-100 to make it comparable with our other variables.

The Ad Meter scores, while conceptually measuring what the path model needs, also have shortcomings. They were measured in a forced viewing laboratory environment, and scores were collected only for the ads scheduled by the networks; scores were not collected for spot ads placed through local affiliates. To compensate for these shortcomings, we added our telephone-measured liking measure. We treated the local

brands as missing cases for Ad Meter scores, and created a dichotomous variable "*USA Today* Missing," to retain these cases in analysis[9].

Analysis and Findings

Most of the brands advertised during the three games were recognized by fewer than one-third of the TV viewers. But quite a few brands stood out from the crowd. Among the 159 brands, the highest recognition rate was 78.3 percent. The lowest was a mere 5.3 percent. The median recognition rate was 23.6 percent. Respondents in general liked the ads they remembered, generating a median liking score of 57.3 on a scale of 0-100. The best ad was perceived as really good; it received a score of 91.6 points. The worse ad was not terribly bad, at 21.9 points.

Table 1 About Here

Table 1 shows that celebrity-endorsed brands yielded an average recognition rate of 40.9 percent -- 16.2 percentage points higher than the 24.7 percent average recognition for other brands (p<.0001). That is, celebrity-endorsed brands yielded a 65.6 percent higher recognition rate than the other brands. This is much higher than the 12 percent reported by Gallup and Robinson (cited in Ray 1982). The differences between the two kinds of ads may not be interpreted as a general "human endorser" effect, because the "ordinary" people endorsers brought only a slightly higher recognition rate (29.2 percent vs. 26.1 percent), and the difference was not statistically significant.

Table 2 About Here

The viewers who recognized the brands liked celebrity-endorsed ads more than the ads without a celebrity endorser (Table 2). The liking score for celebrity-endorsed brands was 7.3 points, or 13.1 percent higher than the score given to other brands (p<.0001).

The brands endorsed by "ordinary" people, however, had virtually the same liking scores as the brands without a non-celebrity endorser (p=.858). So it is the celebrity element, not the human element, that appears to be making a difference.

Two-way ANOVA, with celebrity endorsement and ordinary-people endorsement as the two independent variables, detected no interaction between the two, and produced essentially the same results as reported above.

Table 3 About Here

To control possible complications, and to compare the effects of celebrity endorsement with other variables, we constructed five regression equations, as shown in Table 3. Equations 1 and 4 replicated the ANOVA findings. The constant for Equation 1, for example, indicates that brands without celebrity endorsers have a 24.7 percent recognition, while the regression coefficient indicates that the rate for celebrity-endorsed brands is higher by 16.2 percentage points.

Equations 2 and 5 controlled for Year, Product Category, Frequency and Ordinary Endorser. Table 3 provides detailed statistics so that practitioners may use the equations to calculate the expected responses to particular advertisements (c.f., Cohen and Cohen 1983 and Pedhazur 1982). The main evidence relating to our hypotheses and research questions, however, is found in the bottom half of the table.

After the possible complicating variables were controlled, the two equations still indicated sizable effects of celebrity endorsement: celebrity-endorsed brands have a 10.9 percentage point advantage in terms of recognition, and a 5.4 point advantage in terms of liking, and both effects are statistically significant. In other words, celebrity endorsement brought a 44 percent higher recognition, and a 9.68 percent higher liking. These are probably underestimated due to multicolinearity, while the simple regression estimates in Equations 1 and 4 may have been inflated by the confounding factors. The true effects on

recognition, therefore, should be somewhere between 10 and 16 percentage points, or 45 to 65 percent. The true effects on liking should be between 5.5 and 7 points on a 0-100 scale, or 10-13 percent.

While these figures may be helpful to those practitioners who often wonder about the expected return from investing in celebrities, additional information may be obtained from comparisons. According to Equation 2, for example, placing an additional ad may increase the recognition by more than five percentage points, while using a celebrity can add twice as many points. Therefore, if the goal is higher awareness and recognition, an advertiser may compare the cost of obtaining celebrity endorsement with the price of tripling the current frequency. The less expensive choice should be the more attractive one.[10]

The choice would be much easier if the goal were to win more favorable attitudes. While higher frequency brought an increased recognition -- which implies a larger number of people who have some kind of attitudes (favorable or unfavorable) -- higher frequency does not affect the overall direction of the attitudes. The coefficient in Equation 5 has a negative sign. By contrast, using a celebrity has a clear, positive impact of 5.4 points on attitudes.

Using the standardized beta weights (in parentheses, Equations 2 and 5) to compare the predictive powers of independent variables, we see that celebrity endorsement is one of the strongest predictors of recognition and liking.

The theoretical model in Figure 1 is supported by a comparison between Equations 3 and 2. When the path through advertising liking is blocked by controlling three additional variables, all indicators of celebrity effects (regression coefficients, beta weights and incremental R squared) clearly decreased. This decrease supports the speculation that advertising liking is an important mediating variable. The remaining effects of celebrity, however, are still substantial and statistically significant (Equation 3), implying the existence of another path, presumably through attention.

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Discussion

Both of our hypotheses were supported in our data. The attention attraction theory assumes that celebrity figures may help to increase recognition, but only if the endorser is attractive. The meaning transfer theory assumes that celebrity endorsement may have a positive effect on recognition and attitude, but only if advertisers transfer the right meaning from the right person to the right product. Our findings imply that most (but not necessarily all) celebrity-using advertisers during the 1992-1994 Super Bowl games did a good job in those regards. We expect, pending further verification from other researchers and different methods, that celebrities also can be effective in some other situations when advertisers choose and execute well.

In answering the two research questions, we estimated that during the 1992-1994 Super Bowl games celebrity endorsement brought a higher recognition rate by 10 to 16 points, or 45 percent to 65 percent, and a better liking score by 5.5 to 7 points, or 10 percent to 13 percent. Compared with the previous findings, these estimations appear large -- particularly with regard to recognition. As the advertising environment has become increasingly crowded, celebrities appear to be playing a larger role in helping advertisements to stand out. Also, most of the prior studies were done in forced exposure environments using print ads; therefore, the subjects' attention level could have been higher than in a natural TV viewing situation. The fact that we allowed attention to vary naturally in our study may partially explain the larger effects we observed.

We might infer, therefore, that the "believers" in celebrity endorsement were right -- that it can, indeed, be a powerful marketing tool despite the contradicting opinions of other researchers and advertisers.

We speculated that celebrity endorsement helps increase audience awareness of a brand because celebrity endorsed ads attract more attention and are liked more (Figure 1). The partial evidence from our data is consistent with this model. Hopefully, future studies will provide a more definitive test by properly measuring attention as a mediating variable.

Our experience with this study suggests that it is not only desirable but also feasible to conduct a low-budget study which features a natural viewing environment, a somewhat representative audience and a large number of "real" advertisements of a variety of qualities and product types. While field studies such as this one typically are weaker than controlled experiments in making definitive causal inference, more convincing evidence may be collectively produced when future studies employ different controls. More natural studies are also needed to look into the effects on attitude toward brand and buying intention, to investigate whether the findings of this study can be generalized to a national audience or non-Super Bowl/sports events, and to test different kinds of effects on different audience groups or for different product types[11]. Such studies may contribute another dimension to our knowledge about the effects of celebrity endorsement. Further, when our *collective* knowledge relies both on lab experiments and field studies, it may benefit from the strengths of both and avoid the weaknesses of either. Both the internal *and* the external validities may be stronger.

Notes

[1]   In advertising researchers use the word "mediating" to refer to what statisticians typically call "interaction effect." For example, Kamins (1989, pp. 34-35) wrote about the "mediating effect of product type," when he theorized that, depending on the types of products, celebrity endorsement may have different effects. In this paper we follow other researchers (e.g., Mitchell and Olson, 1981; MacKenzie, Lutz, and Belch, 1986) who would refer to variable Z as "a mediating variable between X and Y" when they theorized that X affects Z and Z affects Y.

[2]   The sample size for each year was 254 for 1992, 327 for 1993, and 547 for 1994. The response rates were 56.9 for 1992, 65.3 for 1993, and 65.6 for 1994, according to the following formula:

number of completed interviews

----

total number attempted - known business/non-working phones

This is a conservative estimate, because an unknown number of business and non-working phones were not detected, and remained in the "non-response" category, therefore inflated the denominator.

[3]   The percentage for each year was 65.4, 68.5, and 64.7, respectively

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[4]   The typical question wording is: "I am going to read you a list of automobile related commercials that may or may NOT have appeared on NBC (for 1993) during the Super Bowl broadcast. For each of them, please tell me if you remember seeing it during that period. If you do remember seeing it, please tell me how good you thought the ad was on a scale of 1 to 9, with 9 being extremely good, 5 average, and 1 extremely poor. The first one is a commercial for Raleigh Toyota Dealer. Did you see it on TV on Sunday evening?"

[5]   In 1994, we selected 7 brands that were not advertised during the game but were major competitors of the advertised brands. The false-alarm rate for all respondents was 8.1% according to the 7 tests. In 1992, all respondents were asked about each commercial that appeared in any part of the game, regardless which segment of the game a respondent had watched. If a respondent reported seeing a brand that was NOT advertised during the segment(s) that he or she had watched, it was considered a false alarm. The false-alarm rate for 1992 according to those tests is 12.8%. Similar tests were not available for the 1993 survey.

    For 1992 and 1994 surveys, we also re-calculated the recognition rate and liking score for each brand weighted by each respondent's correction rate in false-alarm tests. That is, respondents were "trusted" to different degrees -- those who were wrong in every false-alarm tests were eliminated from the calculation, those who got every question right were weighted 100%, and those who got half of the questions right were weighted 50%. The correlation between the weighted and un-weighted scores is .91 for the recognition measure and .99 for the liking measure. Those results suggest that false alarms, while a low frequency phenomenon, also occurred rather randomly, therefore did not significantly affect the aggregated recognition and liking scores.

Because the weighted scores were not available for 1993, in this paper we report the results based on un-weighted scores from the three years. A parallel analysis was conducted using the weighted scores of 1992 and 1994 combined with the un-weighted scores of 1993, which gave essentially the same results.

[6]   Inter-coder reliability may be estimated by calculating average correlation coefficients between each pair of coders (respondents). It is difficult for this study because we have tens or hundreds of coders for each of 159 brands. It is also unnecessary because the errors of any individual coders should not have a big impact on the scores aggregated across large number of coders.

[7]   The number of brands were 52, 56, and 51, from each year. They do not include those promotional ads for movies and television shows. While well known actresses and/or actors appeared in those ads, they are not "celebrity endorsers" defined by Friedman and Friedman. They are in fact part of the product being advertised. Those ads were therefore eliminated from the analysis.

[8]   Discussions of dummy variable in regression analysis may be found in Pedhazur and Pedhazur (1982), and Cohen and Cohen, (1983).

[9]   See Cohen and Cohen (1983), Ch. 7, for details of dummy treatment of missing cases.

[10]   This comparison is based on the average celebrity effects and average frequency effects during Super Bowl games. So a decision maker should also consider other factors,

such as a particular advertiser's ability to obtain and make use of appropriate celebrity, and his or her ability to execute an effective schedule with increased frequency.

[11]   Some controlled experiments have hypothesized, tested, and/or found interaction effects between celebrity endorsement and other variables such as sidedness of argument (Kamins, 1989), product type (Friedman and Friedman, 1979; Mowen and Brown, 1981; Misra and Beatty, 1990), media vehicle (Freiden, 1992); and the spokesperson's gender or the audience age (Atkin and Block, 1983; Freiden, 1984).

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Figure 1:
A Model of Celebrity Endorsement Effects
on Ad Liking and Brand Recognition

Brand
Recognition

Attention

Liking of
Commercial

Celebrity
Endorsement

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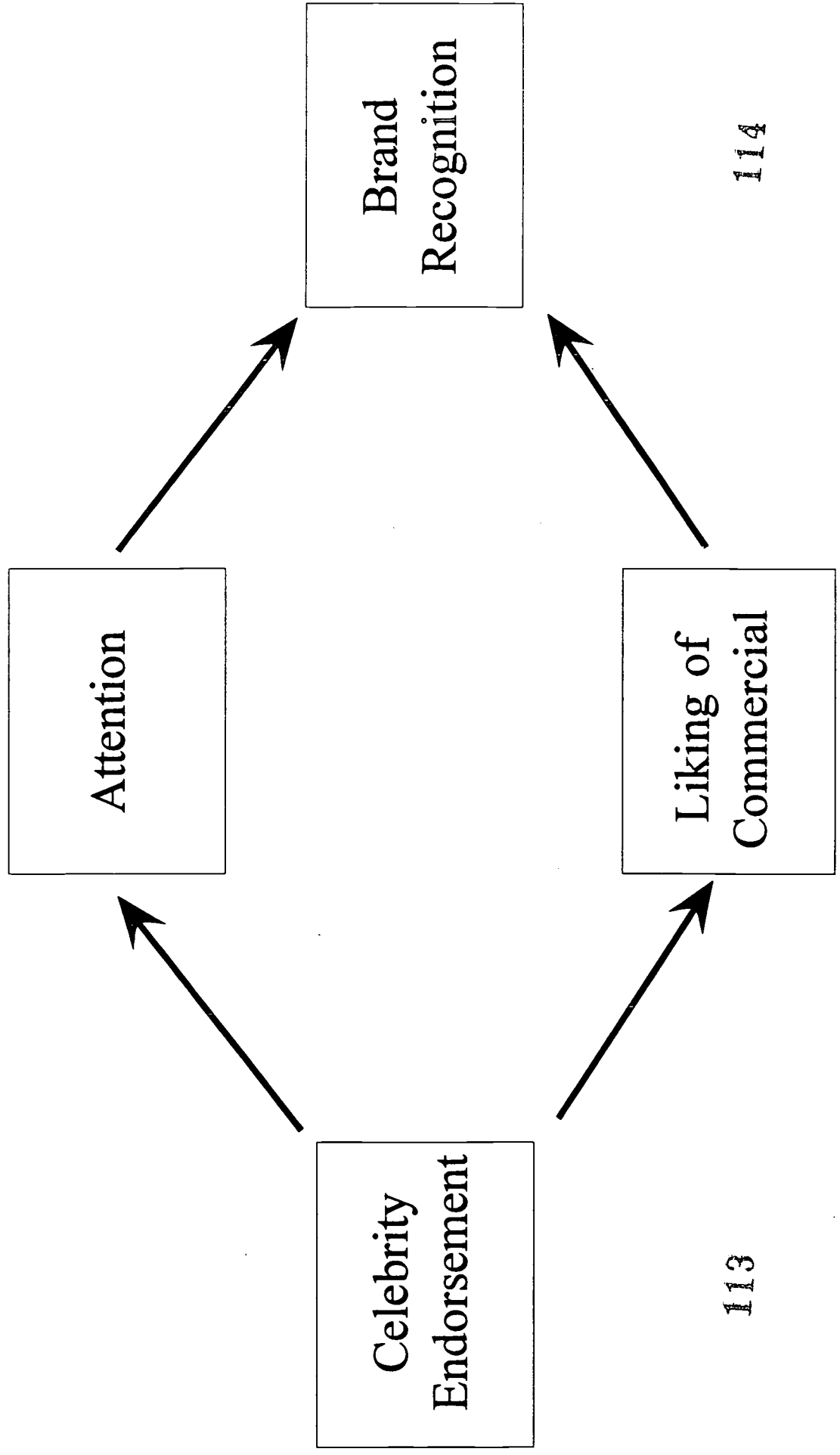
Table 1
Effects of Celebrity and "Ordinary" People Endorsements
On Brand Recognition (One-Way ANOVA Analysis)

	Celebrity Endorsers (f=38.6, df=1/157, p<.0001)		Ordinary People Endorsers (f=1.28, df=1/157, p=.2594)	
	Used	Not Used	Used	Not Used
Mean Recognition (%)	40.9	24.7	29.2	26.1
Number of Brands	36	123	116	43
Standard Deviation	20.2	11.2	16.0	12.0

Table 2
Effects of Celebrity and "Ordinary" People Endorsements
On Liking of Advertisement (One-Way ANOVA Analysis)

	Celebrity Endorsers (f=17.8, df=1/157, p<.0001)		Ordinary People Endorsers (f=1.28, df=1/157, p=.2594)	
	Used	Not Used	Used	Not Used
Mean Liking (0-100 scale)	63.6	56.2	58.0	57.7
Number of Brands	36	23	116	43
Standard Deviation	10.2	8.9	9.8	9.4

Table 3: Celebrity Effects on Brand Recognition and Liking of Advertisement (Multiple Regression Analysis)

Across: Dependent / Down: Independent	Equation 1 Recognition	Equation 2 Recognition	Equation 3 Recognition	Equation 4 Liking	Equation 5 Liking
Constant	24.73 ***	16.06 ***	-4.79 ***	56.17 ***	58.41 ***
[a]Year 1993		.93 (.03)	1.50 (.05)		-0.22 (-.01)
Year 1994		-1.21 (-.04)	-0.28 (-.01)		-0.98 (-.05)
[b]Service		-3.80 (-.10)	-6.07 (-.16)		-1.78 (-.08)
Auto-Related		-3.76 (-.10)	-6.15 (-.17)		-2.37 (-.10)
Shoe & Cloth		11.71 (.19)*	.94 (.02)		11.46 (.30)**
Health & Beauty		-6.18 (-.13)	-4.98 (-.11)		-8.44 (-.29)*
House Product		-2.33 (-.04)	-7.67 (.09)		3.60 (.09)
Food & Beverage		8.16 (.23)*	3.19 (.09)		1.59 (.07)
Frequency		5.19 (.36)***	4.02 (.28)***		-0.10 (-.01)
Ordinary Endorser		2.05 (.06)	1.56 (.05)		-1.03 (-.05)
USA Today Liking			.09 (.05)		
USA Today Missing			-7.04 (-.22)***		
Ad Liking			.43 (.27)***		
Celebrity Endorser	16.20 (.44)***	10.89 (.29)***	7.11 (.19)**	7.34 (.31)***	5.44 (.24)**
Incr. R² Due To Celebrity (in %)	19.52***	7.12***	2.67**	10.12***	4.48**
Total R² (in %)	19.52***	54.14***	64.71***	10.12***	31.38***

(Continued in the next page)

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Notes for Table 3

Cell Means are regression coefficients and (standardized beta weights) unless otherwise stated.

An empty cell means that the indpendent variable was not entered into the equation.

[a] The two Year variables were dummy coded, with 1992 as the "comparison" year.

[b] The six Product Category variables were dummy coded, with Public Service Announcement as the comparison category.

*:   p<.05
**:   p<.01
***:   p<.001

The Impact of Age of Immigration and Length of Time in the U. S. on South Florida Immigrants' Use of Spanish Language Media

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Abstract

A study of Hispanics in the South Florida area showed that Spanish language and media usage varies depending upon place of birth (US vs. out-of-the country), age at time of migration, and length of time in the US. Spanish is used significantly more often in day to day activities by foreign-born Hispanics. Not surprisingly, the younger one was at time of migration, the greater preference the immigrant has for English language media. Additionally, preference for Spanish language information seems to be greater among those who have been in the US for a shorter period of time.

The earliest literature on targeting the Hispanic market appears to date to 1969 (Med-Mark). Subsequently, the topic became fodder for dissertations (Cabarallo, 1970; Fleitas, 1976; and Pijanowski, 1979) prior to the launch of mainstream academic research in the late 70s and early 80s. However, research in the field is still minimal compared to the magnitude of the market's growth. In 1970, the Hispanic population represented 4.4% of the US population; it had doubled by 1990. Today, Hispanic-Americans represent 9.8% of the US population and are a very lucrative group (Livingston, 1992; Zate, 1994). The dynamics of this market, with a combined purchasing power of $190 billion, has attracted marketing efforts by most multinational corporations including Proctor and Gamble, McDonald's and AT&T (Zbar, 1994). They believe that the Hispanic market represents a potential for increased market share and growth opportunity. Thus, promotional expenditures continue to grow. In just one year, 1993 to 1994, gross advertising expenditure in Spanish language media grew 15 percent. In 1994 the top 50 leading Hispanic market advertisers spent $276.6 million; total US Spanish language advertising was $952.8 million (Zate, 1994).

This increased interest in the Hispanic market only exacerbates the question of how one should effectively market to the US Hispanic population. Despite attempts by social researchers, marketers remain divided on how to best reach this market (Fisher, 1995). This is compounded by two factors: studies indicating that the second generation is overwhelmingly competent in English (Viglucci & Casimir, 1993) and a diverse and growing Hispanic middle class. Additionally, studies have found that most children of

South Florida immigrants prefer English over Spanish; yet, they still speak Spanish well or very well (Viglucci & Casimir, 1993). Simultaneously, a number of upscale publications have flourished. These include *Imagen*, a Spanish language women's magazine geared to readers who drive Mercedes and shop at Saks (Pomice, 1989) bilingual, regional monthly, *Miami Mensual*, and *Vista*, an English supplement carried in 28 newspapers.

While there is some belief that general audience media covers both bilingual Hispanics and English-dominant Hispanics rather well, there is general agreement that general-audience media, especially television networks, under-deliver programming aimed at the Spanish-dominant Hispanic. It is this group that Univision and other Spanish-language media outlets are trying to target (Burgi, 1994). However, surveys have shown that the more acculturated Hispanics watch as much, if not more, English-language television than Spanish-language television. According to Nielsen Media Research, English-language prime time TV captures 58 percent of viewing by Hispanic adults age 18 and up (Fisher, 1995). Additionally, nine of the top twenty rated US household shows are common to the Hispanic market: these include *Roseanne*, *Home Improvement*, *Coach* and *Murphy Brown* (BBDA, 1993). In addition, *Beverly Hills 90210* was ranked as the number one television program among Hispanic households for the 1993-1994 season (McClellan, 1995). This seems to belie comments such as: "if you are talking the Hispanic mass market, it's Spanish preferred" (Whitefield, 1995) and "if you want to increase sales among Hispanics, talk to them in Spanish language media" (Gonzales, 1988).

This paper attempts to demonstrate that the dominant language or the language of preference of Hispanics is determined by three factors: first, whether the Hispanic individual was born in the US or whether he/she was born in a foreign country; second, the age at which the Hispanic immigrant first arrived in the United States; and third, how long the Hispanic individual has lived in the United States--in essence, his/her acculturation level. Based on the above, the paper argues that a marketing approach conducted entirely in Spanish will not effectively reach the South Florida Hispanic market.

Background & Literature Review

Many professional Hispanic marketers agree that the success of a Hispanic-targeted campaign depends on knowing cultural nuances when targeting this group (Waldrop, 1992). However, this alone will not do. Markets may also ignore consumers who do not rely on Spanish-language media, leaving acculturated, higher-income Hispanics to settle for concealment or vague identification with mostly Anglo characters in general market advertising (Wynter, 1995).

For years, many advertising professionals have claimed that there is no such thing as Hispanics who prefer to speak English. Advertisers have placed consumers at the two extremes of a straight line: they are either part of the general market, or they are part of the Spanish-language market. Those in the general market are targeted as their Anglo counterparts; those in the Spanish-language market are targeted in their mother tongue. However, by dividing consumers into these two extremes, marketers overlook a

large segment of the Hispanic population: the English-language dominant Hispanic (Jauregui, 1989; Roberts, 1990).

Another common marketing belief is that only the older Hispanic views Hispanic television on a regular basis, relying on Spanish language media for information and entertainment . However, research conducted by Univision found that viewership of the 18-34 year-old audience increased 66 percent between 1992 and 1994 (Coe, 1995). Additionally, merchants have readily recognized that many of the consumers "buy what they see on Anglo TV" (Weinstein, 1990). Thus, Hispanics are using both languages.

The most commonly referred to language usage classifications are those set forth by Segal and Sosa and those conceptualized by Conill Advertising. The first is based on acculturation and uses the concept of Acculturation Influence Groups -- AIGs (Segal and Sosa, 1983). The second is based on the dominant/preferred language and classifies Hispanics as Hispanic users of Spanish-media only (HUSOs), English media users only (EMUSOs), or Bilingual English-Spanish media users (BESMUs) (Feuer, 1988). It has been estimated that the BESMUs represent just under half of all Hispanics in the US. As one can see from the following graph, the two classifications are compatible.

English-language networks have already begun tapping this special group of Hispanics. Ed Baruch, president of Baruch/BET Entertainment, says that his company, which produces programs geared to Hispanic and black audiences, will produce 25 percent more programming targeted to Hispanics for English-language networks this year than last (Coe, 1995). Nevertheless, many marketers still believe that this group can be reached effectively through traditional English-language media. Only a few of the large multinationals are creating English-language spots featuring Hispanics or Hispanic themes: McDonald's was one of the first companies to do so; Coca-Cola Co. and Miller Brewing have followed (Fisher, 1995).

It is the middle group, the AIG IIs, which marketers find most challenging. The term "one-and-a-half" generation was coined by Cuban sociologist Ruben Rumbaut. He describes this generation as "Children who were born abroad but are being educated and come of age in the United States." He defines their unique problem as having to cope with two crisis-producing and identity-defining transitions: (1) adolescence and the task of managing the transition from childhood to adulthood, and (2) acculturation and the task of managing the transition from one sociocultural environment to another. (Perez-Firmat, 1994). Perez-Firmat uses Rumbaut's concept to define the ""one-and-a-half" generation" as those Cubans who were born in Cuba but raised in the United States, thereby belonging to an intermediate immigrant generation whose members spent their childhood or adolescence outside of the United States but grew into adults in America. He explains that since the "one-and-a-half" generation is "marginal" to both its adopted and native cultures, individuals in the "one-and-a-half" generation are

unique in that they find it possible to circulate within both their new and old cultures (1994). Thus, he claims that the "one-and-a-half" generation is neither a result of acculturation nor of transculturation, but biculturation. Biculturation not only implies a contact of cultures, it describes a condition where the two cultures achieve a balance that makes it difficult to determine which is the dominant and which is the subordinate culture (Perez-Firmat, 1994). This group is able to read, write, speak, and understand both languages. They switch from one culture to the other and do not even realize that their code-switching ability is unique to them.

Concurrent with continued immigration, US society is undergoing a number of changes. While questions of assimilation and acculturation were dominant within our society for a number of years, three major factors have caused the demise of a central dominating society in today's milieu: advances in mass communication providing people with diverse sources of information and influence; increased access to transportation and telecommunications, making it easier for immigrant groups to remain in touch with their native countries; and, a wide selection of foreign goods and services. These factors, together with the minority group's attempt at preserving a large portion of its cultural life while functioning within a host society, better known as the "cultural pluralism model of assimilation", has turned the United States into a country where a cohesive society into which migrant groups can assimilate no longer exists (Rose, 1992). Moreover, extensive research has shown that Hispanics have resisted assimilation into the American mainstream: Hispanics have retained their language, cultures, and traditions (Livingston, 1992). In truth, part of this may be due to the continuous immigration of

Cuban, Puerto Rican, and Mexican-born to the United States. These immigrants continue to bring with them the traditional cultural customs, strengthening the sense of culture already present among their compatriots.

Despite the above, a great deal of research continues to measure levels of Hispanic acculturation/assimilation (Burgi, 1994; Fisher, 1995). While various factors have been considered – age, education, income, media usage patterns, language preference, time in the United States, and differences in nationality – language remains a key factor (Felix-Ortiz, 1994; Rose, 1992; O'Guinn et al, 1986; Bixler-Marquez, 1985). One of the most disseminated conclusions is that which attributes Hispanics' English learning and speaking processes to two factors: age at time of arrival to the United States and length of time in the United States (Veltman, 1988). This same report indicates that English-language media usage among Hispanics is related to age; as one gets older they will prefer Anglo media over Spanish-media. More recently, a study of Texan Hispanics indicated that younger Hispanics preferred to speak English in the home and watch English language television and listen to English language radio (Melanson & Hudson, 1995).

While South Florida continues to be home to Hispanics from various nationalities, the Cuban-American population in South Florida is unsurpassed by any other Hispanic subgroup. 1994 census figures and projections indicate the US Cuban population at 1.2 million, with 57% residing in Miami, Florida (US Bureau of the Census, SRC, 1995). It is the third largest Hispanic enclave in the US and represents 12 billion dollars in

purchasing power. Consequently, the South Florida market in general, and the Cuban market specifically, are niche markets which should be better understood.

The purpose of this research was to determine whether or not the South Florida market reflected Veltman's conclusions. Accordingly, we tested the following hypotheses:

1) A difference in language preference exists between US born Hispanics and foreign-born Hispanics: US born Hispanics should favor English language over Spanish and vice versa.

2) Age at the time of arrival to the United States plays a key role in determining language preference among foreign-born Hispanics: Hispanics who first arrived in the US at the age of 13 or younger will predominantly prefer English as their first language. This group can be considered the English-language dominant group. Hispanics who arrived in the US between the ages of 14 through 18 will continue to have a solid background in Spanish but will be fluent in English. Their language preference will consist of a Spanish/English blend. Hispanics in this group can be classified as bilingual. Hispanics who first arrived in the US at the age of 19 or older have a well-defined knowledge of the Spanish language; it will be difficult for them to learn English. As such, they will favor Spanish language media and make up the Spanish-language dominant group.

3) Length of time in the US is a contributing factor in language preference among Hispanics; those who have been in the US for ten years or less will rely on

Spanish-language media predominantly while those who have been in the US for a longer period of time will favor English-language media.

Methodology

A quantitative study was conducted during the summer of 1995 in the Sweetwater section of Miami, Florida. This area is 80.9 percent Hispanic, primarily Cuban-American. The sample data was drawn from a judgment sample of 151 Hispanic respondents. Since the Cuban-American population tends to be highly religious (Roman Catholic) questionnaires were distributed to every tenth person attending mass at a local church. Church attendees were asked if they were Hispanic or of Hispanic background. If the reply was affirmative, they were asked to participate in the research. Given the small number sample and the limitations thereof, the results of this survey are in no way conclusive. However, they can be used as pilot studies for future in-depth research of the South Florida Hispanic market. The demographic characteristics on the sample are shown in Table 1.

(Table 1 about here)

The survey was designed to determine whether the respondent was foreign or US born. Respondents who were foreign-born were subclassified based on their age upon the arrival in the United States. During the analysis, length of time in the United States was obtained by subtracting the respondents' arrival age from the respondents' age

Comparison tests were done based on these three differentiating categories. Variables included: language used daily, at home, and at work; hours per week spent

watching English and/or Spanish-language television; hours per week spent listening to English and/or Spanish-language radio; newspaper readership; language of preference to obtain important information; and language of preference for entertainment /pleasure. Participants in the survey were also given the choice to complete the questionnaire in either Spanish or English. The choice of questionnaire language was in itself part of the research.

Findings

Hypothesis 1 predicted that US born Hispanics would favor English and that foreign-born Hispanics would favor Spanish. As indicated in Table 2, there is a significant difference between US born and foreign-born Hispanics as to whether the respondent speaks English or Spanish in most day-to-day activities. The notable exceptions are: language spoken in the workplace, hours listening to radio, and newspaper readership. Ergo, the daily language preference between the two groups is different, as is the language spoken at home, language of their favorite radio program, and overall television viewership. Not surprisingly, there is also a significant difference between their language choice for information and entertainment. In all cases, foreign-born Hispanics prefer to speak Spanish; US born Hispanics prefer to use English. In line with general industry information, this study confirms that newspaper readership is less than fifty percent among both US and foreign-born Hispanics.

(Table 2 about here)

Hypothesis 2 predicted that age at time of arrival to the United States would play a key role in determining language preference among foreign-born Hispanics. This proved to be true: significant differences in language preference exists among the various age group classifications (see Table 3). Foreign-born Hispanics who were age 13 or younger when they first arrived in the US prefer to use English in their daily activities; those who were over 19 years of age upon arrival prefer to use Spanish as their day to day communication language.

Those who were 18 or less upon arrival tend to speak both English and Spanish at home; those who were 19 or older speak Spanish. This is even more pronounced for language spoken at work: those who were 30 or under upon arrival speak English or Spanish and English; those who were 31 or older upon arrival speak Spanish.

Similarly, media habits are significantly different for English-language radio, with those respondents who were 30 or less upon arrival listening to more English-language radio than those who were 31 or older. On the other hand, hours spent listening to Spanish-language radio are not significantly different. However, preference regarding Spanish vs. English language stations and programming is significantly different by age. Hispanics who arrived in the US at the age of 19 or older prefer to listen to Spanish-language radio. Those who were 18 or less upon arrival in the US prefer listening to English-language radio.

There is also a significant difference between respondents' English-language television viewing habits based on arrival age. Those who were less than 19 upon arrival watch more English-language television than those who were 19 and older. Just as for

radio listening, there is no significant difference in the amount of time respondents spend watching Spanish-language television; however, there are significant differences in preference for TV station and programming: those who were 30 or less upon arrival prefer English-language television. The research also reveals that there is no significant difference in arrival age and newspaper readership.

(Table 3 about here)

One of the most significant findings in this study is the choice of language in which foreign-born Hispanics prefer to obtain important information or be entertained. Foreign-born respondents who were less than 14 years old upon their arrival in the US feel comfortable obtaining important information or being entertained in either language. The same applies for those who were 14-18 upon their arrival. Members of the group who were 19-30 upon arrival feel comfortable getting information or being entertained in Spanish and Spanish or English. Those in the 31+ arrival age group prefer to obtain important information and be entertained in Spanish. Of note, only those respondents whose arrival age was less than 14 years routinely answered the questionnaire in English.

Hypothesis 3 predicted that the longer foreign-born Hispanics had been in the United States, the more likely they will be to prefer English for the delivery of information. This was tested by comparing the length of stay in the United States for three groups: those who prefer that the information be in Spanish, those who prefer the information to be in English, and those who are indifferent as to language. The three groups were compared by means of analysis of variance. First , we tested whether the three groups

overall differed significantly in length of stay. Second, if they did, we compared all possible pairs of groups to determine which pairwise differences were significant.

Table 4 shows the results of the tests. The overall analysis of variance was significant at the .01 level. Two of the three pairwise comparisons showed statistically significant differences at the .05 level. Respondents who preferred Spanish language information had been significantly less time in the US than either those who preferred English or were indifferent as to which language was used. Those who preferred English or were indifferent had not been in the US significantly different lengths of time. Thus, preference for Spanish language information seems to be greater among those who have been in the United States for a shorter period of time, and these individuals are less likely to be language indifferent or to prefer English. On the other hand, preference for English or Spanish-and-English delivery appears to be more a matter of life style than of length of stay.

(Table 4 about here)

Discussion and Implications

Extensive research has been conducted to determine which media outlets are the most appropriate communication channels when marketing to Hispanics; yet, given the diverse results, communication professionals have not been able to reach a consensus on media choices. Guernica and Kasperuk argue that "Spanish language media are an important part of the US Hispanic lifestyle. The one trait that best defines the Hispanic market-use of the Spanish language-also characterizes the most effective

way to reach it-through the Spanish language media" (1982, pp. XII). Their reasoning for favoring Spanish-language media is based on the belief that "Spanish programming elicits an emotional response from the Hispanic audience that is missing in English language media...[Hispanics] ties to Hispanic language and culture have been demonstrably enduring" (1982, pp. 5). However, Hispanics' ties to the Spanish language may not be enduring in practice. As found in this survey, 51 percent of Hispanics were Spanish-dominant, 35 percent were English-dominant, and 14 percent bilingual. Thus, the use of Spanish language is not homogeneous; the common bond includes the greater cultural context of history, food, art and music. It would appear, however, to be " more effective to advertise to Hispanics in their dominant language, whether this is Spanish or English" (Hernandez, 1992).

The basic premise of all communication theory includes a source, a transmitter, a signal, and a receiver. Fundamental to all communication models is the ability of the receiver to decode the signal sent by the source. If this can not be achieved, communication has failed (Severin &Tankard, 1992). Therefore, Hispanics should be targeted in the language with which they feel most comfortable. Hispanics who have become more acculturated and prefer to communicate in English should not, by any means, be regarded less of a Hispanic than one who prefers to communicate in Spanish more often than English.

Towards that end, the emergence of English-language print media as a viable Hispanic marketing tool has clearly created a rift in the ranks of marketers (Pomice, 1989). Next year, five new magazines for Hispanic women will be introduced. Two of the

magazines, *Latina y Moderna*, will be bilingual, and the other three, including one which has yet to be named and backed by *People* magazine, will be published in English. The target market for these publications will be Hispanics who feel more comfortable with English than with Spanish, or acculturated Hispanics (Martin, 1995).

Conclusions

The findings of this research, though not conclusive, support the hypotheses presented.

1)   A difference exists in the language most commonly used in day to day activities by foreign-born Hispanics and US born Hispanics., with foreign-born Hispanics preferring to use Spanish.

2)   Age at time of migration (arrival in the US) is a determining factor in the language preference of foreign-born Hispanics. Foreign-born Hispanics whose arrival age is 13 and under tend to prefer the English language. Those Hispanics who arrived in the United States between the ages of 14-30 were old enough to retain their Spanish fluency, yet young enough to learn the English language. Those foreign-born Hispanics belonging to this group form the bilingual group of Hispanic-Americans and switch from one language to the other without preference. Foreign-born Hispanics aged 31 and older upon their arrival to the US experienced a slower process of acculturation; they prefer the Spanish-language.

3) The length of time in the US also determines Hispanics language preference, specifically in the language of choice when obtaining important information.

This study should be refined and replicated on a projectable basis. If the results hold true, marketers should be counseled that: a) Advertising to Hispanics is more effective when done in their dominant language, be it English or Spanish ;b) when targeting the 1.5 generation - the use of English-language media is the best choice if and only if the message includes a Hispanic cultural allusion; and c) Spanish-language media should be used to target first generation immigrants who have recently arrived in the U.S. or who arrived in the U.S. passed their teens and do not have a high level of acculturation. These Hispanics will rely heavily on Spanish media as their first and fastest introduction to the US.

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Table 1

Sample Demographics

	Number	Percentage
TOTAL SAMPLE	151	100%
Birthplace		
US Born	33	21.9%
Foreign Born	118	78.1%
Age of Foreign Born		
<14	34	28.8%
14-18	23	19.5%
19-30	25	21.2%
31 plus	36	30.5%

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Table 2

LANGUAGE PREFERENCE BY US BORN VS. NON US BORN
(n = 151)

	Percentage		Chi Square	
	US Born	Non US Born	DF, Value	Significance
Daily Language Preference			(2), 31.95	.001 level
Spanish	11	69		
English	89	30		
Both		1		
Language Spoken at Home			(2), 25.93	.001 level
Spanish	23	74		
English	3	1		
Both	74	26		
Language Spoken at Work			(2), 5.95	NS
Spanish	0	24		
English	32	28		
Equal	68	48		
Hours/Week Listening to English Radio			(3), 10.64	NS
None	4	23		
1-8	32	44		
9-20	29	17		
20 plus	36	16		
Hours/Week Listening to Spanish Radio			(3), 6.82	NS
None	38	24		
1-8	48	38		
9-20	7	30		
20 plus	7	8		
Language of Favorite Radio Program			(1), 21.33	.001 level
Spanish	7	57		
English	93	43		

Hours/Week Watching English TV			(3), 11.71	.05 level
None	0	11		
1-8	28	48		
9-20	41	30		
20 plus	31	12		
Hours/Week Watching Spanish TV			(3), 12.94	.05 level
None	38	11		
1-8	48	58		
9-20	7	30		
20 plus	7	9		
Language of Favorite TV Show			(1), 12.55	.05 level
Spanish	7	44		
English	93	56		
Regular Newspaper Readership			(1), 24.17	NS
Yes	33	48		
No	67	51		
Language of Choice for Information			(2), 11.69	.05 level
Spanish	10	43		
English	37	19		
Either	53	38		
Language of Choice for Entertainment			(2), 13.97	.05 level
Spanish	7	34		
English	53	23		
Either	40	43		
Language used for Survey			(1), 19.77	.001 level
Spanish	30	74		
English	70	26		

Table 3

LANGUAGE PREFERENCE BY AGE OF ARRIVAL

(n = 118)

Percentage   **Chi Square**

Age	<14	14-18	19-30	31 plus	DF, Value	Significance
Daily Language Preference					(3), 33.13	.001 level
Spanish	11	12	17	29		
English	20	8	2	1		
Language Spoken at Home					(3), 8.33	.05 level
Spanish	18	13	18	26		
Both	11	8	3	4		
Language Spoken at Work					(6), 44.5	.001 level
Spanish		3	5	17		
English	16	4	3	5		
Equal	13	14	14	7		
Hours/Week Listening to English Radio					(9), 47.76	.001 level
None	2	2	4	17		
1-8	18	5	7	13		
9-20	4	7	5			
20 plus	5	7	4			
Hours/Week Listening to Spanish Radio					(9), 8.83	NS
None	10	6	3	5		
1-8	9	7	10	15		.
9-20	10	5	8	6		
20 plus	1	2	2	4		
Language of Favorite Radio Program					(3), 31.8	.001 level
Spanish	11	6	13	28		
English	19	15	7	2		

Hours/Week Watching EnglishTV					(3), 11.2	.05 level
0-8	15	7	14	22		
9 plus	15	13	7	6		
Hours/Week Watching SpanishTV					(3), .78	NS
0-8	21	15	13	21		
9 plus	9	5	8	9		
Language of Favorite TV Show					(3), 26.38	.001 level
Spanish	9	3	8	25		
English	22	17	10	6		
Regular Newspaper Readership					(3), 4.08	NS
Yes	10	13	10	18		
No	18	9	11	13		
Language of Choice for Information					(6), 44.94	.001 level
Spanish	3	5	9	26		
English	9	6	2	3		
Either	17	9	9	2		
Language of Choice for Entertainment					(6), 40.11	.001 level
Spanish	3	3	8	22		
English	10	5	3	4		
Either	17	12	10	4		
Language used for Survey					(3), 30.36	.001 level
Spanish	13	13	18	30		
English	16	7	3			

Table 4

LANGUAGE PREFERENCE ACCORDING TO LENGTH OF STAY IN THE UNITED STATES: ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE RESULTS

Group	Average age	Sample size
Prefer Spanish language for information	9.69	39
Prefer English language for information	18.73	26
Indifferent as to which language is used for information	16.21	49
F (2,111) = 5.504	p <.005	
Scheffe simultaneous test of pairwise differences	Significance at .05 level	
Prefer Spanish vs. Prefer English	Yes	
Prefer Spanish vs. indifferent which language is used	Yes	
Prefer English vs. language indifferent	No	

Negotiation and Two-Way Models of Public Relations

by

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ABSTRACT

Negotiation and Two-Way Models in Public Relations

by

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Negotiation tactics are an integral part of the two-way model of symmetry for communication practices. This study found that public relations will become a part of the dominant coalition if it has knowledge and experience in the mixed motives of the two-way model of public relations to include the negotiation tactics of contention, avoidance, compromise, accommodation, and cooperation plus being unconditionally constructive and win/win or no deal. Being unconditionally constructive and win/win or no deal are <u>benignly asymmetrical</u> tactics that benefit the relationship of the parties in conflict.

Membership in the dominant coalition also depends on the ability of the practitioner to do strategic planning and solve problems for the organization. This assertion incorporates the long-term accumulation of expertise and a relationship with the dominant coalition built on sound judgement and trust.

Negotiation and Two-Way Models in Public Relations

Public relations is full of paradoxes. It serves its organization as well as the publics that affect that organization. It seeks to persuade, yet can be persuaded. It can involve high moral ethics but may be manipulative. It can be perfectly functionary in a creative and technical staff role, yet there is growing demand that it assume a more strategic management role in organizations. The demand is coming from management in organizations as well as professionals and academics in the field. More and more, they are scrutinizing the path to power and influence through public relations to upper management. As Dilenschneider (1990) put it when speaking of the power triangle, "They [public relations managers] communicate, see that their communication is recognized, and convert that recognition into influence" (p. 44).

In the inaugural issue of The Public Relations Strategist (Spring, 1995) a study of 10 company CEOs (Foster, 1995) found that CEOs, more than ever before, "see the wisdom of bringing their senior managers into the chain of responsibility when it comes to factoring public relations considerations into important management decisions"(p. 7). In the same study John F. Smith Jr., president and CEO of General Motors, said further, "There is no way to separate business strategy from effective communications"(p. 7). Yet, the landmark Excellence Study of public relations in organizations (J. Grunig et al., 1991) found that although CEOs and other corporate leaders supported public relations as important to their organizations, they had not connected that support to participation of public relations at the highest levels of their organizations.

That situation may be changing according to this recent 10-company CEO study. Richard C. Clarke. CEO of Pacific Gas and Electric, stated, "The only way CEOs can get what they need from their public relations advisers is to have them at the table when the policies, strategies and programs are hammered out" (p. 9). The question, then, is, are they at the table? In challenging these latest findings, Lesly (1995) asked, "If CEOs say they have such recognition of public relations' essentiality. why are so

few practitioners on boards of directors and executive committees" (p.7)? Communication is seen by CEOs as vital in their organization's strategic decision-making but there remains a disconnect between that communication and the role of public relations.

Added to this dilemma is recent research in public relations and organizational communication that showed the practice of public relations is ineffective if it is not an integral part of management decision-making (J. Grunig, 1992b; Lauzen & Dozier, 1992). The essential nature of communication in an organization seems to be juxtaposed against exclusion of public relations at the policy-making levels of organizations.

The abiding question of this study then, is how does public relations become an essential part of the strategic communication processes of top management? The major assumptions, based on these findings, are that public relations is ineffective unless it is a part of top management, and that, public relations in the upper levels of management is good for the organization.

This study will explain that negotiation tactics can empower public relations managers to become an effective part of the communication process in the management decision-making group or dominant coalition of an organization. My premise is that negotiation tactics are used in J. Grunig and Hunt's (1984) framework of the four models of public relations, particularly the two-way asymmetrical and symmetrical models. These two models solve problems in the environment with important or strategic publics and provide a major explanation for public relations as part of the dominant coalition.

The most recent model of public relations, that incorporates the two-way asymmetrical and two-way symmetrical models, is the new model of symmetry as two-way practices (Dozier, L. Grunig, & J. Grunig, 1995). This model is based on the Excellence Study, and research by Murphy (1991) using game theory to examine the two-way models. Her mixed motive game incorporates both asymmetrical and symmetrical tactics and argued that it better describes the practice of public relations in the real world. Again, in mixed motives organizations pursue their own interests while anticipating the reactions

of their important publics. In the new model of two-way communication practices, the win/win zone uses negotiation and compromise to allow organizations to find common ground among their separate and sometimes conflicting interests.

Game theory is part of the larger field of conflict resolution. Negotiation is the operational communication process for conflict resolution. Negotiation is the interaction among different parties to define their relationship. Game theory originated the term mixed motives (Schelling, 1980). Schelling said there were conflicting as well as common interests in a dispute. One can win by bargaining, by mutual accommodation, or by avoidance of mutually damaging behavior. He called these types of games on a conflict/cooperation continuum, mixed motives.

The intersection then, of the fields of public relations and negotiation is mixed motives. Mixed motives acknowledge the primacy of the organization's interests and encompass the scale between two-way asymmetrical and two-symmetrical communication in public relations. This scale is described in both fields with such terms and tactics as: bargaining, negotiation, mediation, compromise, accommodation, avoidance, withdrawing, competition, contention, cooperation, and collaboration.

The most completely developed model using these types of terms was the dual concern model of Thomas (1976). He conceptualized two dimensions, one was concern for self and the other was concern for others. Within those two dimensions, Thomas described five negotiation tactics: competition, collaboration, compromise, avoidance and accommodation.

Theoretically, in this study, I overlayed the dual concern model from conflict resolution on the new model of symmetry for public relations. I would hope to explain more thoroughly and discover what is taking place in the practice of public relations for the two-way communication models. For the practice of public relations, I would like to make a connection between the use of mixed motives in solving problems for the organization and entrance into the dominant coalition of the organization.

Conceptualization

Public relations is the "management of communication between an organization and its publics" (J. Grunig & Hunt, 1984, p. 6). The use of the words management, organization, and publics indicates a relationship that can be investigated in this study. The definition also implies that communication plays a strong role in the interdependency of the public relations practitioner, the organization, and its publics. It also connotes a management role for public relations in that organization.

Strategic Management

Strategic management in public relations is management to meet long-term goals of an organization. It balances the goals or mission of the organization with influences from its external environment. It is "the balancing of internal processes of organizations with external factors" (Dozier et al., 1995, p. 27).

Public relations managers use strategic management to resolve problems for organizations. As problems begin to arise among the organization and its stakeholders or strategic publics, the public relations manager detects those problems and acts to resolve them. The resolution of problems makes the public relations manager valuable to the dominant coalition, that group of senior managers who control an organization. Possibly, the public relations person may gain power as he or she becomes part of the dominant coalition. As part of that inner circle of decision-makers in an organization, the public relations manager then can contribute to the goals, objectives, and general direction of the entire organization (White & Dozier, 1992). These managers of communication conceptualize and direct public relations programs (Dozier, 1992). J. Grunig (1992b) provided strong links among public relations, strategic management, the two-way models, conflict resolution, and access to the dominant coalition. Given those strong associations J. Grunig and L. Grunig (1992) suggested the next step to develop theory for the practice of public relations is to look at applying general theories of conflict resolution to the two-way models of public relations.

Models of Public Relations

J. Grunig and Hunt (1984) devised four public relations models, the latter two being those in which two-way communication with strategic publics is essential: press agentry, public information, two-way asymmetrical, and two-way symmetrical. Press agentry or publicity is one-directional from the organization to its publics. It seeks media attention in almost any way possible. Public information provides truthful and accurate information about the organization but does not volunteer negative information (J. Grunig & L. Grunig, 1989).

The two-way asymmetrical model has been defined as scientific persuasion, empirically seeking feedback from stakeholders so an organization can persuade its publics to its own views. The two-way symmetrical model is similar except its goal is to manage conflict and promote mutual understanding instead of persuasion to its own ends. Public relations professionals can negotiate solutions to conflicts between their organizations and strategic stakeholders (Dozier et al., 1995). The two-way symmetrical model does not use the concept of feedback. Rather, it uses the concept of back and forth or two-way communication that is balanced and symmetrical. The reliability and validity of these models of public relations behavior have been established in a number of recent investigations (J. Grunig, 1984; Pollack, 1986; Schneider, aka L.A. Grunig, 1985). Dozier (1992) maintained that public relations practitioners using the two-way models are more likely to play the public relations manager role. The two-way models, then, have been conceptually connected to the interdependent relationship between the organization, public relations, and environment. To effectuate this strategic management role of the public relations manager, that manager must become part of the management core, or dominant coalition. For purposes of this study, that means the part of an organization's environment public relations managers actually affect, not whether the organization is affected by the environment.

Viewed in this way, environmental factors and the use of conflict by the Grunigs (1992) and Ehling (1992) provided more answers on why and how public relations practitioners help the dominant

coalition make better decisions. This study, therefore, addressed the question of whether public relations practitioners are using the knowledge of the two-way models of public relations and years of experience in resolving problems with stakeholders (conflict resolution) to become members of the dominant coalition.

As the four models of public relations evolved, J. Grunig (1989b) described the two-way symmetrical model as "public relations efforts which are based on research and evaluation and that use communication to manage conflict and to improve understanding with strategic publics" (p. 17). Note the introduction of the word conflict. Ehling (1992) asserted that public relations management can only realize this two-way model by making its primary mission that of attaining or maintaining accord between the organization and its stakeholders. However, to attain that accord requires a continual effort to mediate and mitigate conflict between the organization and its environment. This involves use of a unique communication system designed by the conflicting parties together and conducted so as to promote the two-way flow of information and organizational change.

Mixed Motives

Although the two-way symmetrical model would seem to be the ideal for conflict management (Ehling, 1984, 1985), it is difficult to determine the exact point for behavior on a continuous scale between two-way asymmetric and two-way symmetric communication (J. Grunig & L. Grunig, 1992; Hellweg, 1989). Murphy (1991) and J. Grunig et al. (1991) suggested that a mixed motive version of the two-way symmetrical model might better describe what is happening in actual practice of public relations because it incorporates both asymmetrical and symmetrical tactics. Although more recent studies showed more use of the two-way symmetrical model (L. Grunig, Dozier, & J. Grunig, 1994; Rawlins, 1993), those studies acknowledge the more frequently practiced model is the one termed mixed motives. Murphy (1991) drew the term mixed motives from game theory, a sub-field of conflict resolution.

Since game theorists view perfect symmetry as almost impossible and public relations scholars admit it is just growing in practice, Murphy (1991) proposed that real-life symmetric behavior might be

easier to locate if it were slightly redefined in mixed motives. At the one extreme, two-way asymmetrical organizations have incentives to contend with their strategic publics. They attempt to persuade these publics because they perceive they can win in a conflict while the publics lose (using game theory terms). At the other extreme, two-way symmetrical, organizations have incentives to cooperate with their strategic publics. They find a way where both sides can win in conflicts with their publics (Dozier et al., (1995).

Game theory originated the concept of mixed motives. Schelling (1980) compared the relationship between players of coordination games to charades, arguing that the primary interest of such games comes from the way players devise to communicate, in order to align their interests accurately. The net effect of these infinitely reflexive expectations is a convergence, not of desired outcomes, but of expectations. Schelling (1980) called these types of games, on the conflict/cooperation continuum, bargaining or mixed motive games (p. 89). Mixed motive refers to the ambivalence between players, the mixture of mutual dependence and conflict, of competition and partnership.

Any solution of a problem like this necessitates a solution for both participants. Each must try to see the problem from the other's point of view; but even when they do, each tries to solve the problem in his or her own best interest. So, although the participants strive for their own best solution, the solutions are joint and each must base decisions on his or her expectations of what the other participant will do.

In the broader field of conflict resolution, Bacharach and Lawler (1980) began to discuss mixed motive negotiation situations. Most negotiations are neither a clear win/win nor a win/lose situation but combinations of both. Such mixed motive situations, where combined tactics of contention and collaboration might occur (Walton, McKersie, & Cutcher-Gershenfeld, 1994), are difficult particularly for managers to handle strategically (Bacharach & Lawler). The relationship that exists before negotiations take place, that develops during the negotiation, and the desired future relationship often will determine

the bargaining tactic used. The conditions of the relationship dictate if one side will share the pie, seize it all, or give it away (Savage, Blair, & Sorenson, 1989).

Public Relations and Conflict Resolution

The relationship of public relations and conflict resolution involves the management of conflict communication by public relations managers -- competition, or two-way asymmetrical communication on one side, and mutual cooperation or two-way symmetrical communication on the other side.

What, then, are these skills that are needed? They would include skills in the two-way models of public relations and conflict resolution. Delineated further, those skills are mixed motives and the new model of symmetry for two-way communication practices.

Murphy (1991) said that each side in a stakeholder relationship retains a strong sense of its own self-interests, yet each is motivated to cooperate in a limited fashion to attain at least some resolution of the conflict. The task in a mixed motive game is to find a balance. Game theorists define equilibrium as a balance between the player's interests so that neither would regret his or her action given what the other player chose to do. True equilibria offer stable solutions to conflict because they lock in benefits and penalties so that neither side could defect from the agreement without causing the other player to also defect, thereby hurting each player's cause. In this sense, mixed motive equilibria do reduce conflict and support the hypothesis that "asymmetrical public relations would increase (and symmetrical public relations decrease) the amount, intensity, and duration of . . . conflict" (J. Grunig & L. Grunig, 1989, p. 58).

Parties in a conflict, an organization and its strategic publics, act as cooperative antagonists. They may be on opposite sides of an issue but it is in their best interests to cooperate with each other: "They do not trust each other, nor do they believe everything communicated by the other side. However, they do trust each other enough to believe that each will abide by any agreement reached" (Dozier et al., 1995).

Based on the Excellence Study, Dozier et al. (1995) suggested a new way of organizing the model of two-way communication practices that incorporates mixed motives (Figure 1). In the clear areas outside the win/win zone, organizations and publics are seen as having separate interests. In the win/win, shaded zone are conflicting interests. Within the win/win zone, negotiation and compromise work to find common ground between the parties in the conflict. Arrows 1 and 2 show either the organization or the public persuading the other party to their respective positions in asymmetrical communication. Arrow 3 represents public relations people as mediators trying to move the positions of the organization and its publics toward each other. The authors dubbed this model two-way, subsuming the former two-way asymmetrical and two-way symmetrical models. By doing so, they did not exclude the use of asymmetrical means to achieve symmetrical ends. They said: "Asymmetrical tactics are sometimes used to gain the best position for organizations within the win/win zone. Because such practices are bounded by a symmetrical world view that respects the integrity of long-term relationships, the two-way model is essentially symmetrical" (p. 49).

A definition of public relations as a mixed motive game helps reconcile the divergent asymmetric versus symmetric and persuasion versus bargaining models. Mixed motive games provide a broad third category that describes behavior as most public relations people experience it (L. Grunig et al., 1994): a multi-directional scale of competition and cooperation in which organizational needs

Figure 1

New Model of Symmetry as Two-Way Practices

Dominant
Coalition's   Win/Win Zone   Public's
Position   Position

Asymmetric   Mixed Motive   Asymmetric
                               (Symmetric)
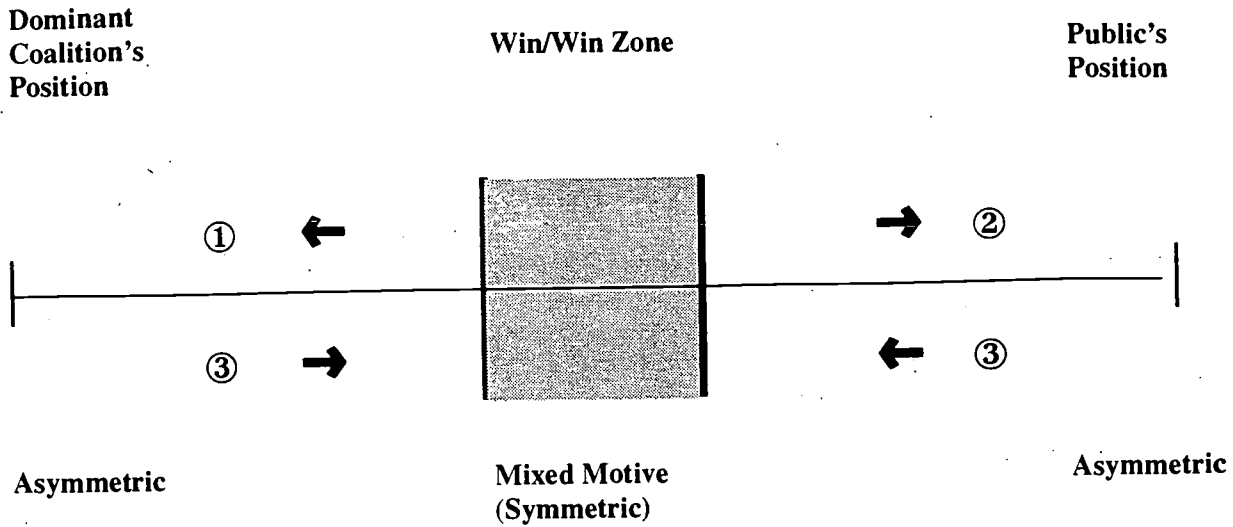
NOTE: Adapted from D.M. Dozier, L.A. Grunig, & J. Grunig. (1995). Manager's guide to excellence in public relations and communication management (p. 48). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

must be balanced against constituents' needs, but never lose their primacy. Researchers have shown that

most organizations appear to practice a blend of the three asymmetric models of public relations, as well as

symmetric communication styles (J. Grunig & L. Grunig, 1989).

Creating a Model

The evaluation of the mixed motive spectrum and the creation of a new model involved the two-

way models of public relations and conflict resolution theory. It will serve to delineate and expand the

two-way models to more accurately describe the real practice of public relations. Such a model also will

pinpoint more precisely reasons for public relations managers to become members of the dominant

coalition.

A dual concern model was developed most completely by Thomas (1976). He conceptualized the

two dimensions of the model as concern for self and concern for others. Thomas then distinguished five

negotiation tactics that would fall at points on this conflict grid. The five points he described were

competition, collaboration, compromise, avoidance, and accommodation. Competition is high concern for

self and low concern for others. Collaboration is high concern for self and high concern for others.

Compromise is medium concern for self and medium concern for others. Avoidance is low concern for

self and low concern for others. Accommodation is low concern for self and high concern for others.

In developing a negotiation model for public relations I integrated this model with Blake, Shepard, and

Mouton's (1964) five steps, Walton and McKersie's (1965) negotiation models, Pruitt and Rubin's (1986)

dual concern model of conflict resolution, and Conrad's (1990) five variables for negotiation.

The one dimension satisfies the organization's interests, which I will label as contending. This

represents the extreme asymmetrical ends of the new model of symmetry as two-way practices (Dozier et

al., 1995). The other dimension satisfies the interests of others, what I choose to label cooperation,

representing the extreme symmetrical middle of the new model of symmetry as two-way practices. In this

two-dimensional conflict management model (Figure 2) are five ways to settle or resolve conflict:

contending (high, low), avoiding (low, low), compromising (moderate, moderate), accommodating (low,

high), and cooperating (high, high).

Figure 2

Two-Way Negotiation Model for Public Relations

High   Contending   Cooperating

Interests

of   Compromising

Organization

    Avoiding   Accommodating

Low   **High**

Interests of Strategic Publics
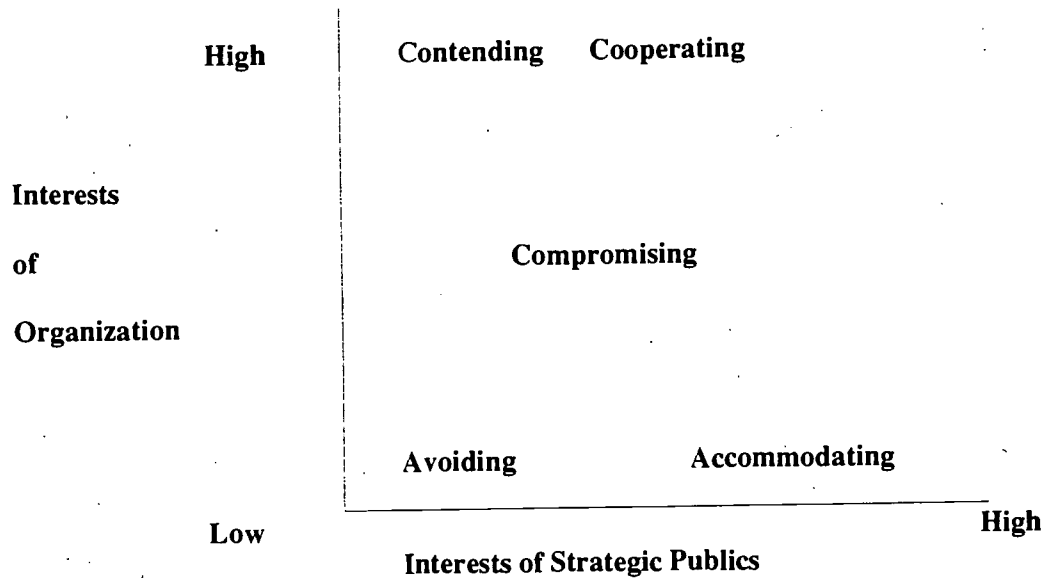
The five categories above are:

1. Contending -- one party forces its position on another party.

2. Cooperating -- both parties work together to reconcile basic interests, a mutually beneficial solution.

3. Compromising -- both parties meet part way between their preferred positions.

4. Avoiding -- one or the other party leaves the conflict either physically or psychologically.

5. Accommodating -- one party yields in part on its position and lowers its aspirations.

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It was my premise in this study that the new model of symmetry as two-way practices (Dozier et al., 1995) could be verified and further explained by these five categories. The next consideration, then in this study, should be consideration of <u>research questions</u> of this mixed motive model to call for such an explanation. Research questions are essential as tools in qualitative research to generate a research protocol and produce a framework for patterns in the analysis of the results of the study. They also allow for flexibility to adapt to findings as the research progresses (Marshall & Rossman, 1989). Again, I maintained that the mixed motive model of public relations is used in negotiation tactics of public relations ranging from the asymmetrical to the symmetrical.

<u>Research Questions</u>

1.   Do knowledge and experience in solving problems of public relations include the two-way models of public relations and negotiation tactics?

2.   Does this range of knowledge and experience encompass mixed motives and the new model of symmetry as two-way practice?

3.   Do public relations managers use this knowledge and experience to solve problems with an organization's stakeholder groups in the two-way negotiation model for public relations?

4.   Does the use of tactics of negotiation translate to power in strategic management for public relations in long-term relationships for the organization?

<center><u>Methodology</u></center>

<u>Interviewing</u>

The qualitative method was the preferred method for my study because it seeks to interpret and understand the meaning of interpersonal attitudes and behavior among the public relations manager, external publics, and the top management or dominant coalition of an organization. To ensure questions are answered fully in the interpersonal context, they must be asked face-to-face (Fontana & Frey, 1994).

Interviews are conversations with a purpose (Kahn & Cannell, 1957), rather than a formal set of structured questions. The interview respects how the interviewee frames and structures responses.

This type of qualitative interviewing is known as depth, long, intensive, collaborative, informal, semi-structured, and unstructured (Lindlof, 1995; Marshall & Rossman, 1989; McCracken, 1988; Patton, 1990). The voluntary character of the interview process is vital so that the interaction between researcher and participant occurs as freely as interviewing (possible strangers) can permit. The whole interviewing process leads to a view of something between (inter) people (Brenner, 1985). Lindlof (1995) made the point that even though a researcher wants to cover certain areas going into an interview, "Relatively little structure is imposed on what the respondent says" (p. 5).

Interviewing, then, is primarily a hearing device (Harding, 1987) that involves listening carefully to how participants think about their lives. A listening technique like the depth or long interview would be an appropriate data-gathering method for the complex and personal nature of the research questions for this study.

Individual perspective is the primary strength of depth and long interviews.. The researcher gains understanding and insight into the participant's own perspective of a situation. In the relationship developed by the interviewer and participant, there should be honest and frank disclosure of how they truly appraise their interpersonal relationships (Lindlof, 1995). Such disclosure allows the researcher to "learn about things that cannot be observed directly by other means" (Patton, 1990, p. 278). The relationship among public relations, the dominant coalition, and strategic publics cannot be observed by other means.

Interviewing is adaptable to theory-based research. Categories and specific questions can be derived from the research questions to follow both the general interview guide approach or the stanardized open-ended interview espoused by Patton (1990). The first approach outlines a set of issues to be explored. Specific questions arise in the interview to cover these issues. The second approach uses a standard set of questions arranged in a specific order. I used a combination of the above in developing a

set of 16 questions in an interview protocol that were adapted for each interview.

The credibility and transferability of this study came from a multi-case approach (Yin, 1994) of interviewing and a combination of stages of analysis developed from such qualitative methods as ethnography, participant observation, grounded theory, focus groups, and case studies. Fortner and Christians (1989) followed Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Denzin (1978) in resolving the issues of credibility and transferability as a process of triangulation. Stake (1994) said triangulation is generally considered a process of multiple perceptions to clarify meaning, verifying the confirmability or repeatability of results. It acknowledges that no interpretations of results are perfectly repeatable. Fortner and Christians said the goal is complete analysis by combining all lines of approach, each probe revealing certain aspects of real meaning. Triangulation helps avoid personal biases and superficiality that stem from one narrow probe. Triangulation can be of method (interviews, observation, document analysis); by time (historical view versus modern view of issue); or by theory (several theoretical outlooks focused on one problem to see which gives broader explanation)(Fortner & Christians, 1989; Morse; 1994).

My study encapsulated the dependability and confirmability criteria for qualitiative research (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) by incorporating triangulation of theory among the various concepts of public relations and conflict resolution; triangulation of interview method, interviews on a multi-case basis; and triangulation of analysis, looking at the data from several different levels and perspectives. The other two criteria of qualitative research, credibility and tranferability, will be illuminated in Results chapter.

Interviewing Procedures

I adopted the interview guide approach of Lindlof (1995) and Patton (1990), what L. Grunig et al. (1994) called interview protocol. The interview guide approach uses elements of the semi-structured and unstructured interviewing techniques. Semi-structured interviewing calls for a specific list of questions, given in a specific order, with a limited number of responses already categorized by the researcher (Patton, 1990). There is little room for divergence from the topic unlike the more open-ended semi-structured

approach in the feminist literature. Unstructured interviewing is completely open-ended, allowing the participants to lead the conversation where they will.

An interview guide creates a menu of questions to be covered and leaves the exact order and articulation to the interviewer's discretion. Of course, all questions were asked of all participants in roughly the same way. There exists, however, flexibility for the interviewer to ask optional questions, pass on others, and depart briefly to follow unexpected conversational paths. Experiences and background vary among participants and the interviewer should have the discretion to reshuffle questions to pursue issues relevant to the moment or new issues altogether (Lindlof, 1995). In essence, what I call the interview protocol emphasizes the goals of the interview in terms of the research questions to be explored and the criteria of a relevant and adequate response (Gorden, 1969). Suffice it to say that I used an interview protocol approach with specific questions that were open-ended enough to allow for participants to pursue their own directions in their responses.

Specific open-ended questions in the interview protocol of this study were adapted to either the public relations participant or the dominant coalition participant in each organization. The interviews were conducted with a representative of the dominant coalition familiar with the public relations function, the head of public relations, and sometimes another member of the public relations department in 10 organizations. McCracken (1988) said the ideal number of interviews was no more than four and Wolcott (1994) argued that fewer is better for adequate depth of investigation and thoroughness of analysis required for the interviewing method. I wanted to add to my triangulation factor of credibility so I conducted 23 interviews.

The interviews lasted from 30 minutes to four hours. McCracken (1988) suggested three interviews of one to one and one-half hours with each participant. Hon (1994) found that for women in public relations, a single lengthy interview was adequate. For the insights necessary in the follow-up qualitative study of the Excellence Study, L. Grunig et al. (1994) found this also was true. For research

purposes related to upper management, time availability, and responsiveness to questions other studies

found one to two hours was sufficient (Agar, 1994; Bogdan & Biklen, 1992; Bonama, 1985; Gummesson,

1991; Kauffman, 1992).

Selection of Participants

In a purposive approach to selecting participants, I chose people representative of dominant

coalitions and public relations, and those that might have some knowledge of two-way communication and

negotiation principles. To get a varied sample across industries I interviewed a cosmetics firm and an

experiment station classified as excellent in the excellence study. I interviewed four firms, a city

government and three associations, that were not classified as excellent in the study, and four companies

that did not participate in the excellence study at all. They consisted of a drug company; a holding firm

that owned a bank, autodealerships and a sports franchise; a spice company; and a hi-tech corporation.

Interviewing began in April 1994 with four companies in Texas. I was interested in interviewing

one of the authors of an article on public relations and conflict resolution that had appeared in a previous

issue of the Public Relations Journal. That author worked for a large corporation in Texas. Also, I was

part of the research team doing the follow-up case studies to the Excellence Study. As a member of that

team, I was able to obtain permission to contact organizations that had previously participated in the

Excellence Study and to add questions to two case studies I was conducting for that project. Texas

happened to be an area not covered by any other members of the research team. Two of the organizations

in Texas previously had been classified as excellent by the Excellence Study, one had not, and the fourth

had not participated in that study.

A second round of interviewing occurred in July with another four firms in the Washington, D.C.,

area. I was completing my studies there at the University of Maryland. Three of those organizations had

participated in the Excellence Study and had not been classified as excellent. The fourth company had not

participated in the Excellence Study.

The final two organizations were interviewed in November 1994 in the San Francisco Bay area of California. I took a position at San Jose State University as an assistant professor for public relations in August. Neither of those organizations had participated in the Excellence Study.

Participants were volunteers. Before the actual interview, contact was made by phone, with confirmation by letter, and a date set for the interview meeting. Those communications gave potential participants general information on the nature and purpose of the study, how they were selected, and the approximate length of the interview. Above all, participants understood that any data collected were to be in confidence and that referral to any specific situation (not naming the organization) in the dissertation would be attributed to a confidential source.

Initial interviews were to be in-person and in the offices or similar comfortable surroundings for the participants. Any follow-up interviews were to be conducted by telephone. In actuality, all but five of the initial 23 interviews were conducted face-to-face and in their offices, or at a local favorite restaurant. The difficulty in arranging schedules and the erasing of two tapes going through airport security led to the five telephone interviews.

Every interview was tape-recorded after asking permission of the participants. Some individuals seemed uncomfortable with the tape recorder at first. Others were used to it, but all the participants seemed to forget about the presence of the tape recorder after a while and were forthcoming in their responses. I also took extensive notes, especially of key points during the interviews, and even asked for any accompanying material that might illustrate what was discussed in the interview -- but after the interview so as not to interrupt the participant's train of thought. My tape recorder failed during one interview. After that interview, I immediately reviewed what recording I did have and augmented my notes from memory.

It was essential to tape-record these interviews (Lindlof, 1995; Patton, 1990). Patton said: "The raw data of interviews are the actual quotations spoken by interviewees. There is no substitute for these

data" (p. 347). Tape-recording not only increased accuracy of the information collected, it allowed the interviewer to have a more natural conversation with the participant. After failure of my taperecorder in the interview mentioned, it was extremely difficult to pay attention to non-verbal and even verbal cues of the participant. The pace of the interview became very non-conversational (Patton, 1990).

Field notes became essential to recreating that interview. These were notes of key phrases, lists of major points, or key terms in quotation marks that reflected the participant's own language (Patton, 1990). The combination of recording methods used in this study of: tape-recording, field notes, and then the later full transcriptions of the tapes allowed for a more thorough analysis of the data, the next step in the methodology.

Data Analysis

The two primary parts of analysis are data reduction and interpretation (L. Grunig et al., 1994). Data reduction began with tape recording the interviews, taking field notes, and adapting the questions to the situation of the individual participants. The tapes were fully transcribed. I listened to the tapes while following the transcriptions to make notes on emphasis and key points. These notated transcriptions were then compared to notes and other materials (if any) related to the organization. Additional notes then were made on the transcriptions to put all the research data into one cohesive document per participant for later interpretive analysis.

I used a combined method of interpretive analysis based on the in-depth interview method of Marshall and Rossman (1989), the long interview method of McCracken, (1988), the case study methods of Yin (1989) and Bogdan and Biklen (1992), the analysis techniques of Miles and Huberman (1984), the feminist orientation of Hon (1992), and grounded theory of Strauss and Corbin (1990). To capitalize on the advantages of these approaches yet control for inherent disadvantages, I used a number of steps:

1. Within the individual interviews I looked for key issues, recurrent events, or activities in the data that might become categories of focus. Categories should be internally

consistent but distinct from one another (not mutually exclusive).

2.   I compared the interviews of dominant coalition participants to each other across the 10 organizations in search of patterns of incidents that might become categories of consistency or contradiction.

3.   Then, I compared the public relations participants across companies to discover their own distinct patterns or themes.

4.   Finally, I compared the patterns of the dominant coalition and public relations participants as another cross-check for patterns and categories, testing them against the data, challenging them, searching for negative instances of patterns. I approached the data with skepticism, looking for informational adequacy, usefulness, and credibility. Yin (1989) substantiated this procedure when he wrote of multiple cases for evaluation purposes. Multiple cases allow for repetition of pattern, comparison, and appropriate extraction of credible and generalizable findings. Such multisite and subject studies are oriented more toward developing theory than generalizing to a population (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992).

5.   For another comparison, I intended to conduct a second set of interviews with a select number of the initial participants as a final stage of analysis for added credibility. Unfortunately, time for the study became a factor. However, I did review the results with one public relations participant who found them useful but I had to re-explain the models of public relations and negotiation terminology to some extent.

6.   After the data were gathered and patterns seemed to emerge, I searched for alternative explanations -- to challenge the very patterns that seem so evident or obvious. I considered the research as an argument that builds an interrelationship among assertions and conclusions. Then I reformulated the explanations until a more universal relationship could be established.

7.   I used visual devices. (Strauss, 1987; Miles & Huberman, 1984) such as charts, graphs,

and tables. I even used the approach of cutting and pasting, and putting in folders -- both on the

computer and literally.

8.   As a final check, I speculated, vented, and took breaks. I used an intuitive approach

(Agar, 1994).

These eight steps of analysis served as a record of the process of reflection and analysis and as a

condition of the qualitative dependability and confirmability of the study (Kirk & Miller, 1986, p. 51). An

explanation of qualitative data must show exactness and no unnecessary ambiguity. It also must force the

researcher to make a minimum number of assumptions while still explaining the data.

The object, however, is not to be too directed in this process but to build a conceptual framework

of patterns from the interviews, allowing the emergent findings to take their course. The conceptualization

provides guiding direction, giving the researcher the freedom to establish recurrent patterns from the

findings. Only then are the findings compared back to existing theory. This comparison to theory is the

ninth and final level of analysis to establish or discredit the specific model developed from theory.

As can be seen from these nine levels of analysis, there are usually no fixed formulas for analysis

of data in qualitative research methods. The process consists of examining, categorizing, tabulating, or

otherwise recombining the evidence to address initial propositions of study. To do this, the researcher

needs an analytic strategy that relies on theoretical propositions as guides.

The primary analytic strategy emphasized here is pattern-matching. According to Yin (1989) this

analysis of data consists of comparing empirically based patterns with a predicted one -- if something was

thought to predict something else, and that something else did occur, and alternative explanations could

not be found, then outcome matched prediction.

Most importantly, the interview method focused on the research questions while examining

relationships and preparing templates (see next section) for matches in the interview data (McCracken,

1988, p. 33). As already stated, even though a preliminary pattern-matching template may be considered, the interviewer also should be adaptive and flexible to follow responses that may not fit the research questions and theory behind them.

Findings

Limited space in this paper precludes a detailed findings section illustrating each finding with quotes. Hopefully, the conclusions section is detailed to the extent there are examples from the participants in the study. The following is a summary of the major patterns found in the research that were similar between the dominant coalition and public relations managers:

1. Models of Public Relations -- mixed motives with a trend to the goal of two-way symmetrical.

2. Negotiation Processes -- all five used: contention, cooperation, compromise, avoidance, and accommodation. An additional process emerged of unconditionally constructive with win/win or no deal as part of cooperation.

3. Membership in the Dominant Coalition -- the ability to solve problems was the major requirement here. This included the ability to do strategic planning, knowledge and experience in the field, and sound judgement.

Comparing these three patterns to the four research questions led to adapting or changing those questions for public relations managers to gain entry into the dominant coalition to the following research statements or assertions.

1. The dominant coalition is looking for managers with knowledge and experience in publics relations and the mixed motives of the new model of symmetry as two-way practices.

2. This knowledge and experience include the five negotiation processes of contention, cooperation, compromise, avoidance and accommodation plus unconditionally constructive and win/win or no deal.

3.   Public relations managers use this knowledge and experience with the addition of ability

to do strategic planning and good judgement to solve problems for the organization in the new

two-way model of public relations.

4.   Public relations managers are empowered through solving problems for the organization to

become members of the dominant coalition.

<div align="center">Conclusions</div>

Overview of Major Findings

The first finding in this study was that public relations among the 10 organizations was, for the

most part, a two-way practice. This practice encompassed mixed motives, that is the five negotiation

tactics plus unconditionally constructive and win/win or no deal. Being unconditionally constructive is a

unilateral approach that probably will fall in the win/win zone of the new model of symmetry. The

win/win or no deal perspective is a forced or contending approach to mutual collaboration. In some

instances, participants in this study used both unconditionally constructive and win/win or no deal as

benignly asymmetrical tactics to gain a symmetrical result.

In a way, win/win or no deal is a positive ultimatum stating that one party's walk-away alternative

or avoidance is better unless both parties cooperate in a conflict situation. Neither party will regret its

decision later if it chooses to cooperate but if it chooses not to cooperate it will regret any other contention,

accommodation, or compromise solution. The only other alternative, then, is to choose no deal. The

development of the conflict may evolve in the future and the parties could then renegotiate as strategic

publics for each other when their walk-away alternatives are no longer better for avoidance than for

cooperation.

In the next finding, the knowledge that the public relations managers had of the public relations

field plus their experience using the (now) seven negotiating tactics led directly to their ability to solve

problems and to do strategic planning for the organization. The accumulation of knowledge and

experience also led to the practice of good judgement and to a trusting long-term relationship with the

dominant coalition. Part of judgement and trust incorporated the willingness to apply the negotiation

tactics to serve the interests of the organization. Interests are those underlying long-term strategic goals of

the dominant coalition that serve the organization's well-being.

Public relations managers relied on their ability to solve problems and to participate in strategic

planning to gain entry into the dominant coalition. Incorporating the negotiation tactics of being

unconditionally constructive and win/win or no deal into the two-way negotiation model for public

relations might make it look like Figure 3.

Figure 3

Two-Way Negotiation Model for Public Relations

High

	W/W or ND
	Unconditional
Contending	Cooperating

Interests

of

Organization

Compromising

Avoiding   Accommodating

Low   High

Interests of Strategic Publics
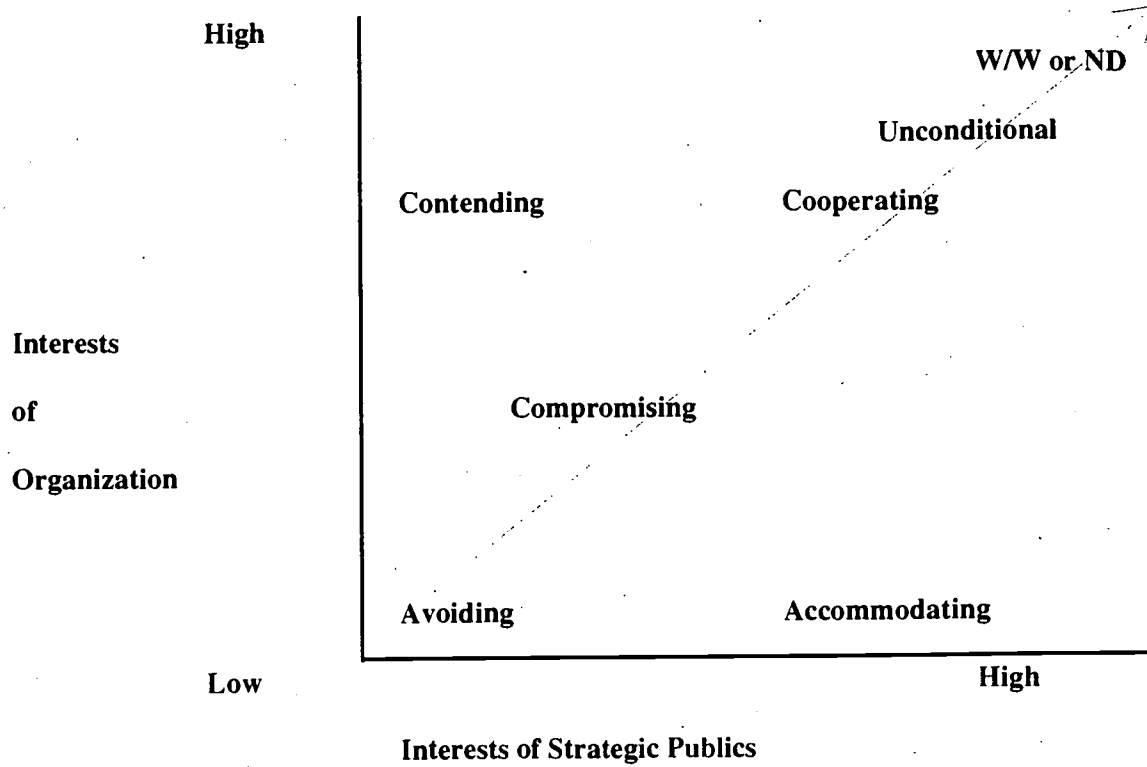
When the interests of the organization are not of great importance or low, it can either avoid or

accommodate on the public relations problem. The organization can afford to avoid the problem if the

interests of its strategic publics are low or if its walk-away alternative is higher. If the interests of the

strategic public are high and have consequences for the organization, the organization cannot ignore its

public and must accommodate. It gives in to the strategic public because its interests are low and the

organization has nothing to lose.

When the interests of the organization and its strategic publics are moderate or fairly even towards

one another, then both organizations are more willing to compromise. Neither organization is fully

satisfied with the resulting agreement but both are partly and equally satisfied.

Under contending, the organization's interests are high while its strategic publics' are low. Since

being a strategic public equates to having consequences for the organization, that could be interpreted as

power over that organization. However, when the interests of the strategic publics are low, consequences

are low and power over the organization is low. On the other hand, when the organization's interests are

high and its strategic publics' are low, it perceives fewer consequences and usually exercises more power

over its publics. The organization sees that it can win while its strategic publics lose.

Cooperation is the situation where both the organization and its strategic publics' interests are

high. Both can collaborate in a mutually beneficial relationship and both parties are fully satisfied with the

result. This is a win/win relationship.

The position of being unconditionally constructive, that I found and labeled as such in this study,

is where both parties have high interests and high consequences for each other. But, for some reason, one

party will not agree or even negotiate. The organization then chooses, even though there has been a two-

way exchange, to do what it believes is the best course of action for the relationship between both parties.

Yet this is done without the other party agreeing to the solution. It is supposed to be mutually beneficial.

It is a positive relationship and that is why it is shown above cooperation on the right side of Figure 3. The

grave danger in this situation is that the solution to the problem is not really mutually beneficial and the

result falls back to the contending category of two-way asymmetrical communication. If this happens, then

the situation is no longer unconditionally constructive for the benefit of the relationship between the

parties.

Even further on the scale of high interest to both parties in the dispute is win/win or no deal. It is

shown above cooperation and unconditionally constructive on the right side of Figure 3. Both parties have

strong interests, both can benefit from the solution, and they have other alternatives to choose from (mostly

accommodation or compromise). At least one party, however, has a better walk-away alternative for all the

negotiation tactics except win/win. The choice of alternatives, then, is either win/win or no deal at all.

Again, all of these tactics in this study led to resolving problems in the environment with strategic

stakeholders and helped public relations managers to participate in strategic planning as members of the

dominant coalition for their organizations.

Comparison to Research Questions

How did these findings then support or fail to support the research statements as determined by the

current state of the fields of public relations and conflict resolution? How should these research statements

be altered or changed? What did I really find that emerged from the patterns in this study?

These research questions represented two levels of investigation in this study. First, knowledge

and experience in public relations may include knowledge and experience in negotiation tactics. Even

more specifically, this knowledge and experience encompass the range of mixed motive communication

between two-way asymmetric or the negotiation tactic of contention, and two-way symmetric or the

negotiation tactic of cooperation.

This level of congruence seemed to occur in this study, and the fields of public relations and

conflict resolution merged. I then was able to move on to the second level of research questions. That is, a

mixed motive model is used to solve problems for the organization. The solution of problems, in turn,

gives power to public relations in a long-term relationship that allows public relations to become part of the dominant coalition.

What I found in this study of 10 organizations, was that, first, from the perspective of both the dominant coalition and public relations, mixed motive public relations applies. They used all five of the negotiation tactics plus what Fisher and Brown (1988), termed as <u>unconditionally constructive</u> and what Covey (1989) called <u>win/win or no deal</u>.

Second, the knowledge, experience, and expertise gained from practicing mixed motive public relations enabled public relations managers to solve problems and to do strategic planning. It was the inclusion of both abilities, resolving problems and doing strategic planning, that brought public relations into the dominant coalition.

<u>Implications for Current Practice and Theory</u>

These findings affected both the first and second levels of investigation for the research questions. They affected the practical and theoretical confluence of the two-way models and negotiation tactics; and the power control theory as it relates to membership by public relations in the dominant coalition.

<u>Two-Way Models and Negotiation Tactics</u>

This study revealed that two-way communication and negotiation tactics are inextricably intertwined. The initial research questions and adapted research statements separate the two. The adapted research statements were that public relations managers became members of the dominant coalition because of:

1. Knowledge and experience in publics relations, and the mixed motives of the new model of symmetry as two-way practices.

2. This knowledge and experience includes the five negotiation processes of contention, cooperation, compromise, avoidance and accommodation plus unconditionally constructive and win/win or no deal.

Combining these two could result in the statement:

Public relations will become a part of the dominant coalition if it has knowledge and experience in the mixed motives of the two-way model of public relations to include the negotiation processes of contention, avoidance, compromise, accommodation, cooperation, unconditionally constructive, and win/win or no deal.

At any time informal or formal research is conducted to determine overt positions and underlying interests of strategic publics that have an effect on an organization, communication tactics are required for the organization to deal with those publics. This study has shown that negotiation tactics are an integral part of those communication strategies. Ehling (1987a) described such activities to be in the public relations jurisdiction if they entailed the strategic means and ends of public relations. Strategic means entail communication and conflict resolution strategies. The "strategic end-state of public relations management is to achieve a non-conflict state via the means of a well-designed communication system" (p. 29). The mixed motives result at the strategic level seems to satisfy Ehling's requirement for "selecting courses of action which will allow an organization to survive, grow and prosper in some way over a long period of time" (Ehling, 1987b, p. 7).

Mixed Motives

As Dozier et al. (1995) stated, the combination of asymmetrical and symmetrical tactics seemed paradoxical when examining their two extremes superficially. Dozier explained the dilemma by subordinating asymmetrical to symmetrical practices. Short-term tactical advantages may be gained through two-way asymmetrical practices between parties in a mixed motive game. Yet, for long-term integrity of the game and for parties to maintain continuous relationships over the long-term, cooperative tactics should be employed to maintain the integrity of binding joint agreements that both sides believe the other will respect.

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integrity of the game and for parties to maintain continuous relationships over the long-term, cooperative

tactics should be employed to maintain the integrity of binding joint agreements that both sides believe the

other will respect.

The long-term relationship revealed in this study was the trust developed between the dominant

coalition and the public relations manager to allow the public relations manager to solve problems for the

organization. This long-term relationship was a part of the judgement and trust condition that allowed a

public relations manager to become part of the dominant coalition. The solution of problems ranged from

the asymmetrical to the symmetrical in a mixed motive pattern. One was not subordinate to the other but

rather combined elements of both in concurrent usage. As the director of corporate communications said

for the holding company in this study, "Wire both ends against the middle." When considering the

organization's best interests, contend if the organization can win but cooperate at the same time to solidify

long-term relationships with strategic publics and hedge against negative consequences for the future. To

contend may or may not be unconditionally constructive based on the long-term good for the relationship

between parties. A specific question regarding this short-term versus long-term usage of negotiation tactics

would be a useful direction for future studies.

Walton et al. (1994) found that asymmetrical and symmetrical tactics were both contradictory and

complementary at both the short-term and long-term levels. They are contradictory in the author's use of

the terms forcing (asymmetrical) and fostering (symmetrical). Forcing uses information control in the

negotiation process, whereas fostering requires the information flow to be open. Forcing increases hostility

between groups while fostering promotes mutual interest and trust.

The two tactics also can be complementary in that they alleviate some of the risks of either

strategy. Escalation of the problem is an inherent risk of forcing and complacency to go ahead and solve

the problem can be a risk of fostering. Although a combination of forcing and fostering can be used

concurrently or sequentially, the researchers found that a limit on forcing tactics and an eventual shift to

fostering is critical especially for long-term relationships to exist.

In 1990, Putnam espoused a rejoining of the opposite ends of the asymmetrical to symmetrical

continuum in a mixed motive and interdependent approach somewhere between Dozier et al. (1995) and

Walton et al. (1994). Although her viewpoint may change because of these more recent studies, she

viewed the two extremes as mixed motives and complementary, as an energizing process for the discovery

of underlying interests, and creating more alternatives for creative solutions to problems. Indeed, Pruitt

and Rubin (1986) believed that negotiation tactics could not be considered in a linear continuum because

both contending and cooperating can be strong at the same time. They said: "People can be both selfish

and cooperative (leading them to engage in problem solving in an effort to reconcile both parties'

interests)" (p. 29).

In the Excellence Study (J. Grunig, 1992), the public relations department's knowledge of two-

way symmetrical practices ranked second to manager role expertise and knowledge of two-way

asymmetrical practice ranked third as indicators of communication excellence. Earlier, Murphy (1991)

connected these second- and third-ranked factors and dubbed their coexistence as mixed motives,

borrowing the term from game theory. In mixed motives, both parties can still pursue their own self-

interests. Organizations and their strategic publics can be both selfish or contending, and cooperative.

This leads the parties to engage in problem solving to reconcile their overlapping interests (Pruitt & Rubin,

1986). Dozier et al. (1995) used the term cooperative antagonists. I would agree and add that the parties

are cooperative protagonists in the struggle to satisfy their own interests with the knowledge that

satisfaction is best accomplished through satisfying each other's interests as well. The question is not one

of mixed motives where short-term asymmetrical tactics are combined with long-term symmetrical tactics

as advocated by Dozier et al. (1995), but rather one of discovering the priority-level of importance for the

common interests of the strategic parties.

Interests

Much of what has been discussed so far about two-way models, negotiation tactics, and mixed

motives has been in the context of interests. Interests seem to be the concept by which these other issues

are measured. Once again, by interests I mean those underlying long-term values and goals of an

organization on which an organization's economic good health depends.

.Organizations negotiate to further their interests (Lax & Sebenius, 1986). To be successful at

resolving problems for organizations, public relations managers need to broaden their focus on interests,

expand the pie (Pruitt & Rubin, 1986), or use the abundance mentality of Covey (1990). As hard as it

would be to determine the interests for one's own organization, understanding the subjective scheme of

values as perceived through the peculiar filters of strategic publics -- is probably very difficult. Yet, if this

can be done, the resolution of problems between an organization and its strategic publics could become

possible.

Another term for the subjective values of an organization could be strategic interests, with the

same meaning for strategic as in strategic stakeholders -- those underlying interests of an organization that

have positive or negative consequences for the interests of other groups or organizations. These strategic

interests are of the utmost importance for public relations managers because it is only in finding

commonalities among the interests of an organization through two-way communication that negotiating

can take place.

Of course, as found in this study, the resulting solution to any problem must be aligned with the

dominant coalition's long-term personal or institutional strategy. The multiple management boards of the

spice company or the participation in the Malcolm Baldridge organizational excellence program by the

high-tech firm are examples of CEO-led two-way communication practices. They are reaching out in their

corporate environments to find out what makes other companies prosper. These programs help make their

organizations successful. They are aligning their interests with those interests that succeed in making their

companies money. By doing that, their personal and institutional power-control goals are fulfilled. These

changes come about from a "reverberating process in which the other player adapts to you and you adapt to

the other and the other adapts to your adaptation" (Axelrod, 1984, p. 120).

The final outcome of reconciling interests can be a highly complex process. "Focus on interests, not positions," said Fisher and Ury (1981, p. 11). Interests are the underlying motivators, the deep-seated reasons people and organization have for doing things. About positions, they said: "Your position is something you have decided upon. Your interests are what caused you to so decide" (p. 41). Behind what are apparently opposed positions lie shared and compatible interests as well as conflicting ones. It is these complementary interests on which an agreement can be made. Other interests may be independent and several positions can even represent multiple interests. Finding the commonalities is the difficult task and the key to successful agreements.

Focusing exclusively on interests may not always be successful. When parties have deep and conflicting ideological differences, for example, satisfactory agreement on smaller issues may only be possible if ideological concerns do not arise. The animal rights issue of the cosmetics firm in this study is a case in point. The animal rights activists were ideologically and unalterably opposed to the use of animals to test products. The cosmetics firm accommodated the activists by placing a moratorium on animal testing. It avoided the ideological issue with this moratorium, but the company left open the possibility of doing animal testing in the future. The need for this kind of testing was not imminent and in the meantime the cosmetics firm was pursuing other alternatives to test its products. The parties came to agreement, in a sense, on the immediate or smaller issue with the hope of resolving the problem permanently through other alternatives. In such cases, the negotiations should focus on the issues or on a much narrower set of interests -- not fully on the underlying interests. Even so, focusing on interests can help develop a better understanding of mutual problems and invent creative solutions by reformulating issues to align better with underlying interests.

The animal rights case is also an example, in this highly complex process of negotiation, where the parties involved were unclear, to some degree, about their own and their opponent's interests. Reconciling these interests is intermixed with defining and understanding which solutions represent the highest priority

interests of the parties in the conflict (Raiffa, 1982). Many negotiators hold back the creation of alternative

solutions by failing to distinguish the overt positions of an issue under discussion from its underlying

interests. When the issue poorly matches the interests at stake, modifications of issues sometimes enable

all parties to satisfy their interests better (Lax & Sebenius, 1986).

Negotiation, then, is a process of potentially opportunistic interaction where parties with some

conflicting interests could do better for themselves. To find the alternatives for potential solutions to

problems requires looking at interests. As Putnam (1990) put it, the search for compatible interests

"resembles solving a mystery in which there are multiple plausible solutions but wrong guesses reduce the

likelihood of ever unraveling the case" (p. 25).

Unconditionally Constructive

Related to the negotiation of underlying interests in this study was the problem of what to do when

the opposing party refused to come to agreement when both parties used cooperative tactics. The

alternative action for getting around this stalemate was that negotiating tactic of being unconditionally

constructive. Being unconditionally constructive was used in the positive sense of Fisher and Brown

(1988). That is, guidelines that "will be both good for the relationship and good for me, whether or not

you follow the same guidelines" (p. 37). Even if the other party in the conflict does not reciprocate, the

organization acts in reconciling the strategic interests of both the organization and its strategic public.

Even though the decision to take this altruistic tactic is unilateral, it remains two-way because the

organization must have done research to determine the interests of its strategic public. It also is a win/win

situation because both parties mutually benefit from the result of the tactic. Even though the strategic

public does not have a choice in the decision and may already regret that decision, it will tend to be better

off. This is so just as the organization is better off than if it were to pursue another negotiation tactic with

different choice alternatives. The key lies in both parties' common interests. One party cannot be

unconditionally constructive if the interests of the other party are not affected positively. Those common

interests allow for a limited set of options to be unconditionally constructive (personal communication,

Schelling, November 8, 1995).

Unconditionally constructive tactics include six elements (Fisher & Brown, 1988). I have added a

seventh from Fisher and Ury (1981) as a safety mechanism using the mixed motive results of this study:

1.   Rationality. Even if the strategic publics act emotionally, balance emotions with reason.

2.   Understanding. Even if the strategic publics misunderstand the organization, try to

understand them.

3.   Communication. Even if the opposing parties are not listening, consult them before

deciding on matters that affect them.

4.   Reliability. Even if the other parties are trying to deceive, neither trust them nor deceive

them: be reliable.

5.   Noncoercive modes of influence. Even if the opposition is trying to coerce, neither yield

to that coercion nor try to coerce; be open to persuasion and try to persuade.

6.   Acceptance. Even if the strategic publics reject the organization and its interests as

unworthy of consideration, accept their interests as worthy of consideration, care about them, and

be open to learning about them.

7.   Protection. I would add an element of mixed motives here, as a fail-safe alternative to

protect the organization's ultimate viability. Based on this study's finding, there should be an

option when being unconditionally constructive in case a strategic public perceives the

organizational stance as weakness and attacks the organization using contending tactics. This

alternative is the walk-away alternative of Fisher and Ury (1981). This alternative is the one that is

better than if any negotiation took place, even an unconditionally constructive one, the best

alternative to a negotiated agreement (BATNA).

Win/Win or No Deal

This alternative negotiation tactic arose from interviews with a CEO and a public relations manager from different companies. Although not a major pattern in the study it seemed to develop as an alternative beyond unconditionally constructive to avoid stalemate in a negotiation. To get past a stalemate in a positive way for both parties, at least one party's best alternative to a negotiated agreement, was the option of no deal at all. The only options in this situation were for either both parties to collaborate in mutually beneficial circumstances or to hold off on any agreement until both parties were ready for a win/win deal to be struck. In conflict resolution terms, such a situation is called ripeness.

In 1989, Covey adapted the game theory terms of Deutsch (1973) into what he called "six paradigms of human interaction." The first five are covered essentially in the five tactics of negotiation for public relations outlined in the Conceptualization for this study. Two participants in this study did not mention these first five but instead emphasized directly the sixth paradigm, win/win or no deal. Covey said, "If these individuals had not come up with a synergistic solution -- one that is agreeable to both -- they could have gone for an even higher expression of Win/Win -- Win/Win or no deal" (p. 213). The no deal addition to the term win/win means that if the parties cannot find a solution that would benefit both, then they would agree to disagree -- no deal. At least one party wants a win and wants the other party to win, too. The only alternative, Covey said: "It would be better not to deal than to live with a decision that wasn't right for us both. Then maybe another time we might be able to get together" (p. 214). With no deal as a viable alternative to a dispute, then the participants in this study could use it to resolve their problems.

Unconditionally constructive and win/win or no deal are alternatives that were used by participants in this study to get past a stalemate on the way to resolving problems. There are a number of models of the dynamic process of conflict resolution. They consist of various stages, from emergence to contention, escalation, de-escalation, and, finally, resolution. One stage of these models is usually stalemate, where

neither party can progress toward a resolution of the conflict. Usually this stalemate involves power and contending tactics by the parties in the dispute. In this study, however, the stalemate is viewed positively. The opposing sides give up on cooperative problem solving for the time being until the conflict is ripe for resolution. The conflict must evolve to the point where the parties are willing and able to find a solution that integrates their interests. Mitchell (1981) referred to this starting point for ending a conflict as one of perceived success, a mutual desire from both sides to come out of the conflict in a better situation than they entered it. Once this state is achieved for both sides then they can engage in problem solving, or find a solution that integrates their underlying interests.

Problem solving is the process mentioned earlier by Putnam (1990) that includes reframing positions to interests and the abundance mentality of Covey (1989). This is the concept that "there is plenty out there for everybody." Perhaps Pruitt and Rubin (1986) described best these many forms of problem solving where a win/win is the result. They included the alternatives of expanding the pie, which expands the resources available to the parties or increases the available outcomes (Mitchell, 1981); and bridging where neither party achieves initial demands, but a new option is devised that satisfies the most important interests underlying those demands. The problems in the dispute are reframed until most of them are satisfied.

Although these additional forms of win/win can be found in the literature, the results of this study helped to adapt the first level of investigation in the guiding hypotheses. This was the integration of the two-way models, negotiation tactics, mixed motives, interests, being unconditionally constructive, and win/win or no deal. The integration of these issues might change the new model of symmetry for two-way public relations practices to look something like Figure 4:

Figure 4

Mixed Motive Model of Public Relations

Win/Win Zone

| Contention | Cooperation | Accommodation |

1-Way ← → ← → ← → 1-Way

| Avoidance | Unconditional | Compromise |

Win/Win or ND

Interests of Organization and Publics
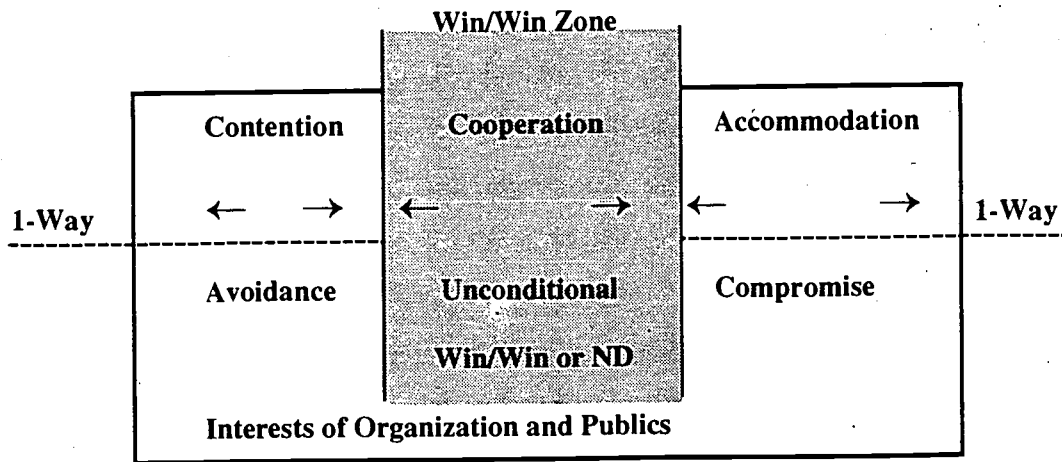
The box represents all of the independent, complementary and common interests for both the organization and its strategic publics. The box also encompasses the alternatives of negotiation tactics for both parties. The arrows above the dotted line extending through the win/win zone shows that these alternatives can flow both ways through the win/win zone to less desirable alternatives.

Note the absence of the terms asymmetrical and symmetrical. That is because the definition of mixed motives is a combination of asymmetric and symmetric communication. This model deals with degrees of each over the spectrum of asymmetric and symmetric communication. The only way to represent two ends on either side of the model would be to represent the one-way models of press agentry and public information. The two-way models would not quite extend to the one-way model ends. Two-way symmetrical communication is not entirely win/win. It can include elements of compromise, accommodation, and even avoidance since part of avoidance is unconditional or win/win or no deal. Likewise, two-way asymmetrical is not entirely contending but can include elements of all the other negotiation tactics. Remember, mixed motives still looks after the best interests of the organization itself. It is an enlightened self-interest stating that what is best for itself is best for its public, too.

<u>Membership in the Dominant Coalition</u>

The second level of the guiding hypotheses dealt with the entree of public relations managers into the dominant coalition through their experience. In the last part of the Results chapter, this level was changed to three research statements. Research statements 3 and 4 depend on experience. The two second level research statements were:

3.   Public relations managers use this knowledge and experience with the addition of ability

to do strategic planning and good judgement to solve problems for the organization in the new

two-way model of public relations.

4.   Public relations managers are empowered through solving problems for the organization to

become members of the dominant coalition.

The experience set forth in research statements 3 and 4 included both expertise in the technical functions of public relations and ability to resolve problems for the organization. The ability to resolve problems depended on knowledge and experience of two-way communication and negotiation tactics. This ability led to participation in strategic planning and to membership in the dominant coalition. Distilling these patterns further for this study could lead to the statement that:

Membership in the dominant coalition for public relations depends on the experience and ability to do strategic planning and solve problems for the organization.

The number-one characteristic of communication excellence in organizations is manager role expertise according to the recent Excellence Study and its follow-up case studies. The expertise to be a communication manager is tied closely to expertise to engage in two-way practices of communication. The specific manager role revealed in this study is the problem-solving process facilitator role that helps management evaluate problems systematically to find a solution (Dozier & Broom, 1995). This role involves the strategic management of relationships with publics. Strategic management means "the balancing of internal processes of organizations with external factors" (Dozier et al. p. 27).

The Excellence Study and its follow-up case studies showed that top communication departments combined knowledge of both manager and technician roles. Further, these studies said that the role of communication manager and senior advisor should be combined, the former on a formal basis and the latter giving informal advice that leads to more formal influence in strategic decision-making.

This study confirmed those findings. Part of the experience factor for membership in the dominant coalition was expertise in the tools of public relations like writing, newsletters, and media relations. But that was just the beginning. The rest of the equation for experience from the perspective of the dominant coalition was expertise in two-way communications, negotiation tactics, and strategic planning. When informal advising was included, almost all of the participants in this study, both managers of public

relations and members of the dominant coalition, filled the criteria of communication manager and senior

advisor making substantial contributions to strategic planning.

Another finding in the follow-up case studies to the Excellence Study was that top communicators

become part of the dominant coalition only over time. Most recently, in a 10-CEO study Foster (1995)

found that the chemistry that exists between the CEO and the senior public relations executive is more

critical than that among any other senior executives in a company. Several of the public relations

managers in this study reiterated that point. Often, a public relations manager will become a part of the

dominant coalition only after a trust relationship has been built over time, of course dependant on the other

factors of experience already discussed. The 10-CEO study also found that this relationship begins with

"sound judgement that has been put to the test repeatedly" (p.8).

Another pattern found in the case studies follow-up to the Excellence Study was that "Gaining the

trust of senior management depends in large part on knowing the business or industry, as well as public

relations" (L. Grunig et al., 1994, p. 67). This study found weaker support for this conclusion. However,

in example after example, participants said they needed such knowledge to resolve communication

problems for their organizations.

The findings of this study, then, predominately concur with the state of the field for both practice

and theory in public relations. It strongly reinforces the fact that the typical practice of public relations

involves mixed motives. It begins to flesh out what mixed motives means, especially when the definition

of two-way symmetrical communication is given as one of negotiation between parties for mutual benefit.

This study answers questions of the degree of negotiation solutions to problem-solving for public relations

and what is meant by mutual benefit. It also adds the concepts of unconditionally constructive and

win/win or no deal to the lexicon of symmetric or win/win communication. It differs from the new model

of symmetry in public relations in that mixed motives are not symmetric but can stretch along the entire

spectrum of the new model to include asymmetric communication either from the dominant coalition or the

strategic publics' perspective. The study also introduces other alternatives of win/win or ways to get past stalemate to include expanding the pie or bridging.

What it Means

The abiding question of this study was: How does public relations become an essential part of top management? That answer is that a public relations manager must have the experience and the ability to participate in long-term strategic planning and solve problems for the organization. To do this, the public relations manager must gain knowledge and experience in the seven negotiation tactics; the mixed motives of the two-way models of symmetry for public relations.

Dominant coalitions are looking for a return on investment for most changes they make in their organizational structure. They are looking for people in their organizations that help satisfy their own agenda for the organization. That return on investment for public relations is strategic planning and problem-solving. As Carrington (1992) emphasized, there is a shortage of communicators with the conflict resolution skills that can practice the win/win skills that CEOs of excellent organizations seek. Excellent organizations need public relations managers with skills in two-way communication and strategic planning (J. Grunig, 1992a). Again, they can get those skills from knowledge and experience in the use of the two-way negotiation model for public relations (Figure 3).

Any long-term relationship, whether it be between a public relations manager and the dominant coalition, or an organization and its strategic publics, depends mostly on activity that is reciprocally positive for its survival. This study has shown that short-term two-way asymmetrical or contending tactics can have a place in a long-term relationship. Those activities, however, are outweighed by longer-term, two-way symmetrical tactics that can include avoidance, accommodation, compromise, cooperation, unconditionally constructive, and win/win or no deal.

Recommendations for Further Research

A number of questions arose from these conclusions that deserve further investigation. Are short-term asymmetrical communication practices subordinate to long-term symmetrical practices as Dozier et al., (1995) suggested? Or, should those communication practices be considered separately from tactics or interests? Can short-term and long-term public relations be contradictory and complementary at the same time? Should solutions to problems be considered sequentially? Or, should they be considered concurrently in mixed motive relationships as this study might suggest? Can solutions to problems truly be benignly asymmetrical with the parties involved acting as cooperative antagonists?

This study seems to modify the new model of symmetry for two-way public relations practices to a broader spectrum, mixed motive model of public relations. Are there other options to this model? And, in the win/win zone, what other types of win/win are there besides possibly expanding the pie and bridging? Do these other types of win/win serve to get around stalemate, or will those other types of win/win be something new altogether? If the other side will not agree, regardless of any other options, what about dealing beyond unconditionally constructive or win/win or no deal?

This study, like most research in conflict resolution, made the assumption of dyadic negotiation behavior, offering prescriptions to parties prepared to enter one-on-one negotiation (Fisher & Ury, 1981; Pruitt & Rubin, 1986; Walton & McKersie, 1965). By comparison, what about dealing with multiple publics with multiple interests: How do you negotiate with multiple publics? These subjects remain neglected topics (Polzer, Mannix, & Neale, 1995).

In creating the mixed motive model for public relations, I suggested that the ends of the model be one-way public relations models, as in press agentry and public information. Does that make sense? This study suggested that one-way techniques in public relations could be used in two-way programs for public relations. Perhaps the separation of the one-way and two-way models should be re-investigated with the

mixed motives model in mind. Likewise, perhaps the technician versus manager roles in public relations

would bear further scrutiny in light of the mixed motives model.

The possibilities are exciting. The field of public relations definitely seems to be expanding, and

ripe -- ready to explore.

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Thomas Schindler and the Social Dimension of Ethics:
Serious Questions for the Public Relations "Culture"

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Thomas Schindler and the Social Dimension of Ethics:
Serious Questions for the Public Relations "Culture"

Practitioners and scholars have invested a considerable measure of time and energy attempting to address the perplexing ethical dilemmas that periodically confront public relations practitioners. How practitioners can simultaneously respond to the sometimes conflicting demands of management/clients and the greater public interest, for example, has been the subject of a considerable amount of discussion and--one might add--soul searching.

Illustrative are the comments of the editor of the Public Relations Journal who, in a column entitled "Putting Ethical Codes into Practice," states that "the gut issue...is how a public relations professional can serve the client or organization ethically and protect its best interests."[1] Veteran public relations practitioner Daniel Edelman argues that "a major ethical concern involves the handling of dubious and controversial clients, and defending clients who are indefensible."[2] One also detects what almost approaches an obsession among some public relations scholars to construct the most complex of ethical quandaries in this regard and then provide "answers" as to how a practitioner can/might/should respond.

The consideration of moral dilemmas, of course, has a long and honorable tradition in the examination of ethical decision making.

Many textbooks and journals devoted to the study of ethics generally highlight the case study approach. Frequently these case studies are supplemented with comments from experts in ethics and/or a particular profession intended to provide the reader with some guidance into how he/she might personally respond if confronted with such a moral quandary.

Some assert, however, that this emphasis on quandary situations in the study of ethics can be misplaced. Thomas Lickona contends, for example, that "momentous moral decisions...are rare events, not the stuff of our day-to-day moral lives."[3] He believes the "ordinary" occurrences of life provide "the moral choices that, taken together, determine the quality of moral life in society. There is a need to cultivate an 'ethics of the everyday,' a morality of minor affairs, that translates respect for persons into small deeds of kindness, honesty, and decency."[4]

In his book **Ethics: The Social Dimension**, Thomas Schindler argues that "most of what we do...is the result of our moral automatic pilot. We do not stop to think about how we should act; we just carry on according to the usual patterns of our moral life."[5] He agrees with Lickona in asserting that most persons face few situations which would qualify as ethical dilemmas in the strict meaning of that term.

According to Schindler, when ethical quandaries do arise "they are not the result of the collision of two principles existing outside a situation that by some accident bump into each other at

this time."[6] Instead, he states, "quandaries happen when we are confronted by situations in which possible solutions run counter to the role-identities and accepted patterns of society and to the character we have developed, in which the usual responses for some reason no longer work or make sense."[7]

Schindler does, however, see ethical quandaries as "important events both within the historical and cultural framework of a particular society and in the context of the character of a particular individual....while they cannot be taken simply at face value, they do provide an occasion for examining the general thrust of our individual lives and the accepted patterns of society."[8] In other words, instead of focusing on moral dilemmas, one concerned about ethical behavior within a particular craft/profession, needs to look at the culture of that craft/profession as well as that of the larger society generally— at what might be called the "bigger picture." Schindler states:

> Quandaries for individuals are...closely
> related to those existing within society; they
> are never merely private personal affairs. As
> individuals, we participate in the larger social
> order in ways that integrate that order into our
> very identity. Therefore, quandaries existing
> in the historical and cultural context are
> present in our lives as well; and we cannot truly
> understand what is happening to us personally

unless we see our situation in terms of the

broader social context.[9]

He cites, as an example, the time and energy persons in business have expended considering ethical quandaries related to questions revolving around subjects as diverse as affirmative action and truth in advertising. At the same time, however, they continue to "accept the basic moral orientation of the economic and business system as a whole without question."[10] In short, much of the effort that is spent paying attention to the ethical trees would be more profitably expended if it were focused on the ethical forest from which the trees cannot be separated.

The basic trust of Schindler's work has direct application to the study of ethical decision making in public relations. Too often that effort has been directed toward examining the complex ethical dilemmas that may occasionally confront the practitioner, and too rarely toward examining the public relations culture--from an ethical perspective--within which the practitioner operates. The intent of this inquiry is to address that reality. It will follow Schindler's general admonitions by contending that in order to formulate a satisfactory ethical model for public relations, one must move beyond the confines of individualism and consider the "culture" in which the practitioner functions along with the broader social impact that those actions will have relative to what has traditionally been called the public interest--or common good.

The Public Relations "Culture"

Public relations practitioners do not operate in a vacuum. From the moment a college student begins to seriously consider a career in public relations, a process of what might be called enculturation begins. One public relations textbook, for example, contends that "the most important qualifications for a public relations career can be summed up as: an outgoing personality, self-confidence, an understanding of human psychology, the enthusiasm necessary to motivate people, a highly developed sense of competitiveness, and the ability to function as part of a team."[11]

Public relations textbooks also traditionally include a discussion of the practitioner's role relative to society. What is too often lacking, however, is any significant questioning of the underlying assumptions upon which the practitioner's role is predicated. The same textbook cited above suggests that "at the heart of any discussion of ethics in public relations are some deeply troubling questions for the individual practitioner."[12] It then goes on to list several examples including whether or not the practitioner will: (1) lie for a client, (2) help conceal a hazardous condition or illegal act, and/or (3) provide information that presents only part of the truth.[13]

Such questions, however, seem to avoid the more important issue. Why, for example, is whether a practitioner should lie on behalf of a client such a pressing concern in public relations? Is

there something about the public relations culture that engenders questions of this type? Is the situation analogous to that in advertising where any effort to address specific ethical issues is frequently overwhelmed by a need to consider whether individuals and the public interest are served by the central role advertising has played in the creation of what is popularly known as the consumer society?

More specifically, public relations practitioners will never successfully confront the ethical challenges facing the field until they address more substantively some basic assumptions which have become almost indistinguishable from the practice itself. The late Edward Bernays, for example, argued that modern public relations arose out of the insurance industry scandals when those companies realized that "they were completely out of touch with the public they were professing to serve, and required expert advice to show them how they could understand the public and interpret themselves to it."[14]

In reality, the public relations "culture" was already being defined. Early practitioners saw themselves as proponents of those whose causes needed to be "interpreted" to the public. Another public relations pioneer, John W. Hill, made his position in this regard clear when he declared, "We're primarily advocates and we draw upon a deep reservoir of experience in advocating our clients' causes."[15] Widely respected public relations scholar Scott Cutlip, who continues to exhibit an almost dogmatic faith in the efficacy

of the Miltonian concept of a marketplace of ideas, steadfastly maintains that "the social justification for public relations in a free society is to ethically and effectively plead the cause of a client or organization in the free-wheeling forum of public debate."[16]

Is there, however, something inherent in the way public relations has evolved as a spokesperson for others into this marketplace of ideas--something that has become almost intrinsic to the public relations "culture" itself--that makes it susceptible to misuse and abuse? Speaking to the career of the legendary public relations pioneer Ivy Lee, Ray Hiebert suggests that while "Lee was concerned with opening channels of communication to provide information about the real reputations of his clients....(other) less ethical contemporaries used his techniques to create an image as a facade to cover the truth."[17] Hiebert acknowledges that "to be sure, too much public relations is Machiavellian, concerned with maintaining power regardless of ethical considerations."[18]

Hiebert ends his work on Lee by noting, optimistically, that while "his practice has been abused...(one) can hope that a free and open society will in time devise controls on public relations without destroying its essential usefulness, in much the same way that it found means to curb the excesses of business without overthrowing the system."[19]

The continuing failure of public relations to achieve genuine acceptance as a profession or public acknowledgement of its

"essential usefulness" perhaps is a result, at least in part, of a tendency to focus on narrow ethical dilemmas that only occasionally confront a practitioner instead of on the boarder cultural and social questions. More specifically, one might suggest, any effort at "devising controls on public relations" will never provide a satisfactory means for achieving an increased sense of ethical awareness among practitioners. It is in that light that Schindler's work on the social dimension of ethics begins to take on particular importance for public relations.

Problems with "the Marketplace"

Many have questioned whether the suppositions underlying the Miltonian ideal of a marketplace of ideas retain their practical relevance in contemporary American society.[20] They would, for example, seriously challenge Cutlip when he contends that "practitioners serve the public interest by making all points of view heard in the public forum."[21] Critics of the marketplace theory would particularly object to Cutlip's assertion that practitioners help make all points of view articulate.

While this is not the place to debate the continued utility of the marketplace of ideas, it is interesting to note that the latest edition of Cutlip, Center and Broom's Effective Public Relations concedes that "public relations gains advantages for and promotes special interests, sometimes at the cost of the public well-being."[22] This is in line with Jerome Barron's now classic charge that "the idea of a free marketplace where ideas can compete on

their merits has become as unrealistic in the twentieth century as the economic theory of perfect competition. The world in which an essentially rationalist philosophy of the first amendment was born has vanished and what was rationalism is now romance."[23]

The central concern here is that by placing such emphasis on the marketplace theory, practitioners will inevitably view, as Schindler suggests, society as having "merely instrumental value, assisting the individual in obtaining from nature the fulfillment of his or her interests."[24] The marketplace of ideas, in fact, is born out of the same philosophical fabric as the economic marketplace theory made so popular by Adam Smith in his book **Wealth of Nations**--which Schindler refers to as "the gospel of the capitalist or free enterprise system."[25] Schindler argues:

> The marketplace...because of its centrality
> in society strongly influences the images by which
> we understand the self as bounded and separate.
> The self-interest the individual pursues tends to
> focus on the goods available through the
> marketplace. Relations with others are seen as
> contractual in nature, based on one's right to
> work to fulfill one's interests as long as this
> does not interfere with the right of others to
> do the same. But these relations are also
> competitive since the goods one wants are
> sought by others as well.[26]

Because of this focus on the individual rather then society, ethical questions tend to be narrowly focused. Discussion of public relations ethics, as noted, tends to focus on dilemmas or moral quandaries. Is it unethical, for example, for the public relations practitioner to give less than complete information to the news media? Are practitioners responsible for putting out the "whole" story? Does not the practitioner fulfill his/her ethical responsibilities within the marketplace of ideas by representing the client's position as forcefully and favorably as possible? Must the practitioner accept some responsibility if the news media fails in its role to gather and disseminate the "whole" story?

Too frequently public relations practitioners focus on such narrow questions because the public relations culture has conditioned them to view society "fundamentally (as) a transaction between individuals, each with a right to pursue personal interest so long as one does not interfere with another's pursuit."[27] Many see the practitioner as one who provides the expertise of a skilled advocate to those who wish to enter into the marketplace. In performing this role, the practitioner--at least so many maintain-- also serves society because, in Cutlip's words, "it is a basic democratic right that every idea, individual, and institution shall have a full and fair hearing in the public forum--that their merit ultimately must be determined by their ability to be accepted in the marketplace."[28]

The practitioner, in other words, serves society by serving

the particular needs of those who make up society. Adam Smith argued much the same thing when he asserted that the individual business person "by pursuing his own interest...frequently promotes that of society more efficiently than when he really intends to promote it."[29] Society will be served, Smith held, because the individual in seeking "only his own gain...is in this, as in many other cases, led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intention."[30] Contrary to the way many have interpreted his work, it must be noted, Smith did not suggest that those in business should be unconcerned about ethics. Hazlitt, for example, states:

> ...(some)...have interpreted the 'invisible hand' passage as a defense of selfishness, and still others as a confession that a free-market economy is not only built on selfishness but rewards selfishness alone. And Smith was at least partly to blame for this latter inter-pretation. He failed to make explicit that only insofar as people earned their living in legal and moral ways did they promote the general interest....A free economy can function properly only within an appropriate legal and moral framework.[31]

Nevertheless the focus clearly was on individual behavior. That remains too frequently the case for many contemporary public

relations practitioners. Certainly many are concerned about behaving in a legal and--more importantly--moral manner. The spotlight, however, too often falls on the individual because what is ethical is interpreted almost exclusively in individualistic terms. Public relations ethics is defined in terms of the practitioner having the right to pursue his/her client's position as long as the practitioner does not interfere with the rights of others to do the same or purposefully harm them in the process.

Schindler argues, however, that "we cannot be satisfied simply to say that we have not harmed someone, that we have not violated another's rights; nor can we be content to restrict our responsibility to those areas where others have a judicial claim on us."[32] For Schindler, one must go beyond such narrow concerns and acknowledge that ethics has a **social** dimension--that "concern for human good must include the **common** good."[33]

Broader Responsibilities

Schindler maintains that one "must work for the **common** good, that which contributes to the unity of society and to the needs of that unified whole."[34] In fact, he insists, "the public sphere of human existence is the matrix within which our personal life is carried out, and without which our personal life is impossible."[35] More precisely, one depends on society in order to fulfill his/her personal, social and economic needs. With that dependance on others comes an ethical obligation to contribute to the common good--no man or woman is an island in contemporary society.

Further, the common good is something which cannot be achieved unless each makes his/her proportional contribution to it. Fagothey makes this point well when he states:

> The common good is not an arithmetical sum of each individual's contribution but something new resulting from the channeling of human energy and the mobilization of nature's resources. The economic products of an advanced civilization depend on the genius and labor of thousands of men who invented the machines, developed the processes, and continued to work them.[36]

Going further, Schindler holds that one must recognize the common good in discussions of ethics because to do so "is simply an acknowledgement of a basic fact of life; without society, we could not exist as persons; we are simply owning up to a debt that can never fully be repaid."[37] To address this social dimension of ethics public relations practitioners must consider their actions from a broad perspective.

The questions must move beyond what practitioners have a "right" to do ethically in support of a client or management. In examining public relations ethics it is necessary to move beyond considering the practitioner as an autonomous moral agent "disconnected from others who reaches moral conclusions as an independent person isolated from other moral agents at the moment

of ethical decision making."[38] Instead practitioners must address how well they fulfill their **obligations** within society because, to paraphrase Schindler, they bear responsibility for the human flourishing of others and it is only as they address that responsibility that they and their profession will flourish.[39]

Practitioners cannot fall back on the marketplace model in this regard because under that model ethics is perceived primarily as a question of the individual acting rightly or wrongly **within the sphere of his/her personal relations.** Under the marketplace model, the individual has a "right" to enter into the marketplace because, as Cutlip suggests, that right is basic to the definition of a democratic society. Schindler asks, however, "what content do these rights give to human life?"[40] He states:

In and of itself, the possession of rights
is an empty thing. Rights take on meaning,
positive or negative, as they are lived out.
In the case of freedom of speech, for instance,
we can use this right to denounce poverty...or
disseminate pornography. Each of these places
us in a different relation with society and has
a different effect on us personally. In
speaking of the right of free speech, however,
this differentiation is not made. It is simply
stated that each one of us this right. But on
that basis, we can say nothing of who we are;

we remain as empty as the right.[41]

If public relations practitioners view exercising their rights, and those of management/clients, within the marketplace as their primary--too frequently exclusive--concern, far too many practitioners will exhibit a blindness, as they so often have in the past, of the broader common good. As a result they will continue to be viewed by the public and the press as pleaders for special and privileged interests.

Practitioners in too many instances talk "a good game" in reference to a concern about the common good of society. Some perhaps genuinely believe that they can constructively contribute to that good "simply" by representing management or client interests into the marketplace of ideas. It results too often, however, in practitioners viewing that marketplace as an end of and in itself. Former Kennedy administration Federal Communications Commission chairman Newton Minow--most famous for his charge that commercial television was a "vast wasteland"--rejects the naive "ideological view that the marketplace will regulate itself" and, thereby, further the public interest.[42] He agrees that reliance on "the absolute free market approach to the public good has been gospel in our country."[43] Unfortunately, he notes, in recent years that reliance has resulted in debacles impacting on everything from savings and loan institutions to the junk bond financing industry.

In reality, for practitioners to focus on advancing client or management interests into the marketplace of ideas to the effective

exclusion of other ethical considerations is to practice what--
viewed in the most generous light--is commonly referred to as
"enlightened" self-interest, a phrase that qualifies as something
of an oxymoron when one is attempting to clarify how professionals
should approach the process of ethical decision making.[44]

Public relations practitioners interested in achieving genuine
recognition for their field as an ethical calling must be willing
to move beyond self-interest--even the "enlightened" variety--
because, as the chief executive officer of General Foods
Corporation insisted, "regardless of how enlightened that self-
interest may be...it's still self-interest. It is neither healthy
nor wise to claim otherwise."[45] A failure to do so will also
inevitably result in their overlooking "the necessary connection
between personal and social morality."[46]

To suggest that practitioners must move beyond an
individualistic approach to ethics, it must be emphasized, is not
to relegate the individual to some secondary status in the process
of implementing a collectivist view of society. To reject an
individualistic view of ethics does not mean one must move to the
other extreme. It is to contend, however, that the individual can
reach his/her full potential only within the social sphere and for
practitioners to overlook their ethical responsibilities to society
and the common good is--somewhat paradoxically--to ultimately
reject their responsibilities to the individuals who comprise it.
Fagothey speaks to this reality when he states:

The common good is the temporal welfare
of the community, taken both collectively and
distributively. The collectivist stresses the
first element only, making the common good an
entity over and above the individual good, the
former absorbing the latter. The individualist
sees only the second element, making the common
good a mere sum of individual goods. An
adequate view of society and the common good
must find a place between these extremes.
The common good is realized only in the
individuals who make up society, but it is
a good that they could achieve only by the
interaction of many cooperators.[47]

In the end, as in so many other areas of ethical deliberation,
the majority of public relations practitioners will most likely
continue to focus on questions of individual behavior because that
is the "easier" and more "comfortable" thing to do. To question,
and sometimes challenge, the broader social and economic
foundations on which the public relations function has been built--
and in the process examine the practitioner's role in relation to
society--is, in fact, to question and challenge much of the culture
of that society of which the practitioner is a member. Questions
of personal behavior are the substance of "safe" church sermons and
pious oratory. They do not present revolutionary challenges to the

powerful interests that benefit from the prevailing suppositions that make up the culture from which such behavior emanates. Until more people in public relations are willing to challenge some of these "scared cows," the focus will remain on individual behavior and progress toward a genuine growth in an awareness of the social dimension of ethics will remain nothing but an empty dream.

Conclusions

Public relations practitioners interested in improving the ethical standing of their field must seriously consider the public relations "culture" in which they operate because without such an examination they will continue to take as given the "accepted" ways of thinking and behaving that are common to that culture. Practitioners need to remember that the general culture in which one lives and works is the "point of departure in considering what morality actually, concretely means."[48]

Schindler argues that an individual is not a person who simply happens to make use of a particular culture. Instead, he goes so far as to maintain that "in a very real way...(culture creates) the type of individual I am."[49] He holds that the culture of society is "the content out of which our self-identity and our way of being a part of the social and physical world are formed."[50] He believes that in the United States the focus on individualism has blinded Americans to the realities of the social dimension of ethics and that "the effects of this enculturation reach down much more deeply than individualism usually leads...(one) to understand."[51] He

states:

> Culture cannot make me into anything it
> wants; for...at birth I am not merely a piece of
> modeling clay that can be manipulated into any
> shape whatever. I have certain potentialities
> and not others. But when these particular
> potentialities begin to interact with a
> particular culture, certain of them are
> developed and certain others are not. And
> out of this process our distinctive individuality
> emerges.
>
> Culture, then has the power of selection as
> well as of actualization. It in a very real way
> selects which of our potentialities will be
> realized. Certainly, nothing can be actualized
> unless its potentiality exists. But not every
> potentiality we have necessarily becomes a reality
> in our life. And the particular form and
> orientation that potentiality assumes depend upon
> the specific configurations of the culture.[52]

The contention here is that the public relations "culture,"
with its emphasis on individualism and the marketplace of ideas as
a justification for the societal utility of what it is
practitioners do, has resulted in practitioners and public
relations scholars not paying sufficient attention to the social

dimensions of public relations ethics. Too frequently practitioners and public relations scholars have not been sufficiently attentive to a need to transcend a narrowly defined personalistic vision of public relations ethics--whether or not individual practitioners, for example, should conceal important information from the public--and critically consider whether the way in which the field has generally evolved contributes to the common good and why, one must add, there are so many who believe that it does not. Why, for example, do widely respected communications scholars such as Don Pember maintain that:

> When public relations is practiced by
> the book, few have serious criticisms with
> the field. In fact, the public relations
> specialist performs a valuable function to
> his or her employer or client and to the
> community. But more often than not PR is
> not practiced by the book. Even those in
> the field acknowledge that.[53]

The individual practitioner will be able to practice his/her craft in a genuinely more ethical manner only if the public relations culture itself becomes more ethical. Practitioners will find it very difficult to practice even a personalistic morality within a craft/profession that does not devote sufficient attention to the ethics of its own environment because "the virtuous individual needs a virtuous environment; and, to be virtuous, an

individual must pursue a virtuous environment."[54]

This means that public relations practitioners and scholars must move beyond a focus on the ethical dilemmas that occasionally impact on the individual practitioner. They need to examine why issues of deception so frequently become a concern in public relations. They need to ask why management and clients hire public relations practitioners in the first place. Newsom, Scott, and VanSlyke Turk, for example, suggest that:

> There will always be some people in the
> business word who are convinced that all they
> need is a lawyer to keep them out of jail and
> a PR practitioner to keep bad news out of the
> paper.[55]

Haberman and Dolphin make almost the identical point when they argue that "many managers and leaders still look upon PR people as organizational firefighters and troubleshooters. When disaster strikes, the public relations firefighters, otherwise left to play checkers, are summoned by an alarm to speed to the rescue."[56] If these quotations are accurate, the "cleansing" of the public relations culture must go beyond those who claim the occupational title--it must extend to those who hire them as well. If that does not occur, efforts to build a profession in which ethics are placed on the "front burner" is, unfortunately but realistically, doomed to failure.

Public relations practitioners and scholars concerned about

raising the ethical consciousness of the field would do well to pay

attention to people like Susan Weiner who argues that "making moral

choices is not like choosing a flavor of the week....those who

truly internalize ethics demonstrate them naturally."[57]   But, she

also maintains, those ethical values are internalized in a

particular environment and the environment in which one lives--and,

it might be added, practices--is the ground in which are planted

the seeds of moral development.   Which is similar to the point

Schindler makes when he states:

> It is not just that what we do has broader
>
> social consequences. We cannot know ourselves
>
> unless we also know our culture. We cannot
>
> examine our conscience in any depth unless we
>
> first bring to consciousness the specific
>
> values our culture holds. For, like it or not,
>
> our culture is a part of us; and the more we
>
> deny that fact or refuse to take it into
>
> consideration, the more we fail to see who
>
> we are and what we are about.[58]

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The Effect of Chief Executive Officers' Misdeeds

on the Companies they Represent:

a Case Study of Drexel Burnham Lambert, Inc.

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The Effect of Chief Executive Officers' Misdeeds on the Companies they Represent: a Case Study of Drexel Burnham Lambert, Inc. and Helmsley Corporation

Abstract

Companies are known by their leaders' deeds. This study focuses on the effects of leaders' misdeeds on the companies they represent. The study examines Michael Milken with Drexel Burnham Lambert, Inc., and Leona Helmsley with Helmsley Corporation and evaluates their crisis management plans. This study found that corporate figures misdeeds have profound negative impact on companies and suggests guidelines for effective crisis management. These findings have repercussions for businesses, public relations practitioners and policy makers.

Topic Statement and Justification

"Business crises put corporate reputations and survival to the test" (Herrero & Pratt, p.25). Crises can occur because of unplanned events, problems with a product, or wrongdoing of the key corporate figure. This paper focuses on the latter: how the actions of prominent central figures affect the companies they are associated with. It also will suggest a positive course of action that companies can use should misdeeds of a key figure occur.

These figures are usually the chief executive officers of the corporation and are often in the spotlight. Their names and faces are frequently recognized by the average consumer. The key spokesperson is recognized through the actions of the company, and the company is known by the deeds of its leaders. The two reputations are interrelated.

A key figure can bring a company out of despair but similarly their misdeeds can wreck havoc on a company with whom they are heavily associated. The public tends to view a corporation as being only as good as its leaders. When these leaders fail, often their businesses do also.

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Therefore, what happens when the primary spokesperson(s) participates in illegal, immoral, or unethical practices or his reputation is called into question? How does this affect the corporation's reputation and customer loyalty? It is necessary to find out what effect and to what extent central figures actions' have on the reputations of the companies they represent and, also, the best way to handle their indiscretions to protect public opinion of the organization.

This research is important on a practical level because if public relations practitioners know what influence a key spokesperson plays in relation to the company's image, they will be better able to monitor the central figure's reputation and improve corporate image. If companies do nothing when these incidents occur, their businesses will flounder. By looking at the effect that leaders' unethical actions have, the way the company's public relations responded and what effect their responses had, this study will suggest a "how to" plan that companies can use when faced with leaders' indiscretions in order to stabilize and improve public opinion of their organization.

Literature Review

Many studies have been done on crisis management and what companies should do in the face of adversity, but none have examined crises caused by wrongdoing of the chief executive officer. The only mention of the key corporate figures is what they can do to aid in the public relations process, for example by way of being a spokesperson. The assumption of these studies is that the primary figures have had nothing to do with the onset of the crisis and that they are only being called in to add credibility.

As no similar studies have been done, the literature review will reflect crises that have occurred and what was done to handle them. These crises provide insight because they show different ways of handling crises and which proved effective.

The first of these studies does involve the role of executives in the company but does so indirectly. Hearit (1994) examines the incidents that occurred at Chrysler, Toshiba, and Volvo and outlines three objectives in any crisis situation. Different crises and situations mandate different approaches.

In June of 1987, two Chrysler Corporation executives were accused of driving cars without odometers and claiming that these cars were new. Over 60,000 cars were driven, some up to 400 miles. Chairman Lee Iacocca attacked the situation head on with the stance that it was not an illegal practice and used the phrase "test program" to lessen the claim. A fine line exists between passivity and attacking an issue in such a way that heightens the problem (Hearit, 1994). Iacocca stated that the company made a mistake and offered to replace the damaged cars (Hearit, 1994).

The Toshiba Corporation was charged with marketing top-secret equipment to the Soviets in 1987, closing the United States edge over them. This action raised issues of national security and was estimated to cost the United States 30 billion dollars. For this reason, the Senate proposed a two- to five-year ban on all company merchandise. "The export-control chief of the Commerce Department, Paul Freedenberg, called the illegal sale 'the most damaging(technology transfer) of the postwar era'"(Hearit, 1994).

Toshiba addressed an apologia(a statement that offers a counter attack on the situation)(Hearit, 1994). Their main focus

was that it was a branch of Toshiba, Toshiba Machine Company

(TMC), that was the guilty party. In doing this, Toshiba claimed

lack of knowledge. They apologized for "wrongdoing" but did not

address the specific charges(Hearit, 1994).

"Deceptive advertising" was the charge against the Volvo

Corporation in 1990. They showed monster trucks riding over Volvo

cars and causing no damage while smashing the competition's car.

What the company failed to tell the public was that this was a

dramatization of a re-enactment and that the cars had been

fortified with steel and wood prior to the filming. Their

response was admitting that they should have labeled the

advertisement a dramatization but they lessened the impact by

saying that they recreated an event that had truly occurred.

Denying of "intent" often reduces the severity of the incident

(Hearit, 1994).

Hearit outlines three objectives for public relations crisis

management. First, the company should offer an opposing story to

the charges of "wrongdoing." Second, a statement of regret with

minimal responsibility should be circulated. Third, the company

should try to remove the association of the event with the

company's name (Hearit, 1994).

The opposing story, or apologia, is best accomplished by using a strategic name, perhaps that of the company chairman or president, together with a list of events to put the crisis in order. Apologias seek to salvage corporate images (Hearit, 1994). The statement of regret's purpose is to express sorrow while downplaying the company's participation in the wrongdoing. When an organization does not acknowledge liability, the company stock holds stable (Hearit, 1994). A company can either confess limited accountability or can evade responsibility but they should say that the problem has been corrected and that a repeat episode will not occur (Hearit, 1994). Achieving dissociation with the event is the third goal. A firm can accomplish this in three ways: an opinion/knowledge dissociation, and individual/group dissociation, an act/essence dissociation, or a combination of these. An opinion/knowledge dissociation states that the talk about the circumstances of the event is simply opinions (as in the Chrysler situation). In big organizations, a firm may choose to use the individual/group dissociation as Toshiba did by utilizing scapegoats (Hearit, 1994). The act/essence dissociation confesses to the "evil" act but claims this deed is atypical of

the corporation at large. Volvo did this as it denied bad intent and showcased past good works (Hearit, 1994).

As stated by Hearit, the main point in crises is to try to manipulate terms used to depict events in order to show the incident in the most favorable light. Severe crises may result in fines and bannings, but the approach an organization takes can dramatically affect the severity of the incident (Hearit, 1994).

The following three studies do not deal with the executives of the company but are included to show different strategies for handling crises. Stevenson (1992) looks at the conflict over charges of Sears' auto mechanics committing repair fraud such as repairing perfectly good parts, overcharging for work, and charging for work never done. Undercover plainclothesmen visited six Sears auto mechanics and found that they were suggesting unnecessary repairs (Stevenson, 1992).

Stevenson states that two responses to a crisis exist. A company can either deal with the conflict head-on or hide and shift the blame. Sears' first response was the latter, claiming that these accusations were false and "politically motivated" by the state of California. Their primary spokespersons were

lawyers, and they decided not to conduct a press conference. They dealt with this event by handling it on a person-to-person basis instead of addressing the widespread magnitude of the problem (Stevenson, 1992).

This reactive (passive) stance lowered the public's trust in them and estranged consumers. After realizing that this approach was having negative repercussions, Sears became more involved by issuing a letter from Chairman Edward A. Brennan. At this point, it was too late to recover from much of the accrued damage. The initial response to a problem is crucial to the public's opinion of the event (Stevenson, 1994).

Wilkenson (1991) shows how Johnson & Johnson, the makers of Tylenol, went above and beyond the call of duty to restore faith in their consumers. In 1982, four women, two men, and a 12-year-old girl died of cyanide poisoning. Tylenol capsules laced with cyanide were the culprit (Wilkerson, 1991).

Johnson & Johnson responded by immediately recalling Tylenol capsules and introducing tamper-resistant tablets, the first in the market. They took a misfortune and turned it into a cutting-edge invention (Wilkerson, 1991). Prompt handling of the crisis caused Tylenol sales to remain stable (Stevenson, 1992)

Johnson & Johnson's final effort to restore public opinion in the company and successfully put the event behind them involved paying a set amount of money to the victims' families. The specific sum was not given but it was stated that a certain portion of this money would go toward putting the victims' children through college (Wilkerson, 1991). Even after all the tragedy, Johnson & Johnson emerged a hero and Tylenol remains a household name.

Greenberg & Shell (1993) recount a similar scare by Pepsi Cola. Charges that syringes and other dangerous objects had been inserted in Pepsi cans created quite a stir. The Pepsi Company decided not to recall the product, an unusual move, until they were sure it had been tampered with. The public, however, was not consoled by knowing that there was more than one specific production location which made it unlikely that a national scam would take place. The plant where it did occur was uncooperative, and the media hit upon this and heightened the problem. The Pepsi Cola Company knew they had to quell the public's fears in order to retain customer alliance (Greenberg & Shell, 1993).

Pepsi's plan consisted of having one spokesperson, Craig E.

Weatherup, who spoke on "Larry King Live," "The MacNeil/Lehrer

Newshour," and "Nightline." Pepsi made a wise decision to rely

on the respected Federal Drug Administration's(FDA) advisement.

Pepsi did not respond right away but when they did, it had a vast

impact. For three consecutive days, Pepsi produced separate Video

News Releases(VNR's) which showed production procedures and

"supposed tampering." These VNR's reached a vast audience of 365

million viewers (Greenberg & Shell, 1993). Adding to the

public's relief was that the Federal Bureau of Investigation

pursued the case and arrested 20 people for false claims

(Greenberg & Shell, 1993). Pepsi, however, did not stop here.

They launched a very successful advertising campaign to help

combat the problem. The Pepsi Cola Company ran an ad in 12

national newspapers saying "Pepsi is pleased to

announce...nothing" (Greenberg & Shell, 1993). The ad went on to

discuss how allegations were untrue. Then, it proceeded to tell

of Pepsi's upcoming plans.

Pepsi Cola's vice president of public affairs, Rebecca

Madeira said "(a) crisis can only be in your control if you

cooperate with the media, invite them in, and furnish them with

facts. Your only defense when your company is on trial is to be a participant in that trial" (Greenberg & Shell, 1993).

As shown, crises occur in many different companies but it is the way companies choose to respond that affects their future outcomes. It seems reasonable to expect that this is also true in crises caused by the chief executive officer's misdeeds.

Theoretical Rationale

Herrero & Pratt (1995) suggest a theory for crisis management. They believe that "image is perceptual reality" (Herrero & Pratt, 1995). Herrero & Pratt do not specify what they mean by this statement but the researcher interprets it to mean that what the public views the company as, they believe it is. This can have both negative and positive connotations. For example, if the public perceives that a company is not responding to a crisis even if they are taking drastic measures, the negative image that the company is unresponsive will become "reality" to the public. In contrast, if the company conveys their concern to the public, even while they are not concerned, the public will hold the positive image of responsiveness as "reality" until otherwise learned. This thought suggests that companies have some degree of control over the outcome of their crises. If a company presents a concerned and responsive image and follows through with it, they may be "perceived" in a more positive light.

In "How to Manage a Crisis Before-or Whenever-It Hits", the authors state that many disasters have early warning signs and that it is the ignoring of these signs that precipitate trouble.

For example, in the 1992 McDonald's incident the company knew the coffee being served was too hot but failure to act on this created bad burns on a woman's groin area and a $640,000 lawsuit. Similarly, Intel(1994) knew that their computers contained an error-prone chip but did nothing about it until it was brought out in the media(Herrero & Pratt, 1995).

Herrero and Pratt state that some crises can be avoided even before they occur if a company plans properly and addresses potential problems early on. This is labeled "crisis abortion." The problem becomes a full-blown cycle once a crisis occurs. However, some crises (ie. natural disasters) are inevitable and for this reason, a company should have a thought-out crisis management plan ready to enact when situations occur. Herrero & Pratt assert that long-term crisis communications are more effective than short-term communications(Herrero & Pratt, 1995).

Herrero and Pratt suggest a four-phase crisis management model. The model is based on two facets: every disaster has a formidable "life cycle," and to evade negative press a company should participate in "socially responsible activities"(Herrero & Pratt, 1995).

The first phase is called issues management. In this stage, a company evaluates and plans for any upcoming potential problems by looking at issues in the community and the effects these issues have on the organization. For example, McDonald's could have looked at customers' concerns of safety and predicted what problems might occur on this issue. Also, the firm chooses a communication strategy to thwart crises. This strategy's main goal is crisis-prevention. This phase is important because "Long-term crisis communication strategies deal with publics in a less volatile environment and attract little or no negative media coverage" (Herrero & Pratt, 1995).

The next stage is planning-prevention. Having a proactive policy, forming a crisis management team, designating a media spokesperson, and looking at how one would implement a crisis plan are the steps in this stage. It is at this point that companies identify impending problems and their possible outcomes. In this stage, McDonald's could have paid more attention to the fact that customers previously complained of too hot coffee (Herrero & Pratt, 1995). They could have speculated that this may eventually cause a problem. Stages one and two take a proactive stance (when the crisis is brewing) whereas stages

three and four are often reactive (once the crisis has occurred)
(Herrero & Pratt, 1995).

Phase three is the actual crisis. This is where the lady
received groin burns -- the action itself. It becomes necessary
to tell the public what is presently being done to correct the
problem, and thus, getting this message out in a timely manner is
imperative. Oftentimes, companies are too late and public opinion
is already decided (Herrero & Pratt, 1995). A company should
constantly be evaluating the crisis response. Organizations need
to make sure all audiences, internal and external, are receiving
up-to-date information about the corrective actions being
taken(Herrero & Pratt, 1995).

The final stage in this ongoing process is the post-crisis.
The firm must continue to regulate the concern and keep the media
aware of any new developments. Organizations can use the feedback
they receive to benefit them in the future. They ask questions
such as "Was our plan effective?" and "Did we get the message out
clearly?" Also important is the formation of long-term
communications tactics to lesson the damage produced by the
incident. Herrero & Pratt declare that "the end of one crisis is
usually the beginning of another"(Herrero & Pratt, 1995).

This model can be applied to a crisis involving a prominent person identified with the company in a similar fashion. First, a company could look at issues that might come up involving their chief executive officers. If the key figures have had bad publicity in the past or sensitive subjects associated with them, the company can address these issues and have the leaders engage in "socially responsible activities." By looking at these issues in advance, the company may be able to resolve a potential problem before it starts.

Second, the company needs to have a proactive policy, a crisis management team, a media spokesperson, and strategies ready for implementation as previously discussed. This planning-prevention can be used in the same fashion for crises caused by chief executive officers' misdeeds as those caused by product problems.

In the third stage, the company needs to inform both its internal and external audiences what has occurred and what is going to happen to the key figure. In crises dealing with leaders' misdeeds, it is still very important to be upfront with the media and other audiences.

Lastly, a company could keep the public and internal audiences informed of any new developments or actions taken by or against the key figure in the future to show their concern.

Herrero & Pratt's four-phase model of crisis management considers many aspects and is very effective. The only thing that it does not consider is the company's reputation before the onset of the crisis. An organization's beginning reputation could have an effect on how the company is perceived during and after the crisis. This study, however, will look only at prominent cases where the company's reputations were good before the scandals. This study will use Herrero & Pratt's theory to examine case studies to see what strategies of the four-phase model the companies used and which they disregarded, to look at the outcome of their crises and to derive conclusions.

Statement of Hypotheses and Methodology

Herrero & Pratt suggested a four-phase crisis management model and gave examples to illustrate it that dealt with problems associated with a product. The general research question here is whether and how this crisis management model also pertains to crises caused by the wrongdoing of the key corporate figure.

Specific research questions addressed here are: Are companies able to regain their standing in the community and how is public opinion affected? If companies confronted with misdeeds of their key corporate figures employ Herrero & Pratt's crisis management model, will they be successful?

The emphasis of this study is two-fold. First, the researcher will examine two cases in depth where key corporate figures were associated with a company and engaged in wrongdoing: Michael Milken with Drexel Burnham Lambert, Inc., and Leona Helmsley with Helmsley Corporation. The researcher will scrutinize the prominent newspaper and magazine articles written during and after their trials to see what actually happened and the results of their actions. The researcher is, also, going to try to contact individuals who were employed at the time of the

crises and gain an inside perspective on what it was like, what actions were taken, and how they feel the incidents affected the company.

Second, the researcher will look to see if any of the steps in Herrero & Pratt's model were used and if so, what kind of effect they had. Did the company have a crisis management policy ready to enact? Did they respond to the crisis in time?

The researcher will report the conclusions of what occurred and what the outcomes were in the two case studies and will then interpret the findings in an effort to develop some "how to" guidelines for future reference by analyzing the data.

The potential criticisms of this study are 1) limited number of case studies, 2) the selection of the case studies, and 3) generalization of the findings.

The first question asked of the methodology might be "Why examine only two case studies?" The researcher's response to this is that to really get an understanding of what occurred, she will need to become an expert on the cases and study them in great depth. Because of limited time, the researcher is forced to choose between getting a general idea of several cases or focusing intently on two cases. The researcher believes that

focusing intently on two studies will yield far better results

and more accurate information.

Another criticism of the methodology might be "Why were

these two cases chosen?" These cases were chosen for several

reasons. First, they are well-known and are familiar to many

people. Second, both were very successful companies that at one

time had a great business and reputation going for them. With

everything else in place and a high standing before the

incidents, one can be sure that whatever effects and outcomes

occurred were results of the misdeeds and not other factors.

Finally, both incidents occurred in the last decade, so they show

present thinking and mind set.

Lastly, one may doubt that the findings of this study can be

generalized to other case studies. However, all crises contain

similar elements and have repeatable patterns. Herrero & Pratt

assert that certain stages exist in crises. Also, the steps in

the model if followed seem to yield consistently better outcomes

showing that crises are somewhat predictable in pattern and that

handling them in a particular fashion seems to yield more

positive and stable results. For this reason, the researcher

asserts that the findings of this study will be useful and

applicable to other crises. The researcher understands that no

two circumstances are identical but feels that knowing how

certain crises happened, what actions occurred and what the

results were will provide a substantial base of knowledge for

understanding and handling future crises.

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Results

Michael Milken, associated with Drexel Burnham Lambert, remains the "biggest securities-fraud case in history" (Gotschall, 1991). Milken, described as personable, self-effacing, and down-to-earth by one of his employees, was a junk bond genius for Drexel Burnham Lambert Inc. (Gotschall, 1991). Milken was responsible for building up the company with his infamous junk bond (high yield securities) investing. Valued at $13 billion at one time, he constructed a $200 billion market in junk bonds (Gotschall, 1991). "Milken helped raise billions of dollars for upstart companies in the 1980's--including Turner Broadcasting, MCI and Tele-Communications Inc.--that were struggling to get financing then but have become multibillion-dollar leaders in their industries" (Abrahms, 1995).

However, his investing was not above board. Milken was charged with exploiting the industry through intricate partnerships making the market appear "healthier" than it really was. He was also accused of misleading clients (Bates, 1990).

"He took insider-information and used it in the bond market," said Daniel Scannel, financial consultant for Smith-

Barney. Scannel describes two kinds of bonds - "AAA" bonds, which have the highest rating, and junk bonds, which are the lowest form of bonds and explains that the bond market reacts opposite to the stock market.

Scannel says that Milken found that junk bonds do comply with market indicators, unlike "AAA" bonds and came up with the plan to use inside information to make money. He received information indicators of when bonds were likely to drop. He would then sell them to individuals and collect their money, but often these bonds would fail. Milken took a perfectly good system and tainted it with a breach of information (Scannel, Thurs., March 7, 1996).

Milken was charged with 98 criminal charges and chose to plead guilty to six securities fraud violations (Mahr, 1990). In November of 1990, Milken was sentenced to 10 years in prison and served two (Abrahms, 1995). He was prohibited from ever working again in the securities industry and had to put in many hours of community service (Paltrow, 1992). Milken has since paid over $600 million in restitution to the government and his victims (Bates, James, 1990).

What kind of public relations did Milken choose to employ? First, he decided to publish a coffee-table book explaining junk bonds with the help of writers from Robinson Lake Public Relations Firm. They also arranged "snapshot" photos of him with the underprivileged and handicapped children. Milken donated more money to causes such as the Girl Scouts of America, the Jewish National Fund, and the City University of New York (Gotschall, 1991).

Despite public relations attempts, Milken and Drexel Burnham Lambert's reputation could not be salvaged. How did the actions of one key figure affect the company? The company has now disintegrated (Gotschall, 1991). Milken has faced several civil lawsuits. Among these is a lawsuit by Columbia Savings & Loan for $1.5 billion (Bates, 1990).

Scannel believes that Milken is currently a private advisor of hedge funds to the wealthy, even though he has been banned from the industry. The hedge funds are large funds, often hundreds of thousands of dollars or more. By having Milken oversee these funds, rich individuals can get around some of the Security Exchange Commissions'(SEC) regulations (Scannel, Thurs., March 7, 1996).

Perhaps one of the most famous examples of all times is Leona Helmsley and Helmsley Corporation. In August of 1989, Helmsley was sentenced on 33 accounts of tax evasion and mail fraud. As copartner of Helmsley Hotels, she wrote off many huge personal expenses as business items. Examples of such items include "a $45,000 birthday present for Harry Helmsley, altered $3 million in invoices for renovation work, and clothes which were recorded as uniforms" (Jordan, 1989). Her copartner and husband was deemed incompetent to stand trial. "Leona Helmsley and the defendants convicted in the federal case face more than 100 years in prison and a maximum of $7 million in fines" (Jordan, 1989).

Helmsley was not the only one left with a damaged reputation. Due to her scandal, her accountants' reputations were called into question (Scherer, 1989).

The actions of Helmsley greatly affected the future of the real estate property she was associated with. The real estate was in trouble before the scandal due to overpricing but after such negative publicity, revenues plummeted and top executives resigned (Grant, 1989). The company is still in existence but the scandal had a significant negative impact.

The researcher tried to contact individuals that were around and involved in the companies at the time of the scandals to verify the happenings and public relations strategies utilized. For Drexel Burnham Lambert, Inc., she first called information in New York City, the previous location of company headquarters, only to find that there was no longer a listing for this company. She then called information in Washington, D.C. to try to track down Robinson Lake Public Relations Firm, one of the major firms associated with Milken during the scandal. There were also no listings for this name. A few related names were listed and the researcher contacted them to no avail - they were not connected with Robinson Lake Public Relations Firm.

As for contacts for Helmsley Corporation and Leona Helmsley, the researcher called New York City information. Helmsley Corporation was not listed, so she called the Helmsley Carlton Count Hotel and received the number for Corporate Headquarters. Upon calling corporate headquarters, she spoke with one of the chief executive officers. When the researcher stated what she was doing and asked for information, she was told that they could not release that information and the only way to possibly attain it

was to submit a written request to Leona Helmsley, herself, at their headquarters (where she currently has an office) explaining the information sought as it could not be released without her permission. After submitting a written request, it would then go before the review board and the researcher would receive a response as to whether the information could be released or not and what the content of information would be. This process is time-consuming and due to the time constraints of the study, this data could not be obtained. The researcher, however, was fascinated by the high level of confidentiality regarding the information on the sentencing and public relations strategies employed.

How did Milken and Helmsley use public relations strategies as a means for recovery? One can assess their actions using Herrero & Pratt's four-phase crisis management plan.

The articles looked at suggested that Milken was responsible for any public relations strategies used rather than Drexel Burnham Lambert implementing any. Milken did use long-term communications such as engaging in "socially responsible activities" (snapshot photos with children and charity donations) and increased these after public declaration of his misdeeds.

However, the company probably did not anticipate a potential scandal by one of its top employees.

As for the second stage of planning-prevention, it does not seem that the company had a policy ready for enactment. When the crisis actually hit (stage 3), Milken did hire a public relations team, Robinson Lake Public Relations Firm, to help him. He, also, decided to publish a book to let the public know what the junk bonds were about but as of 1991, it still had not been published (Gotschall, 1991). Drexel Burnham Lambert and Milken did little to inform the public of what was being done.

The fourth stage, or post-crisis, was virtually ignored by Drexel Burnham Lambert and Milken. As for their handling of the crisis, it was unsuccessful as evidenced by the disintegration of the company.

The researcher was unable to find any public relations strategies implemented by Drexel Burnham Lambert itself. It seems in this case study, had the company been more involved, used Herrero & Pratt's model and kept the public informed of what it was doing to correct the situation, the company would have been much more successful and possibly still exist. The researcher feels that their lack of action caused the organization's

downfall. If they had used Herrero & Pratt's model, the organization could have countered some of the negative press with positive actions and shown remorse which could have possibly raised public opinion of the institution.

In the Helmsley case study, the researcher was unable to find any public relations strategies used. Strategies may have been used but if so, they were not presented and publicly known. Not having any easily-visible strategies was not effective. In this case study, it appears that using Herrero & Pratt's model could conceivably have been helpful to reduce negative public opinion of the company.

Based on these two case studies, the hypothesis that key corporate figures engaged in wrongdoing would greatly negatively affect the companies associated with them was supported. The hypothesis that companies that used Herrero & Pratt's model would lessen the negative impact of the incident could not be shown as the two companies did not use this model of crisis management. One could infer slight support for the model due to the findings that the corporations did not use the model and did not fare well but this information is not substantial enough to derive a conclusion either way. In the future, the researcher would

suggest finding case studies that utilized this model before examining them to provide a more accurate assessment.

The researcher realizes the limitations of this study: Not being around during the crisis, not being able to get the inside information on what strategies were actually used, and not using case studies that clearly employed Herrero & Pratt's model. She is basing her conclusions on the evidence presented in the media and the unfavorable outcomes of the scandals. She feels that as in any crisis, it is imperative to have a thought-out plan and that Herrero & Pratt's model provides a good framework to follow.

Discussion

This study seems to suggest that having a public relations crisis management plan is mandatory for companies and that not acting is not a viable option amidst crises. Without these models and plans, it seems that organizations are bound to flounder. This study seems to suggest that this not only applies to crises caused by product-or event-based problems but also to problems generated by key corporate figures' misdeeds. In the two case studies presented, neither had an effective or complete plan and neither fared well. It appears to the researcher that an effective plan could be the same as those used for product-or event-based crises.

This study also appears to show that the misdeeds of chief executive officers do indeed have a profound negative effect on the companies they represent. Drexel Burnham Lambert was not able to recover while Helmsley Corporation did but with significant negative repercussions.

This information is important to businesses as it suggests that companies need to keep a close eye on the actions of their chief executive officers and for possible scandals relating to

them. They can remember that key figures are not above scandal.

Companies can also promote the public opinion of their key

figures by having them engage in "socially responsible

activities." They might want to issue a reasonable set of checks

and balances on key corporate figures that will not hurt employee

morale and trust and could make these checks and balances

publicly-known. These actions should protect and build the

reputation and public opinion of companies and secure public

trust.

Public relations practitioners can use this information to

make sure that when they are faced with similar situations, they

take action and do not turn away from crises. They can go ahead

and plan now for crises by constructing a crisis management plan

and assessing what they would do if a similar situation occurred.

They can also learn to address problems in an effective way.

Looking at these two case studies, they can ascertain what was

not effective and, therefore, learn from Drexel Burnham Lambert,

Inc. and Helmsley Corporation's mistakes.

Policy makers might want to suggest that companies have a

series of checks and balances on their chief executive officers.

Often, top executives do not have to report to anybody and,

therefore, can keep their actions more secretive than other employees. Having an unobtrusive set of checks and balances may increase public trust and ensure companies of a more secure reputation and less likely chance of crises occurring pertaining to key figures' misdeeds. Requiring this might keep businesses more above board in the future and would, in effect, have a favorable effect on the public opinion of corporations.

For future studies, the researcher would suggest that investigators try to obtain the inside story of what happened behind closed doors of these two companies. She would also suggest they look at a corporate scandal where Herrero & Pratt's model was implemented to accurately assess its effectiveness. This was the first study done on this topic so due to time constraints and lack of background information from other studies, it was not possible but would be useful in the future.

A complete list of "how to" guidelines cannot be compiled through this research but some can be suggested. First, companies should make sure that they have a crisis management plan, regardless of which one they choose. Second, companies need to respond during crises and not become passive observers of their fate. Public opinion and crisis management is an interactive

process. Companies need to communicate with the public and media
and make their actions publicly-known. Lastly, companies need to
keep a watch on their key corporate figures because their actions
will and do significantly affect the company's stature. The
researcher would suggest continued use of Herrero & Pratt's model
of crisis management based on the correlation that when it was
not used, the plans were not effective. This is not a definitive
reason to stick to it but the researcher feels that the model has
been applied to situations that were successful and continues to
provide a good framework. More research, however, is needed.

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Coverage of Public Relations on Network Television News:
An Exploratory Census of Content

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Abstract

Media coverage of public relations topics is discussed.
A census of network television news stories about public relations
is described. An increase in coverage from 1980 through 1995 is
found. Politicians and foreign governments are the most commonly
reported on users. Stories tend to have a neutral tone and assume
the press agentry model of public relations. Themes usually
involve war, disaster, or distraction. Explanations of the type
of coverage and potential audience effects are brought up.

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The relationship of public relations to journalism and the media is an important but sometimes fractious one. While there is a certain amount of co-dependence between the two professions, there are also serious disputes and frictions regarding their respective roles and activities. Institutional philosophies and attitudes of practitioners from the two fields are the basis of many such problems.

A series of surveys looking at the opinions of journalists regarding public relations over the past 20 years have consistently found those opinions to be negative. As a group, journalists have ranked public relations last (Aronoff, 1975; Carroll, 1994) and next to last (Kopenhaver, 1985) in a list of 16 professions in terms of respect and esteem. Olasky (1989) suggests there are professional jealousies between the two fields. Ryan and Martinson write of a "love-hate relationship" between journalism and public relations and conclude that their research shows an "antagonism that is firmly embedded in journalistic culture" (1988, p. 139).

Perhaps the most cited example of the bad feelings between journalism and public relations professionals affecting business practices is a policy implemented at the <u>Washington Post</u> during the eighties which banned PR practitioners from access to the paper's editorial pages. In a statement on the matter, <u>Post</u> editor Meg Greenfield said of public relations, "It's a hustle," and said of

public relations people, "we don't want any of that damned crowd around here" (Cannon, 1982, p. 35).

Whether such contentious thoughts and actions on the part of journalists have any effect on how topics related to public relations are covered in the news, or whether that coverage might influence how audiences perceive public relations as a field, are questions that have received limited research attention. A primary purpose of the present paper is to examine how network television news covers public relations and to provide some framework for looking at audience perceptions of PR.

Past Content Studies

Among the work that has looked at portrayals of public relations is an analysis of mass communication textbooks which found an overall negative bias against PR in the content of such texts (Cline, 1982). In discussing the implications of this finding, Cline worries about the potential impact of such a bias on students as future journalism or public relations professionals and raises the point that it may "perpetuate the antagonism between reporters and practitioners" (p. 71). Indeed, it seems a valid concern that socializing journalism students to disrespect public relations might lead to negative attitudes and unfair treatment of public relations as a news topic.

Two prior studies have looked at the issue of how the news media cover stories related to public relations. Bishop (1988) conducted an electronic content analysis of three daily newspapers for a one month period and found no mention of the term "public relations" and only three mentions of "PR." When he expanded his

investigation to include the term "publicity," 121 news items were found. While his coding scheme interpreted the majority of these as being positive in tone, Bishop points out that newspaper coverage of the public relations profession seems to be equated solely with its publicity function and calls this a "distorted view" of the field.

In a somewhat more extensive study, Spicer (1993) looked at media content containing either the term "public relations" or "PR" in both newspapers and magazines. Of the 84 items included in his analysis, over 80 percent were coded as using the term in a negative context, leading to his conclusion that "the negative attitudes of reporters and editors toward the public relations profession are indeed behaviorally evident in their negative use of the terms public relations and PR" (p. 59). Spicer further determined that stories reporting on public relations were based on seven distinct themes, which he labeled distraction, disaster, challenge, hype, merely, war, and schmooze. Like Bishop, Spicer also found the majority of the items he examined were based on a press agentry/publicity model of public relations.

Although current evidence is limited to these two studies, it does seem that the print media have a certain way of portraying the public relations profession. To generalize, PR is usually presented as being synonymous with publicity or press agentry and is often associated with negative connotations. There is even less evidence about the reasons behind such portrayals, but explanations attributing them to journalistic attitudes toward public relations would seem viable.

Still lacking in the literature on this issue is a consideration of how the broadcast media handle public relations topics in the news. Dominick (1984) has studied television news coverage of business topics in general and concluded that it tends to be more negative than nonbusiness news. Keenan (1995) looked at tv news stories dealing specifically with the advertising industry and found negative items outnumbering positive ones by nearly four to one. But to date, questions about how television news covers public relations have not been raised.

Possible Audience Effects

Whether the attitudes of journalists are related to how public relations is covered and whether that coverage is positive or negative are valid research points in and of themselves. From a broader perspective, they might also be tied to matters of how media audiences perceive the public relations profession and public relations activities.

One paradigm for addressing media influence on audience perceptions is offered by cultivation analysis. As described by Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, and Signorielli (1994), cultivation analysis is a means of determining the "contributions television viewing makes to viewer conceptions of social reality" (p. 23).

Models based on cultivation analysis have been used to examine audience conceptions of reality concerning a range of phenomena, including various professions. Pfau, Mullen, and Garrow (1995) studied the medical profession and found that public perceptions are related to how physicians are depicted on television. A similar study showed direct relationships between television

portrayals and viewer perceptions of attorneys on several
dimensions (Pfau, Mullen, Deidrich, and Garrow, 1995).

Methodologically, cultivation analysis is two pronged. It
consists of detailed content analysis for determining how a topic
is presented in the media and survey research for measuring level
of media exposure and audience perceptions of the profession or
topic under study. Conclusions about media influence on
perceptions of social reality are then reached by linking the
findings of the content and audience studies.

A full investigation of the relationship of television
coverage to audience perceptions of public relations is beyond the
capacity and intention of the current paper. But in supplement to
work by Bishop (1988) and Spicer (1993), the research which follows
might provide a description of media content from which to build
future theory and research based on a cultivation approach to the
subject.

Research Purpose, Questions and Definitions

This study can be considered an exploratory effort to examine
how public relations is treated in network television news. A
primary objective is to discover when, where, and how often PR
topics have been covered. The context of stories dealing with
public relations will be evaluated by noting the industries or
users reported as being involved with public relations practices
and the individuals or sources consulted for their expertise in the
field.

Beyond basic description, and based on many of the points
raised above, this study will also look at the themes, tones, and

assumptions of television news stories about public relations.

This will include an application of Spicer's (1993) thematic

analysis to see if his categories and findings extend to the

television medium and if they are exhaustive. As originally

offered by Spicer, the themes of print news items dealing with

public relations were given the following names and definitions:

> Distraction: The terms public relations or PR are often
> used to indicate that the reporter perceives that someone
> is trying to obfuscate an issue/event or deflect the
> reporter's (and by inference the public's) interest
> in the issue (Spicer, 1993, p. 53).
>
> Disaster: The terms public relations or PR are used in a
> manner to suggest that a decision was made (or almost made)
> or an action taken (or almost taken) that is perceived to
> be unwise, foolish, or a mistake (Spicer, 1993, p. 54).
>
> Challenge: Genuine public relations difficulty as opposed
> to a one-time disaster or distraction ... not trying to
> distract, deflect, avoid (Spicer, 1993, p. 54-55).
>
> Hype: Public relations and PR are used either to suggest
> positive but relatively meaningless action on the part
> of a person or organization or to create an artificial
> excitement (Spicer, 1993, p. 55).
>
> Merely: Terms used to suggest that some action is "only"
> or "just" public relations, as opposed to any real idea
> or program (Spicer, 1993, p. 56).
>
> War: The metaphor of war ... public relations is presented
> as an ongoing battle to fight or gain positive public
> opinion or perception (Spicer, 1993, p. 57).
>
> Schmooze: Public relations as a personality characteristic,
> embodied within the personality of an individual (Spicer,
> 1993, p. 57).

An evaluation of the tone used in reporting on public

relations will be made based on these themes, any others that are

revealed, and the positive or negative slant of each item.

Finally, tv news stories will be studied to determine which of

Grunig and Hunt's (1984) four models of public relations they seem

to be based on. These models and summaries of their definitions are as follows:

> Press agentry: Public relations programs whose sole purpose is getting favorable publicity for an organization in the mass media (Hunt & Grunig, 1994, p. 8).

> Public information: To disseminate relatively objective information through the mass media and controlled media such as newsletters, brochures, and direct mail (Hunt & Grunig, 1994, p. 8).

> Two-way asymmetric: Uses research to develop messages that are likely to persuade strategic publics to behave as the organization wants ... any change needed to resolve a conflict must come from the public and not from the organization (Hunt & Grunig, 1994, p. 8).

> Two-way symmetric: Uses communication to manage conflict and improve understanding with strategic publics ... bases public relations on negotiation and compromise (Hunt & Grunig, 1994, p. 9).

Given the exploratory and descriptive nature of this research, no explicit hypotheses are proposed. Instead, the study is meant as an initial investigation into television news depictions of public relations and as something of a baseline from which testable hypotheses might be developed in the future.

Methodology

A census of all evening newscasts on the three major broadcast television networks (ABC, CBS, and NBC) was conducted for the 16 year period from 1980 through 1995. The Television News Archive at Vanderbilt University served as the frame defining the universe of newscasts.

An on-line search of all television news stories abstracted in the Vanderbilt collection was conducted using the keywords "public relations" and "PR." The unit of analysis was the individual news story, with each story containing either "public relations" or "PR"

included in the study. There were a total of 79 such stories, 77
mentioning public relations and two using the term PR as an
abbreviation for public relations.

The date and network for each story were recorded from
headings listed in the story's abstract and the tone, theme, public
relations model, industry or user cited, and sources consulted were
coded based on multiple readings of each abstract. Each item was
analyzed independently by two coders. Intercoder agreement was 100
percent for date, network, and industry or user cited, 95 percent
for sources consulted, 95 percent for story tone, 76 percent for
public relations model, and 75 percent for story theme. In cases
of disagreement, a final coding decision was reached through
discussion between the two coders.

Findings

Of the 79 television news stories mentioning public relations
or PR during the years studied, 24 aired on ABC, 27 were on CBS,
and 28 were on NBC. Such stories were most common in the early
nineties, with the largest number (15) appearing in 1991 and 1993.
A breakdown of when public relations stories appeared is shown in
Table One.

        TABLE ONE ABOUT HERE

Sixty-seven stories dealt with what might be considered the
"practice" of public relations in that they in some way involved a
public relations strategy, tactic, or outcome on the part of a
particular user. The most common users of public relations in
these stories were foreign governments (17) and U.S. politicians (16).

The foreign governments depicted as the biggest users of public relations were Iraq and the former Soviet Union, with three stories each. Kuwait and Israel were both mentioned as using PR in two stories, and the governments of Cambodia, Japan, South Africa, China, Croatia, Libya, and the PLO were each cited once.

Among the politicians portrayed as using public relations during the years studied, five stories involved Bill Clinton, four involved Ronald Reagan, two were about George Bush, and there was one story about Jimmy Carter and one about Dan Quayle. Three stories were somewhat generic in talking about public relations practices among politicians in general.

The U.S. government agency and court/trial categories were a distant third behind foreign governments and politicians as users of public relations, with five stories each. Two of the government agency stories dealt with the State Department, while the Department of Energy, the Justice Department, and the Federal Emergency Management Agency were each brought up in one story. Two of the court/trial stories were about the O.J. Simpson trial and the others were about the William Kennedy Smith trial, the Menedez brothers trial, and General William Westmoreland's court case against CBS News.

A summary of the users of public relations reported on is given in Table Two. The 12 items that did not directly involve public relations practices and a specific user of PR included eight stories in which someone identified as a public relations expert was asked to comment on some topic, including two such stories dealing with sports, and one each on fashion, politics, economics,

international relations, juvenile crime, and cybersex. The remaining four stories made reference to public relations in reporting on high stress occupations, unemployment, white collar crime, and a lawsuit brought by a PR professional.

TABLE TWO ABOUT HERE

The coverage of public relations subjects included on-screen consultation of sources other than the reporter or network anchorperson in 34 of the 67 stories directly related to PR practices. In eight cases, more than one such source was consulted for a single story. These outside sources of information and expertise are listed in Table Three. The most common sources were individuals identified as being public relations professionals (eight) and foreign government representatives (five). Of the eight public relations professionals consulted, four were employed by the public relations user the story was reporting on, two were treated as disinterested consultants, and two were affiliated with public relations firms. The public relations firms mentioned by name were Hill & Knowlton and Ruder-Finn.

TABLE THREE ABOUT HERE

The seven themes used in Spicer's study (1993) were found to fit the television news data fairly well and provide a parsimonious system for examining all but the 12 stories not dealing with public relations practices. For those 12, two other themes were added to the coding scheme. The names given to these extra themes are "expertise," where a story referred to someone in public relations

for their knowledge or opinion on a topic, and "society," for those items that dealt with the role or place of public relations and public relations practitioners in the larger culture and society. Table Four presents a summary of the nine themes with the frequency of each. The most common themes were war (19), disaster (18), and distraction (14).

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      TABLE FOUR ABOUT HERE
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Television news stories based on the war theme included those which dealt explicitly with the public relations efforts of a nation at-war and stories which made use of metaphors based on wars or battles. The most often reported stories about public relations involving an actual war dealt with what was referred to sequentially as Desert Shield, Desert Storm, and the Persian Gulf War. These stories tended to present a situation pitting the United States against Iraq and focused on the public relations practices of one or both sides. In at least two such items, the phrase "PR war" was actually used. Other stories based on at-war usage of public relations included confrontations of Kuwait with Iraq, Russia with Lithuania, Serbia with Croatia, and "public relations actions taken by U.S. troops in Haiti." Examples of stories using war metaphors included one which described a "State Department public relations initiative to seize control," one which described an effort by President Reagan to "counter attack" image problems, one dealing with a "public relations offensive" by an oil company, and one about a "campaign attacking employers who do not provide health care."

In several cases, stories based on the disaster theme actually used the term "disaster" or a synonym in referring to public relations practices and decisions. Examples of this included a report about the White House travel office and "the public relations disaster coming out of this incident," one about "the public relations quagmire for Israel brought on by its expulsion of over 400 Palestinians," and reference to "the resulting public relations nightmare" due to delays in the providing of relief to hurricane victims. Some other items coded as using the disaster theme included stories about product tampering, the decision to bury radioactive waste at an earthquake site, the resignation of the president of the United Way, and the dissatisfaction of Jack in the Box with decisions made by their public relations firm.

The distraction theme was used in stories where an event or action was portrayed as being an attempt to divert attention from a particular issue. These included items about the public relations aspects of certain government summits and conferences, trips and speeches by politicians, and strategies used by the National Rifle Association, oil companies, and the tobacco industry to oversimplify issues or draw attention away from various areas of criticism. In one such story, reference was made to "a public relations scam," meant to cover up scientific evidence about the health effects of cigarette smoking.

None of the remaining themes was used in more than ten percent of the television news stories about public relations. As detailed above, the expertise theme involved public relations practitioners providing input for reporting on stories that did not otherwise

deal with public relations topics. The hype theme included two items using the phrase "PR gimmick" and news about subjects such as a hockey game and an airline promotion where public relations conveyed artificial importance. Stories that reported about ongoing campaigns and objectives, such as the public relations efforts of Japanese firms to influence public opinion and the federal government soliciting citizen feedback on budget issues, were coded as using the challenge theme. Stories about the public relations profession in reference to the industry's position in society on dimensions such as employment options and job satisfaction were coded as using the society theme. Stories based on the merely theme referred to public relations in minimizing the significance of something, including a story that stated outright that a particular action by the government of South Africa was "merely public relations," one that spoke of negotiations with the Soviet Union as being PR "instead of substantive talk," and an item that referred to public relations "flack" as an example of government waste. The schmooze theme was used in stories that treated certain individuals (Ronald Reagan and Dan Quayle's PR advisor) as having a natural gift for public relations.

Only the 67 stories dealing with PR practices were coded on the public relations model variable. As shown in Table Five, the press agentry model was by far the most common (31), followed by the two-way asymmetric model (18), the public information model (16), and the two-way symmetric model (2).

TABLE FIVE ABOUT HERE

Those stories that employed the press agentry model treated public relations as synonymous with publicity and reported on practices designed to generate positive media coverage or offset negative coverage. The subjects of such stories ranged from the Khmer Rouge staging a mock battle for journalists in Cambodia, to political and corporate photo opportunities, to coverage of the strategies used by the National Rifle Association "designed to improve its image" and by a group of Serbian-Americans "to counter the negative image of Serbs."

Stories based on the two-way asymmetric model were less oriented toward the media relations role of public relations. They reported on public relations as involving a planned course of action and activities for influencing a public and seeking a certain outcome on behalf of the user. Examples of items that used the two-way asymmetric model included one about the "oil industry's response to anticipated public reaction to profits," one about the design and implementation of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to the United States, one about corporate participation in various Earth Day events, and several about the lobbying efforts of different industry groups.

The public information model of public relations was assumed in stories that dealt in some way with the dissemination of materials or information by the public relations user. These included items about government and military communiques, a statement by Chrysler on Japanese automobile imports, the release of findings from an investigation of college athletics, films about army training exercises, and multi-media campaigns on the part of private and public users.

Only two stories were coded as being based on the two-way symmetric model of public relations. In both cases, the users of public relations were politicians. The first such story involved Ronald Reagan's changes in position on government spending in response to public perceptions of him and of the issue. The other story was about a toll-free telephone number used by the Clinton administration for soliciting citizen input on economic issues.

The final dimension evaluated was the overall tone of each story. Using a trichotomous coding scheme, seven stories were found to have a positive tone, 29 were negative, and 43 were coded as neutral in tone. The positive stories referred to public relations as contributing to a recognized and deserving cause or having some socially beneficial outcome. These included items about a traveler's aid program, charity work, disaster relief, the environment, patriotism, and a campaign to discourage cigarette smoking among minors.

Negative stories were of three types. Several such stories were coded as negative because they associated public relations with users or topics that have negative connotations themselves. These included items about Saddam Hussein, racism in South Africa, off-shore oil spills, and the serving of tainted meat in a restaurant. Other stories reported on actual public relations practices in a negative way. Examples of this included stories about unscrupulous election campaign tactics, corporate coverups, unfair lobbying methods, and accusations of deceptive or illegal activities. The third category of stories coded as being negative in tone had to do with news about the public relations business

itself, including reports of unemployment and high stress levels in the public relations industry, and criminal indictment of PR practitioners.

The majority of all television news stories about public relations were found to have a neutral tone. Stories coded as neutral did not present public relations practices or the public relations profession in either an especially favorable or unfavorable light. Neutral stories reported on PR as an accepted and understood business or political function and did not stress specific contributions or criticisms of public relations.

Discussion

The above findings offer a description of how network television news has covered public relations topics. As such, they provide a benchmark for tracking future coverage of PR and for comparisons with the coverage of other topics or business areas. They can also serve as the basis for some interpretations and limited conclusions about biases in the media's treatment of public relations and the possibility of television coverage influencing audience perceptions of the field.

Network television news regards public 'relations as an increasingly newsworthy area. The 79 stories dealing with public relations over the 16 years studied represent an average of just under five stories per year. During the eighties, the average number of stories per year was 1.6. In the nineties, the number of stories has increased to 10.5 per year through 1995.

While a fairly broad range of industries, organizations, and individuals are portrayed as being users of public relations,

nearly half of the stories that dealt with the public relations practices of particular users were about foreign governments or U.S. politicians. Among the foreign governments using public relations, those brought up most often were the Soviet Union and Iraq, arguably the countries perceived most negatively by Americans during the period examined here.

Stories about specific politicians as users of public relations dealt exclusively with those at the federal level and with the exception of Dan Quayle, with United States presidents. Similarly, though far fewer stories involved the use of PR by government agencies, all such stories concerned the public relations practices of federal rather than state or local agencies.

In terms of the users reported on, then, it seems that television news portrays public relations as something practiced by foreign (and often enemy) governments, by presidents, and by federal bureaucrats. To some audience members, the linking of public relations with such users may have no effect one way or the other, or may even produce favorable associations. But to others, it is likely that such a linkage contributes to unfavorable attitudes about the profession.

Beyond those news items dealing with the public relations practices of particular users, several stories made mention of public relations in some broader context. These were of two basic types; those that asked a practitioner for input on a topic not directly related to public relations and those that reported on the industry in general. The group of stories seeking input from a public relations professional on subjects ranging from fashion to

politics and economics might be thought of as portraying public relations in a positive way. That is, they tend to convey the impression that the PR person is a "Renaissance man (or woman)" with a range of interests and experiences. Those items about the industry in general, on the other hand, are overwhelmingly negative in their depiction of public relations. The impression conveyed in these stories is that public relations is a stressful occupation with little job security and elements of criminality.

As would be expected, public relations professionals are the most commonly consulted sources in stories having to do with public relations topics. Also not surprising, given the findings about PR usage, the next most common sources are representatives of foreign governments. The depiction and possible audience perception of public relations as a practice of foreign nations is reinforced by the on-screen presence of such sources.

The themes and overall tones of television news stories about public relations vary somewhat from what has been found in studies of the print media. Whereas the most common print themes were disaster and distraction (Spicer, 1993), those ranked second and third behind the war theme among television stories. Hype, challenge, merely, and schmooze were relatively minor themes for both print and television stories, as were the expertise and society themes used in this study. So, the main difference between the print and television portrayals of public relations in terms of theme is that tv stories gave more emphasis to reports based on at-war situations and war metaphors. Both media classes commonly depict public relations as involving attempts to offset poor

decisions (disaster theme) or to divert attention (distraction theme), but television news more often presents it as using aggressive or confrontational tactics (war theme).

As coded here, most television stories about public relations were neutral in their overall tone. The discrepancy between this and the findings of those who have examined print coverage of PR may be due in part to methodological differences. In Bishop's study of newspapers (1988), he claims that most coverage of PR is positive, but his operationalization seems to be based solely on the societal status of the user involved. Spicer (1993) reports that the majority of the newspaper and magazine items he examined portrayed public relations negatively. However, Spicer's method for determining tone was simply to collapse his thematic analysis into categories where the disaster, distraction, and merely themes were considered negative; schmooze, war, and hype were considered neutral; and the challenge theme was considered positive. Applying the same procedure to the present television data gives results more nearly in line with Spicer's, although the tv stories with themes he treated as neutral still outnumber those he would consider negative. In a way, the Spicer method serves to validate the technique of coding the tone of individual stories used here. By either definition, television news tends to take a neutral tone in reporting on public relations and it appears that television is more neutral than the print media in covering the field. It should also be noted, though, that television stories with a negative tone were more common than those with a positive tone.

Interestingly, the ratio of tv stories about public relations

that were negative in tone to those that were positive is very
close to the breakdown of negative to positive found in research on
television coverage of advertising (Keenan, 1995) and of general
business news (Dominick, 1984). In the present study, 36.7 percent
of the stories were negative and 8.9 percent were positive, for a
ratio of 4.1 to one. For advertising stories, the numbers were
nearly identical, 32.4 percent negative and 8.3 percent positive
(Keenan, 1995), a ratio of 3.9 to one; and for general business
stories, 54.1 percent were found to be negative and 10 percent were
positive (Dominick, 1984), a ratio of 5.4 to one.

It would seem, then, that television news is fairly consistent
in the tone it uses. The ratio of negative to positive is only
slightly higher for public relations news than for news about
advertising, and is actually lower than that found for stories
about general business topics. On this dimension, concerns about
the public relations profession receiving unfair treatment by the
media can find little support when PR coverage is compared to the
coverage of other business areas. Or it may be that public
relations is not singled out and that all business coverage on
television news has an unduly negative tone.

Finally, in reporting on public relations and public relations
practices, network television most often assumes what Grunig and
Hunt (1984) would call the press agentry model of how public
relations works and what the profession involves. That is, most
stories presented PR as a means of creating media attention for the
user. Far fewer stories presented public relations as
disseminating useful and objective information (the public

information model) or using research inputs to structure persuasive campaigns (the two-way asymmetric model). Only two stories, both reporting on politicians as users, were based on the two-way symmetric model of public relations as involving research and balanced compromise in dealing with publics and reaching decisions.

These findings regarding different models of public relations are generally consistent with what has been found in examinations of the print media's coverage of PR (Bishop, 1988; Spicer, 1993) and with estimates of which models are actually used by practitioners (Grunig & Grunig, 1992). The press agentry model was dominant in the two print studies to date, and Grunig and Grunig's summary of research on public relations organizations across industries indicates that press agentry is the most commonly used model.

The one model that seems under-represented in television coverage of public relations is the two-way symmetric model. Grunig and Grunig (1992) suggest the public information, two-way asymmetric, and two-way symmetric models are used approximately equally in the practice of public relations. Yet in reporting on the field, the network television news stories evaluated here use the two-way symmetric model only twice, while the public information model is used 16 times, and the two-way asymmetric model is used 18 times.

Summary and Future Research Directions

The coverage of public relations by network television news emphasizes certain users over others. The attention given to foreign governments and to politicians is probably out of

proportion to the spending, employment, effort, or other measures of their actual importance to the public relations profession. But as entities that regularly receive detailed media coverage, it is not surprising that the public relations practices of foreign governments and politicians are reported on more than those of corporations or other users less subject to media scrutiny in general.

A tentative conclusion about network television's coverage of public relations is that it is more objective and less antagonistic toward public relations than coverage in the print media is. The fact that most tv stories take a neutral tone while Spicer (1993) has found the majority of print items to be negative supports such a deduction. In combination with other research that has looked at television coverage of different areas (e.g., Dominick, 1984; Keenan, 1995), the findings reported here suggest that network television may have an anti-business bias, but that public relations is not covered any more negatively than other businesses.

Questions and accusations about the attitudes of journalists influencing how public relations is covered can't be answered by content analysis alone. But if it is true that television coverage of PR is less negative than print coverage, a useful direction for future research would be to extend the line of work that has measured the feelings of print journalists toward public relations (e.g., Aronoff, 1975; Kopenhaver, 1985; Carroll, 1994) to include those in the television industry, and to see whether what seems to be less negative coverage is correlated with less negative attitudes on their part.

Matters of audience effects and perceptions of public relations are not answerable by simple examination of media content either. Survey research is called for as a means of relating exposure to such content to opinions and beliefs about the field. Measures of how public relations is perceived in terms of who uses it, its purposes, how it is practiced, and its social and economic contributions would be useful in a framework for considering media effects based on cultivation analysis or other theoretical perspectives. Among the interesting questions to be asked in this vein would be whether there are differences in attitudes about public relations between those who rely mostly on television versus those who rely on print as their primary news source.

Research and writing about media coverage of public relations, the relationship of journalistic attitudes to the kind of coverage public relations receives, and the impact of this coverage on audience ideas about public relations is sparse. The study described above contributes to the literature by describing how network television news has reported on public relations topics, presenting some thoughts about the meaning of this coverage, and suggesting strategies for further research.

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Table One

Number of Stories by Year

<u>Year</u>	<u>Stories</u>
1980	5
1981	2
1982	2
1983	2
1984	1
1985	1
1986	0
1987	1
1988	2
1989	0
1990	10
1991	15
1992	11
1993	15
1994	9
1995	3

Table Two

Users of Public Relations

User	Frequency
Foreign Government	17
Politician	16
U.S. Government Agency	5
Court/Trial	5
U.S. Military	3
Oil Company	3
Interest Group	3
Airline	2
Tobacco Industry	2
Sports	2
Soft Drink Company	2
Chemical Company	1
Waste Disposal Company	1
Labor Union	1
Charity	1
Restaurant	1
Religion	1
Health Care	1
No User Given	12

Table Three

Sources Consulted

Source	Frequency
Public Relations Professional	8
Foreign Government Representative	5
U.S. Government Representative	3
Company Spokesperson	3
Interest Group Spokesperson	3
Politician	3
Attorney	3
Journalist	3
Trade Group Spokesperson	2
Military Public Affairs Officer	2
Political Press Secretary	2
Academic	2
Company Opponent	2
Physician	1
Advertising Professional	1
Television Executive	1

Table Four

Themes Used

Theme	Frequency
War	19
Disaster	18
Distraction	14
Expertise	8
Hype	7
Challenge	4
Society	4
Merely	3
Schmooze	2

Table Five

Models of Public Relations

Model	Frequency
Press Agentry	31
Two-way Asymmetric	18
Public Information	16
Two-way Symmetric	2

Public Relations and the World Wide Web: Designing an Effective Homepage

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to examine the content and structural features of a World Wide Web homepage with the explicit goal of making recommendations for how a homepage should be designed. Focus groups were conducted to uncover perceptions about a state university's homepage and elicit suggestions for improvement. This study revealed several general principles for designing effective homepages that may apply regardless of the particular institution or target public.

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As a communications tool, the World Wide Web offers unprecedented opportunities for public relations practitioners. Every day, hundreds of new organizations join the Web by announcing their homepages. Yet, despite the Web's phenomenal growth, little systematic research has examined the factors that make Web sites informative and appealing to visitors. Thus, the **purpose** of this study was to explore the content and structural features of a World Wide Web homepage with the explicit goal of making recommendations for how a homepage should be designed.

Although this analysis is an in-depth look at the homepage of one organization--referred to as "state university,"--other institutions will benefit from the insights offered. Many of the findings and recommendations may apply to other situations. In other words, the homepage features that were identified here as effective or ineffective may not be particular to any one organization or target public.

Literature Review

Society and Technology

Computer technology has changed the way society communicates both socially and professionally. Over the past few decades the proliferation of interactive technologies has brought people and organizations within range of convenient communications regardless of the distances between them. Interfacing with government, social, and commercial entities never has been easier. Given the enormous impact new technologies have on modern communication, it is no surprise that public relations practitioners are among the first to venture onto the information highway. Every day public relations firms launch clients into cyberspace, helping them create and transmit messages to which key audiences download and respond (Bovet, 1995b).

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The Internet is revolutionizing information exchange. The development of the World Wide Web (the colorful, illustrative, multi-media dimension of the traditionally text-based Internet) has accelerated interest in the Internet and resulted in new challenges for those who wish to access resources and provide information on the Web ("Guilford Plans Course," 1995).

A growing number of people spend their most productive hours sitting in front of a computer terminal. Through on-line services or other links to the Internet, a vast array of information including--but certainly not limited to--press releases and "sponsored" communications is easily accessible. To communicate more effectively, public relations practitioners are taking advantage of e-mail, broadcast fax, video and audio teleconferencing, one-on-one multimedia presentations, on-line databases, and World Wide Web homepages.

"The Internet is important because it's providing people worldwide with a way to inexpensively link up with one another," said Ron Solberg, president of EasyCom, Inc. (quoted in Bovet, 1995a, p. 33). Individuals have at their fingertips access to information that may reside on mainframes several continents away. "With individuals logging on everyday, Internet hosts are expected to hit 100 million by the first quarter of 1999," said Kim LaSalle, an independent public relations practitioner who is the author of an Internet primer (quoted in Bovet, 1995a, p. 33).

Public Relations in Cyberspace

Implications of the Internet for public relations theory. The Internet as a public relations tool is still so new that a body of theory explaining this phenomenon has yet to developed. Several articles in the winter 1996 issue of Journal of Communication address

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research on "the Net" (December, 1996; McChesney, 1996; McLaughlin, 1996; Morris & Ogan, 1996; Newhagen & Rafaeli, 1996; Parks & Floyd. 1996). Yet, none make explicit that World Wide Web sites. in particular, are public relations tools.

Public relations scholars and practitioners have determined this already. The challenge then is to explore whether current public relations theory is adequate for explaining and predicting Internet communication. If the answer is no, what conceptualizations need to be developed to understand communication on this new medium?

At least two different levels of analysis seem ripe. **Macro** issues include the model of public relations Internet communication embodies. The interactivity inherent in computer-mediated communication suggests that two-way forces are present. Yet, is the communication asymmetrical or symmetrical (Grunig & Hunt, 1984)? Are direction and balance adequate dimensions for describing computer-mediated communication?

Theories about relationship building also are relevant (see Kendall, 1996). Does the Internet help organizations build positive public relationships? If so, is the relationship different than those developed by traditional media and interpersonal communication?

From a critical perspective, an important issue is how the information highway may shore up information-rich organizations at the expense of information-poor individuals and groups (see Hancock, Wingert, King, Rosenberg. and Samuels, 1995; Kantrowitz, Chideya, and Archer Biddle. 1994; Schiller, 1994; Toth & Heath, 1992). Or, conversely, does the Internet empower individuals and citizen groups by giving them direct access to one another and the organizations they support and oppose (see Gore, 1993)?

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Although all of these are important questions, this study deals with the **micro** issue of

content and structural components of Web sites. As on-line representations of an organization,

which principles of design should be adhered to when constructing and maintaining pages? What

information are audiences looking for when they access a site? Which features of the homepage

make people want to look further? Answers to these questions provide scholars and practitioners

some initial "building blocks" of design theory for Web-based communication.

Implications of the Internet for Public Relations Practice. The theme running

through much of the trade literature (e.g., Hauss, 1995; Howard, 1995; Johnson, 1995;

Smith, 1995; Spector, 1995; Stanton, 1995; Taylor, 1995) is clear: the Internet is changing

public relations. Corporations are using the information superhighway to build national

and international networks with company-owned offices, affiliates, or independent firms

as partners. "Anyone doing PR today who ignores the Internet is as shortsighted as the PR

person in the late 1940s who ignored TV," said Dick Martin, vice president of corporate

advertising at AT&T (quoted in Marx, 1995, p. 15). The Internet's rapid growth has

blurred the boundary between public relations and advertising as organizations focus less

on the "slam" approach and more on providing educational, long-form messages (Marx,

1995). And, in seconds, editors and reporters now can download news releases or

information from several sources.

Nearly every aspect of public relations has been affected by the Internet. For

example, on-line communication has changed the way public relations firms market

products, services, and ideas. Before the recent upsurge in on-line communication, it was

not uncommon for PR firms to limit their focus to representing local clients. Small- to

medium-sized firms thought it simply too risky to try to accurately represent a client on

the other side of the country. Today, however, public relations firms of any size can reach

millions of people around the world through the World Wide Web.

The traditional tools of public relations steadily are being modified to meet the

demands of this new era. For example, Oak Ridge Public Relations focuses on providing

information to the press and analysts through an "electronic press kit" (Hoffman, 1995).

A press kit that took several days to get to the media through "snail mail," now takes

minutes when transmitted electronically. Homepages for organizations that have gone on-

line contain press releases, product and service information, fact sheets, mission

statements, executive speeches, executive biographies, and case histories. Furthermore,

these pages combine audio, video, and colorful graphics to enhance their messages

(Major, 1995).

Miller Brewing Company's homepage, operated by Ketchum Public Relations, has

been recognized as an award-winning public relations tool. The page, called "The Miller

Genuine Draft Tap Room," targets marketing writers, lifestyle editors, and consumers

with articles about fashion, lifestyles, and sports (Dorf, 1995).

Conducting public relations on the Internet, though, is not problem-free. Among

the most notable setbacks facing communicators is that the Internet's approximate

population of 40 million users is believed to be up to 80 percent male, aged 18-30. And,

most Internet users are college students, recent graduates, academicians, defense workers,

and researchers (Ross, 1995). Despite this general understanding of the types of people

who log on to computer systems, the specific population characteristics are essentially a mystery.

Some practitioners contend measurability, accountability, and tracking on the Internet are difficult. Although the number and user names of visitors who access a site can be determined, any information beyond that must be provided by the visitor. Of course, not knowing exactly which targets are being reached is by no means a new problem for public relations.

Those exploring the World Wide Web as a public relations tool also must be prepared for the challenge of packaging information for the new medium. For example, Web documents often contain large amounts of information or images and, thus, require a long time for transmission. Many viewers become annoyed when transmissions take more than a minute or two and rapidly exit slow sites. Thus, graphics, which tend to make sites more appealing, can end up deterring potential viewers.

Another important issue for on-line public relations is fakery. All on-line services offer ways for users to hide their true identities, at least from casual investigation. This includes using "alias" nicknames, purchasing legal accounts under an assumed name, borrowing or stealing someone else's account, or faking a biography in a commercial or campus directory.

Organizations that go on-line may be harassed by fakers claiming they are part of the organization and distributing information in the organization's name. For example, one Internet user posted a fake Microsoft press release on the Internet that was taken seriously. The bogus release claimed Microsoft was planning to prevent people named

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"Robert" from using their nicknames in conflict with Microsoft's new user-friendly "Bob" interface (Ross, 1995).

Other organizations have contended with individuals and groups developing "unofficial" homepages. Often, these pages hardly represent the organization in its best light. Thus, for public relations practitioners, the Internet, World Wide Web, newsgroups, and similar on-line service bureaus have become just as potentially crisis laden as (if not more than) bad publicity from television and newspapers.

Higher Education, Modern Society and the World Wide Web

Just as those in the private business sector cannot afford to fall behind in the information age, colleges and universities also must remain up-to-date on a variety of computer systems including state-of-the-art software, news databases, and the Internet. Organizational presence on the World Wide Web is becoming increasingly imperative, with Web addresses promoted everywhere from the bottom of jeans ads to movie billboards and television advertisements.

Along with government defense operations, colleges and universities were the hubs of advancement for the infantile Internet. Now, as colleges and universities continue to recognize the growing importance of technological innovation, several have begun offering or even requiring courses designed to teach students how to effectively explore the Internet.

Worcester Polytechnic Institute, for instance, successfully created "what may be the country's first truly 'paperless' college course" (Flint, 1995, p. 33). First offered in 1995, the introductory course in electrical engineering used no textbooks, pencil-and-

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paper tests, or lectures. The course textbook, developed on a homepage, was added to as the class progressed. Students completed homework, tests, and professor correspondence via computer.

St. Petersburg Junior College, in St. Petersburg, Fla., also recently introduced its "paperless" courses. The college offers five courses on the Internet, including two freshmen composition courses, two screen-writing courses, and a humanities course (Waulsten, 1995).

Institutions of higher education are not alone in their pursuit to make students dexterous on the Web. High schools nationwide incorporate the Web into their curricula and encourage students to use the Web to find information about colleges and universities.

In his article in The Village Voice, Max Padilla described his use of the Web to locate "that perfect school" (1995, p. 22). Padilla viewed not only university homepages and their links, but also university students' self-created homepages to gain a better understanding of the student populace.

University Homepages

As universities continue to search for new and effective public relations strategies, homepages have become increasingly significant. In the past year, the information contained on university homepages has grown considerably.

Edinburgh University was the first institution to have on its homepage an on-line directory aimed primarily at the media, consisting of a user-friendly, fully searchable, hyper-text document (Calder, 1995). Numerous other institutions soon followed Edinburgh's lead.

An August 14, 1995 article in the <u>Chapel Hill Herald</u> described the University of

North Carolina's homepage as enabling students, faculty, and staff, as well as a global

audience, to locate information about the school's academic areas and centers. Other

information at the site includes continuing education offerings, newsletters, admissions

policies, student services, historical items, and general community information (Sharo,

1995).

Such homepages are effective because information is updated regularly and presented in

an interesting and informative way. Clearly, taking advantage of the Internet and the Web

homepage increasingly is essential for public relations practitioners.

Methodology

With this background in mind, the researchers, in conjunction with state university's

office of university relations, conducted nine focus groups--three faculty, three staff, and three

student sessions. The goal was to uncover perceptions about state university's homepage and

elicit suggestions for improvement. Each focus group was scheduled for a maximum of one hour,

with most lasting between 40 and 45 minutes.

Focus groups are a potent method for exploring issues in depth (L. Grunig, 1990; Morgan,

1988; Stewart & Shamdasini, 1990). This technique also provided the opportunity to observe

reactions to stimuli, in this case color overheads and print-outs of state university's homepage and

homepages from six other universities.

The limitations of focus groups have been outlined well by Broom and Dozier (1990).

They note that focus groups are weak in external validity. This was a limitation the research team

considered. Though focus groups are not generalizable to mass society, data gathered about basic

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homepage content and structural features can be used by any organization striving to design an effective homepage. External publics are important audiences for any organization's homepage. Yet, the office of university relations had identified that, at least so far, most use has been internal. During fall semester 1995, the homepage was receiving on average about 102,000 "hits" per week. Of those, 75 percent came from computers located on campus. Thus, though focus group data can not be generalized to state college's entire homepage audience, the results do serve as a key information source for its internal users.

Sampling

Given this statistic, a purposive sample of Web "literate" faculty, staff, and students was recruited. Subjects were selected to maximize representation from a variety of colleges and departments. The goal was to determine similarities and differences in Web preferences among several audiences.

Approximately 150 people agreed to take part in a focus group; 79 did. An almost equal number of participants from each of the three categories was represented.

The disadvantage of using current Web users only was that the research team was unable to determine why other publics do not use the university's Web site. The research team recommended to the office of university relations that a follow-up survey of these publics might be appropriate.

Data Collection and Analysis

Before each session, attendees were asked to complete a background questionnaire, which asked several general questions about their Web use.

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Focus group attendees next were asked a series of open-ended questions about structural and content characteristics of state university's homepage. Several questions that addressed participants' specific needs (e.g.. student employment postings and employee benefits information) also were posed.

To promote further discussion, several homepages from other universities were displayed. Respondents were asked to comment on what they liked about these pages in comparison to state university's page. The homepages that were featured were selected by officials from the office of university relations. Several of the pages had been mentioned favorably to the office by the university president. The sessions ended with the moderator asking if participants had additional comments or suggestions.

Research team members then watched the videotapes and transcribed respondents' comments either verbatim (when direct quotation was needed) or in summary form.

Preliminary Questionnaire Results

The preliminary questionnaire was completed by all 79 of the focus group participants. Questions posed included the following:

- **Do you have access to a computer somewhere other than at home (i.e. work)?**

    Among participants, 95 percent did have access to a computer other than at home. This is an extremely important statistic to consider when designing an effective Web site. Knowing the environment from which visitors access a Web page can help information providers better understand audiences' needs.

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○ **What type of Web browser do you use?** \

A majority of those questioned said they currently use some form of the Netscape Web browser. This is important because this popular browser utilizes a more recent form of the Web programming language, or HTML, which allows the user and programmer to take advantage of some advanced proprietary features not currently found on a majority of other browsers. The response rate of 76 percent seems to match national figures, which recently showed that more than 75 percent of the country is using some form of the Netscape browser.

The number of people utilizing the text-based browser, or LYNX, is extremely low--only two respondents. However, the president's office had thought that more than two-thirds of those browsing the Web were doing so on text-based browsers.

● **How often do you access the World Wide Web?**

An impressive 75 percent of respondents said they access the Web at least several times a week. This statistic underscores what a potent public relations vehicle the Web has become.

● **How is the World Wide Web most useful to you?**

Sixty-three percent explained they use the Web as an information resource or research tool. Entertainment was mentioned 13 percent of the time.

<center>**Faculty Focus Group Findings**</center>

Before discussing state university's homepage (see Appendix A), some questions were posed regarding Web sites in general. Clearly the largest concern expressed had to do with content. And, three aspects of content arose as most important. First, the content of Web sites must be relevant. One faculty member was clear in asserting that "it boils down to the content

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and its relevancy to what you're doing." A second major demand was that the information posted

on sites be current. The third 'must' of content was that information be accurate.

Graphics and design also were deemed important. The main concern expressed about

graphics was loading time. "Extra stuff that doesn't really add anything" was frowned upon.

Participants recommended that graphics be used to communicate useful information and that

balance is needed between quality of looks and quality of content. The idea that graphics should

not take precedence over content was stressed.

Structure was mentioned as another important aspect. Good structure includes easy access

of relevant information, made possible through well-organized sites and key word searches.

Inviting graphics also were suggested as an element of organization and structure. Finally, the

issue of correct spelling and grammar was raised. "People judge you by the words you use,"

stated one participant.

Examples of other university Web sites (including Michigan, Illinois, Delaware, Florida

State, Carnegie Mellon, Georgia Tech, and Penn State *(See Appendix B-H)*) were presented.

Michigan's homepage *(See Appendix B)* drew the most praise. Participants thought the

exemplary features were the graphics (including the recognizable marching band), the text-only

parallel option for content, the "welcoming" sense it offers, and the bold, concise headings that

appear on the first page. One who compared Michigan's graphics to state university's homepage

(See Appendix B) said: "People and not palm fronds (a reference to state university's primary

graphic.)" The only significant negative feedback on Michigan's page was concern that the image

would take too long to load. However, this concern was raised about nearly all the pages.

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Although only one focus group observed the Illinois homepage *(See Appendix C)*, this page was given a low grade. Comments included "awful" and neither "welcoming" nor visually appealing. Other criticisms were that it shows admissions information first and that the background kills the text.

Other university homepages were given mixed reviews. Delaware's page *(See Appendix D)* was seen as graphically appealing, showing the beauty of the campus, and functional with a "truly interactive" setup that allows visitors to access university databases. The page also was described as functional because it leads visitors to information quickly. Again, however, loading time was a concern. So was the small font size, which makes the page harder to read.

Whereas one focus group found Florida State's page *(See Appendix E)* "crisp" and well-done, another group saw it as unappealing. Some participants also thought it requires users to search through a "deep tree" structure to get anywhere. Another negative point was that the first page is incomplete; users have to scroll down to get more information.

Carnegie Mellon's homepage *(See Appendix F)* drew praise for its attempt at trying something different. But the consensus was that, whatever that something was, it did not work.

One group thought Georgia Tech's page *(See Appendix G)* was a good example: direct, simple structure, text-only option available, and interesting buttons. Another group expressed a feeling of boredom with the page, referring to it as too "no-nonsense."

Penn State's page *(See Appendix H)* drew comments about the appeal of having an audio or video message from the president on a university homepage. Nonetheless, the page was seen as providing too much information (which may be difficult to access without Netscape) and looking too much "like a financial report."

Participants expressed few accolades for state university's homepage. Most agreed that the page needs improvement. The first thing mentioned was the palm fronds on the top of the page. Although some liked the image, seeing it as easy to load and [name of state]-like, most expressed disdain. One commented that the palms "don't reflect what we do here at [name of university]."

As for graphics, participants felt that state university's page does not represent the beauty of the campus. "It looks like the top part of one of our catalogs," observed one member. Other criticisms were that the opening page requires scrolling down to see the whole thing, the maps are useless if the user cannot print them, the links are not clear, and better editing is needed (e.g., fixing sentences without periods).

Participants also said they find it difficult to quickly locate information and think the page makes users work too hard. One solution offered was a keyword search mechanism. Others suggested a welcome statement that contains pertinent information for users who are just "surfing."

The groups made it clear that information is only useful if it is accurate and current. General comments at the end of each session led to questions of how all the ideas will be implemented. Many participants felt that the labor needed to maintain a good site is a large investment. Most agreed that, although the costs may be high, the homepage is a valuable resource and should be maintained meticulously. Participants also mentioned that the Web site must be promoted in other media (e.g., a banner on the bottom of all brochures, etc., that provides the homepage address).

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Staff Focus Group Findings

Staff members use the Web primarily because of its convenience. They find it user-friendly, entertaining, and helpful at dispensing and gathering a wide array of information.

Participants argued that effective homepages include thorough information and quick loading time. "Usually the thing that attracts me to a site is good information," one member said. "What drives me to a site. . .is the utility of the site," another said. "The ability to access the site with a low-quality computer" is key, still another added.

Focus group attendees were divided evenly on the importance of graphics. Several stated that they prefer not to have graphics interfere with the information, yet all seemed to appreciate visually-appealing pages.

These participants also said an appealing front page is important because it will lead people to subsequent pages. "I think the main mistake you can make is putting too much information on the front pages," one respondent said. "The end point should be where all the information is."

Group members view appropriate organization as key to a user-friendly homepage. One method of improving organization is an index. "In addition to having the hierarchical organization that reflects how someone at this university thought this stuff should be organized, almost all of the significant sites should be organized through some sort of usable index," one member said. "People should feel that they don't have to know the internal functions of the organization to find general information."

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Among the university homepages shown, Michigan *(See Appendix B)* and Penn State *(See Appendix H)* were most popular. Each of these pages uses the "drawer effect" for its front page, enabling readers to acquire information simply by clicking on the appropriate category.

"I like it. . .you can get around very easily," said one participant about Penn State's page. "This is better use of technology. This does a better job of segmenting it so you can go places."

Another staff member said the striking aspect of Penn State's homepage is the visual effect: "The fact that the image is of the campus makes a difference."

Some participants did not like Georgia Tech's homepage *(See Appendix G)*. "They may be high on technology, but they have some creativity issues," said one. "They look as if they ran out of space on the page," said another. Others liked Georgia Tech's homepage and said its simplicity and directness create a good image.

Whether or not all participants agreed on Georgia Tech's creativity (or lack of), graphics and design obviously are important. One pointed out Georgia Tech's page has a small "bee" for the pointer tool. Unique features like this help make a homepage stand out.

Focus group attendees said they do not want to see state university's homepage become too busy, but they also do not want it to be plain, like Florida State's *(See Appendix E)*. They consider Florida State's homepage "a lot of wasted page."

Many participants liked Michigan's homepage because it has "the best of both worlds." That is, this homepage is visually pleasing and the content is appropriate. Michigan's site is "friendly," said one. "When you look at the Michigan page, you know that it is Michigan."

The consensus from the staff focus groups was that state university's homepage does not represent the university well. Some said the page lacks organization and is redundant. Because of this, using the homepage is frustrating and complicated.

Another point was that the homepage is too general. Some participants suggested that the homepage needs a subject index rather than an alphabetical one. Others said it is irritating having to scroll to the next page to get information. Some found the homepage too "wordy" and "not interesting."

Focus group members also were concerned about the visual effects of state university's homepage. "What you're seeing here is a page out of a text book," one said. "This is not effective when working on-line. The work must be far more visual."

And, many participants said they get lost in the site. One said you have to go through too much red tape to find information; everything is in circles. Also, finding international information is too difficult; the user must go through several links to get there.

Some participants also felt that state university's homepage should promote the university better. "Though our page seems very informational, it does not seem as promotional as other institutions," said one. "Other institutions have ranking and general information on top." This information could be "key to high school and graduate students" who may be looking for information on how our university stacks up against the rest, another said.

The participants pointed out key elements they felt would improve state university's homepage. They suggested the homepage add an index, a search mechanism, more information about the university, and focus more on promotion. The consensus was that about 65 percent of

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the homepage should be "rah rah" stuff, and the front page should list the largest headings of institutional activities.

Student Focus Group Findings

Students also felt state university's homepage was not an accurate representation of the university. They, too, bemoaned the palm fronds. "I don't think the palm tree logo reflects the fact that we are a member of the Association of American Universities," one said. Another said that the graphic makes state university look like it is a vacation get-a-way.

Another problem was the overall format of the page, which fills more than three screens with primary-level information. According to one participant, this arrangement looks unorganized and forces the user to scroll down to access some of the more important levels. Another commented the first page of any homepage should use basic bold words such as "Students," "Faculty," and "Search," and avoid using phrases to explain everything.

Although the reactions were mixed, most participants agreed that Michigan *(See Appendix B)* and Delaware *(See Appendix D)* were both good examples. Many felt Michigan combined the right amount of graphics and text while making good use of the school's colors. Some commented they liked the official welcome from Michigan's president and the menu bar. They also liked having all of the important information accessible from one page.

However, some participants commented that Michigan's page was not "warm and inviting." Those who made this comment said they found "warmth" in Delaware's homepage. They felt that its compelling picture gave the page a "university feel." "It really invites you in," said one.

Focus group attendees offered a number of recommendations for improving state university's homepage. These suggestions included incorporating a picture that represents state university as a top academic and research institution, a welcome message from the president. graphics that include the school colors and the official university wordmark, button bars or menus, and a search engine.

Recommendations for cosmetic improvements included centering select text, making better use of the university seal, and eliminating the large welcome sign. Participants also suggested that graphic images or pictures change seasonally and an area for new content be included. Some also wanted to see historical information about state university.

In general, participants felt state university's homepage needs a major overhaul. The homepage should be clear, concise, and easy to understand (although not too basic). At the same time, it should be warm and inviting--"appealing to the user's emotions." A combination of Michigan's homepage and Delaware's homepage would achieve the proper balance.

Balance, though, was an issue that generated some debate. One respondent said, "I go to a homepage to get information, but graphics keep me coming back."

However, another said: "The only reason I go to a university homepage is for information. If a university only has a logo and no information, I'm not going to stay there."

Discussion and Conclusion

Many more similarities than differences were uncovered among the three audiences examined in this study. This revelation suggests that several general principles may exist for designing homepages, regardless of the particular institution or target public.

All of the focus group attendees agreed that a homepage should reflect the organization accurately. In other words, an effective page provides users with pertinent and current information; it also contains graphics and text that promote what the institution offers.

Most suggestions for constructing and maintaining an effective site fell into one of three categories: design and aesthetics, interactivity, and technical and graphical capabilities.

o   Design and Aesthetics

Menu Bar: A menu bar was the most frequently mentioned recommendation. Participants indicated that a graphic similar to the Michigan or Georgia Tech homepages is helpful. Also suggested was including several lines of text for users without access to graphical World Wide Web browsers.

Structure: Suggestions here included easy access of relevant information, which is made possible through well-organized sites. Many participants also mentioned homepages should be one page only.

Pictures and Graphics: The general reaction was that homepages must convey a "warmth" that invites viewers to stay and browse. Recommendations for doing so included posting pictures that would be changed periodically.

Participants stressed that, whatever the graphics, the homepage should convey the image the organization wants to project.

Image Maps: Many respondents suggested the use of image maps or clickable buttons to provide direct, quick access to information.

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Grammar and Punctuation: Participants emphasized that homepages should be free of grammatical and punctuation errors because they are an official publication of an educational institution.

o **Technical and Graphical Capabilities**

Balance: One of the most common recommendations was for balance between graphics and text. Participants from all groups said that, although they appreciate visually-appealing pages, they will not remain on a site if downloading takes more than one or two minutes.

Timeliness: According to these focus groups, homepages must be up-to-date and revamped regularly. Suggestions included incorporating new graphics every four to six months and reorganizing information into new topics to make the page more user-friendly.

• **Interactivity**

Internal Search Engine: Many participants said that a homepage needs an internal search engine, which would allow users to type a key word, subject, or title to locate information on a topic. This device saves valuable time and eliminates frustration.

Database Access: Participants also suggested that user-friendly databases be accessible through the homepage. The information should be tailored to the needs of all target audiences.

Instant Feedback: An on-line survey or suggestion/comment form was another recommendation. This survey would provide homepage administrators instant feedback on viewer opinions regarding improvements for current sections or new subject categories. This idea also provides new opportunities to evaluate other public relations initiatives. Surveys of awareness, attitudes, and behavior could be posted.

Initial Results: The above recommendations were submitted to state university's office of university relations for consideration in the design of its revised homepage. The new homepage (see Appendix I) reflects many of the suggestions discussed. In response to numerous comments regarding the "look" of the page, the graphical aspects were completely overhauled. State university's homepage graphic now includes "buttons" leading to the main areas of information, state university's recognizable colors and logo, and a "warmer," more university-oriented picture.[1] The homepage offers equally simple access to the main areas of information for visitors using text-only software.

The structure of information categories on the homepage also was revised to be simpler and more user-friendly. In addition, a search function was added as an alternative to working through the hierarchical structure of the web site to find specific information.

Initial (and unsolicited) feedback to the office of university relations has been mainly positive and certainly encouraging. A marketing and retail manager at the student union remarked, "Excellent work on the new [state university] home pages! They are very clean and sharp and work very well. I especially like the search feature!" Other positive comments included, "Now we have a web site that joins the mid 90s. The old look appeared staid and unimaginative." Another described the new site as "very easy to read and follow the links." Only one brief comment was negative, referring to the new page as "sterile."

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[1] The idea of rotating the photographs so that different shots will be available from day to day is in progress.

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Perhaps the most encouraging feedback, however, came from state university's president:

> The new [state university] home page is terrific. It is clear,
> effective, and useful. I think we have a page that matches well
> against any others out there.... A home page is clearly an evolving
> form of publication, and I expect you will find many ways to
> improve this version, but it is currently very nice and I am delighted
> to see it appear. The ability to see it clearly with or without
> graphics is especially welcome.

Indeed, this evolving form of publication will continue to demand attention and effort if it

is to be used most effectively. As participants from all focus groups agreed, though, homepages

are a resource worthy of sizable investment. As more people gain access to the Internet, the value

of the homepage for communicating with publics certainly will continue to increase drastically.

The homepage has become an unrivaled public relations tool for reaching new audiences,

disseminating information, and promoting institutions. This research represents one step toward

increasing understanding of the content and structural features that make homepages meet their

potential.

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
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
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
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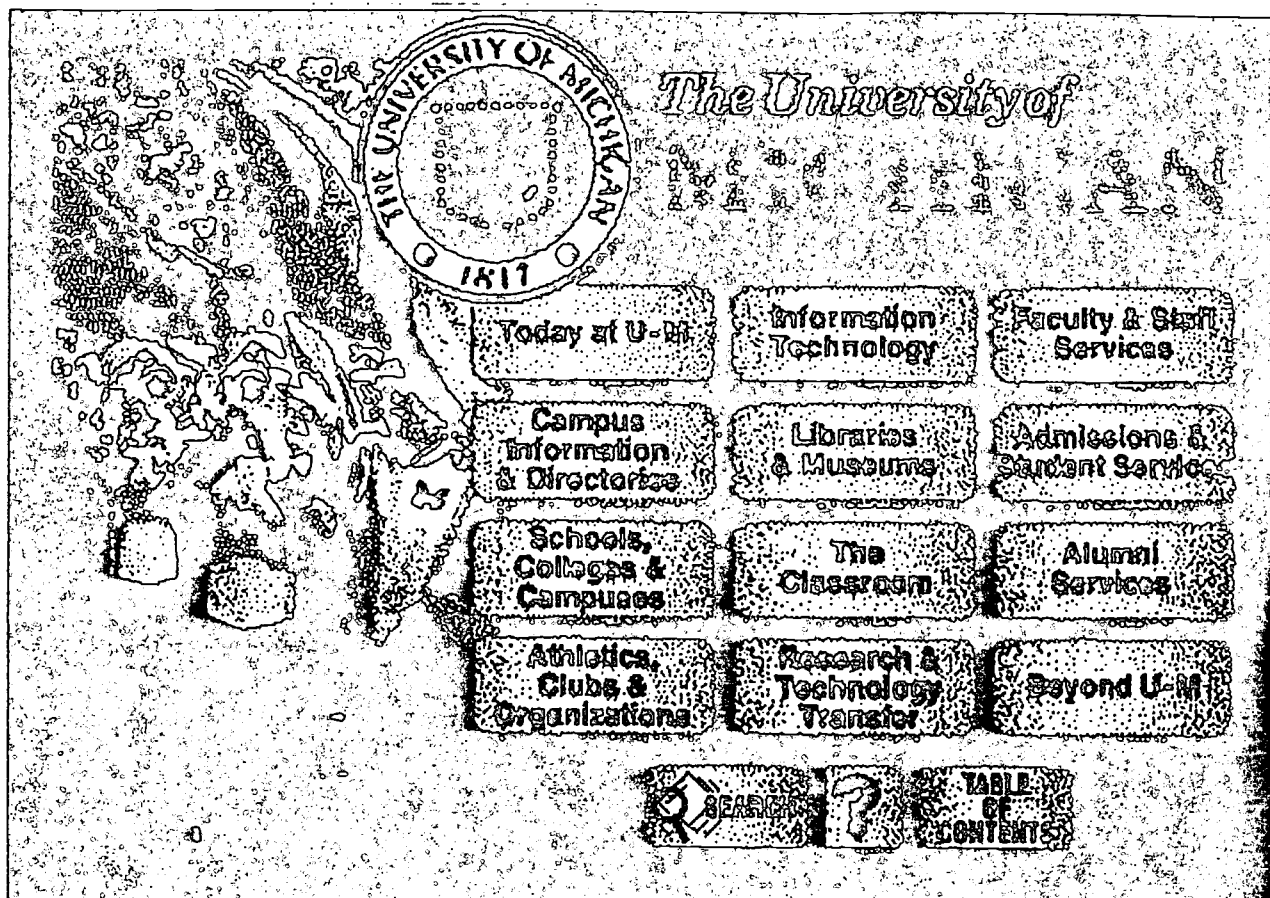
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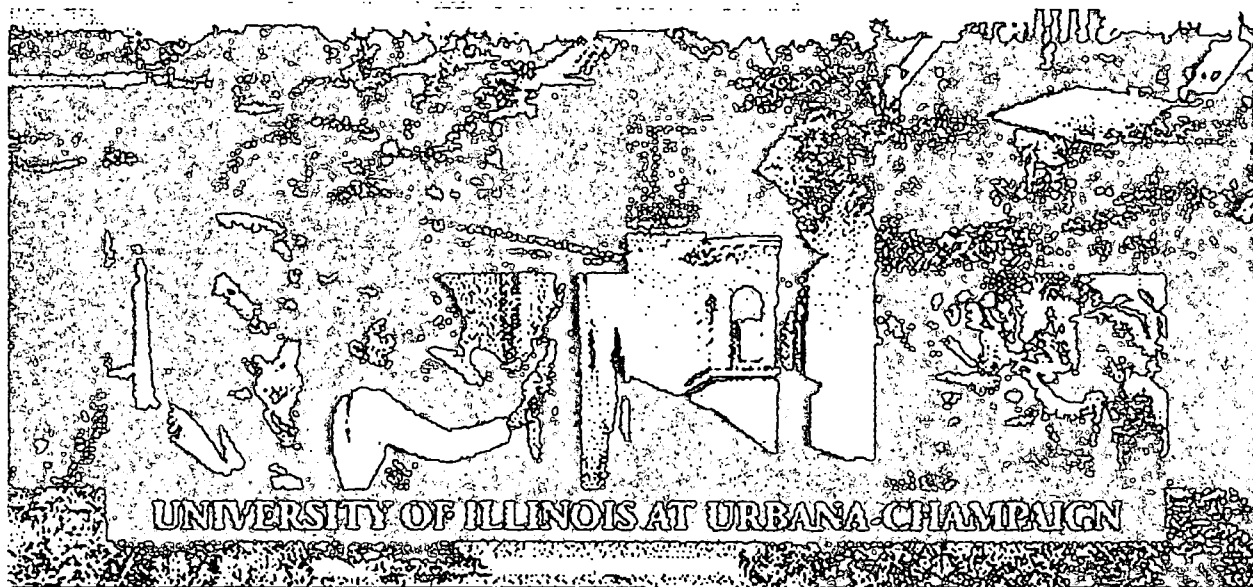
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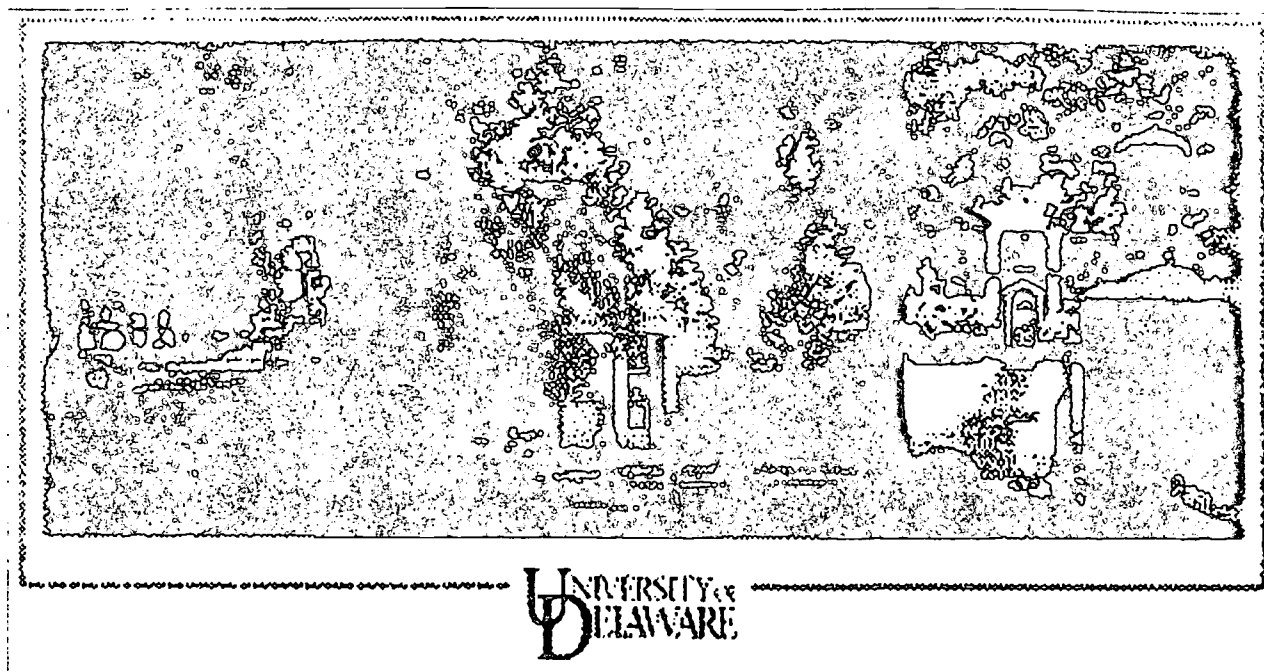
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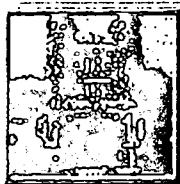
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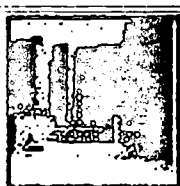
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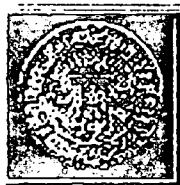
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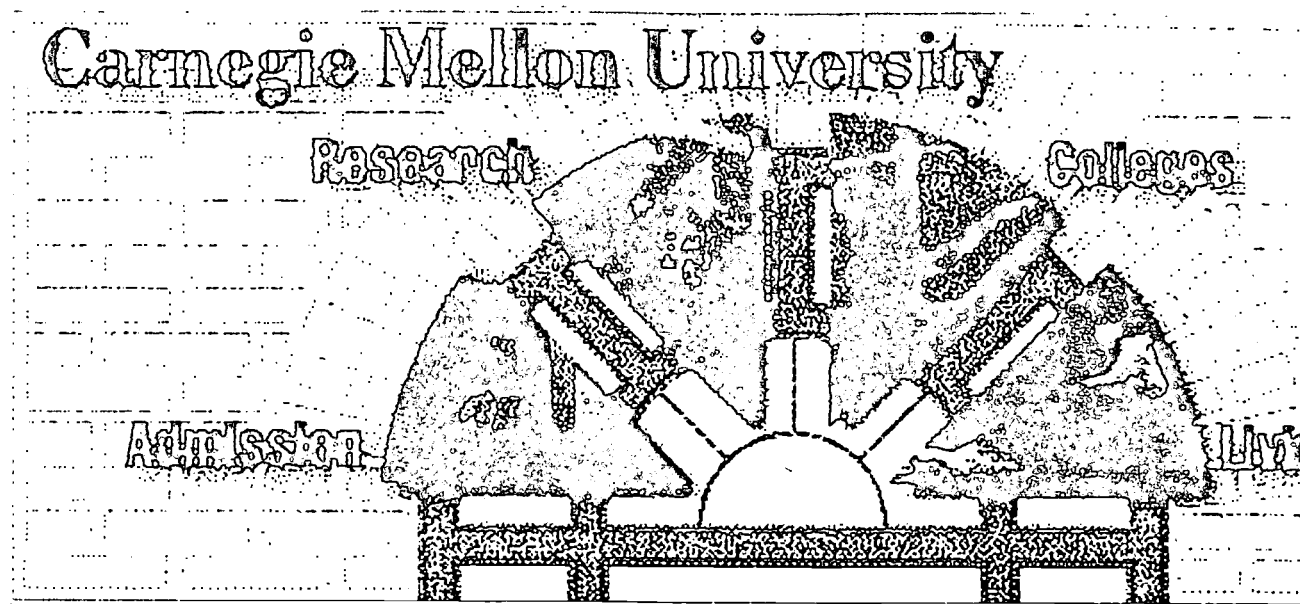
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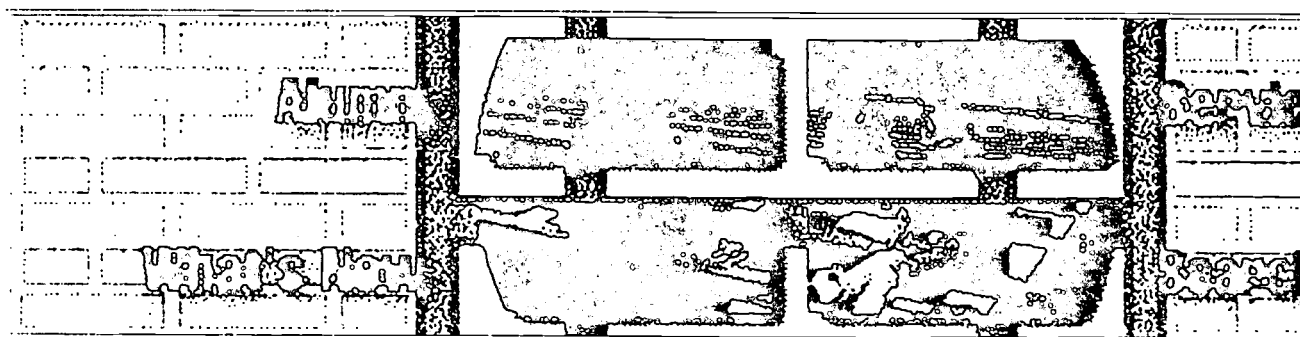
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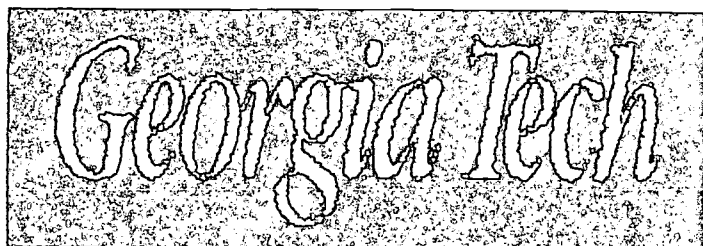
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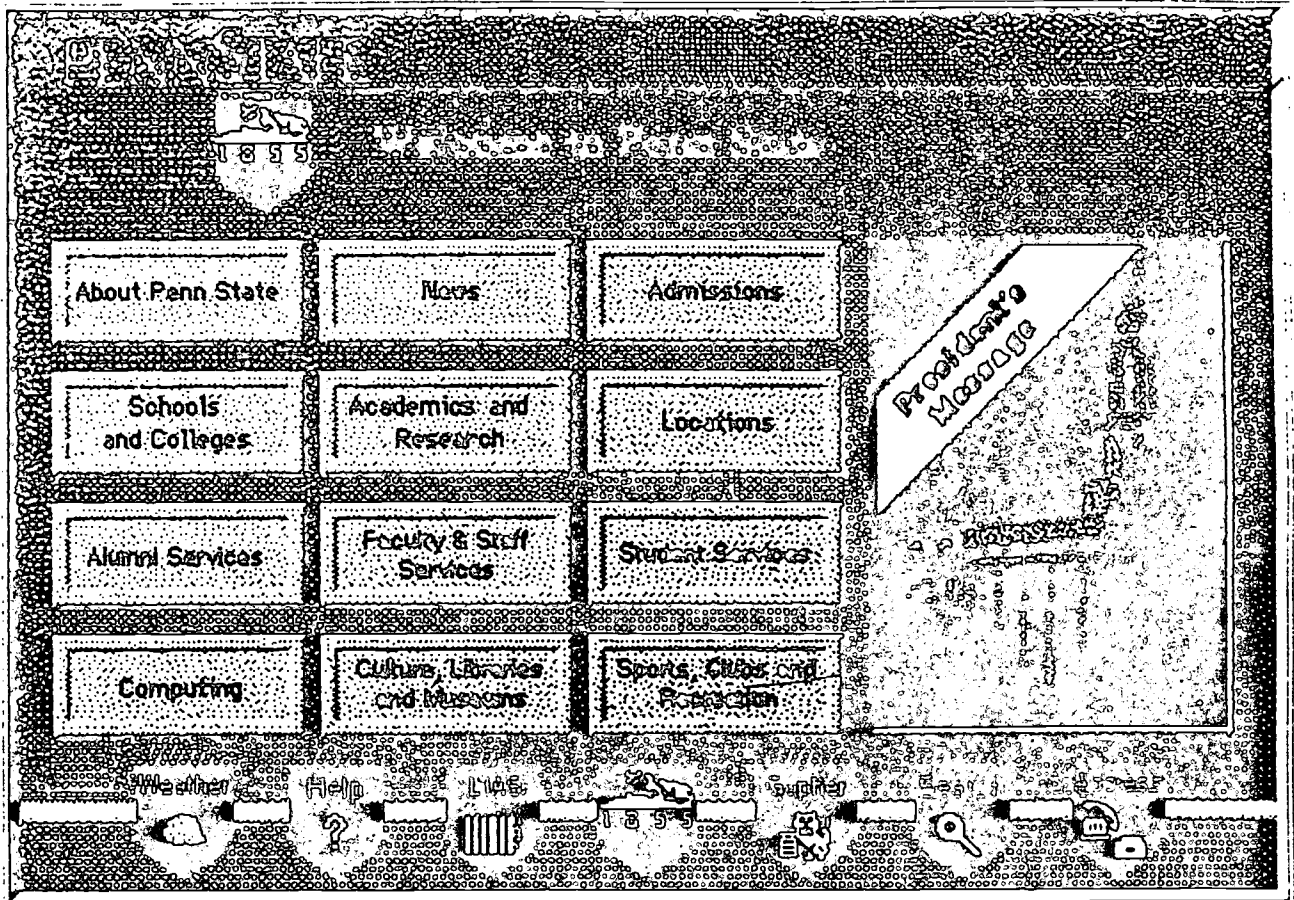
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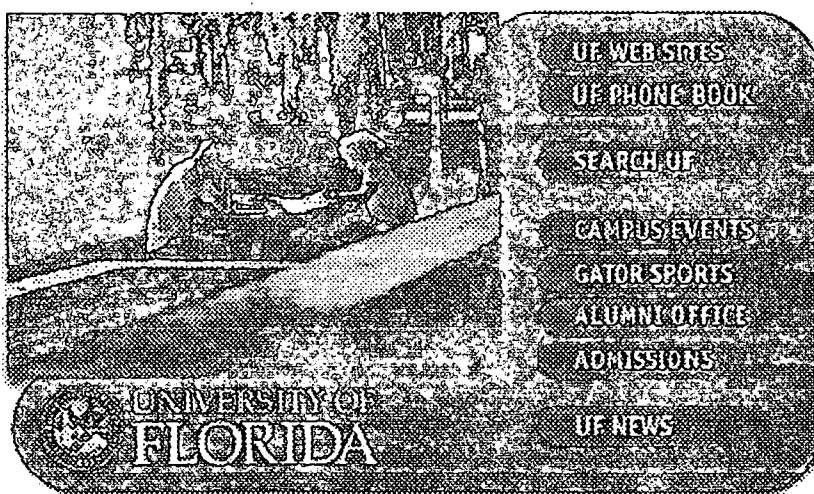
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Water Warfare in Scotland:
A Case Study in Issues Management

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Kerry Anderson Crooks, M.Ed., APRP
The University of Florida
Submitted to the Public Relations Division, AEJMC
1 April 1996

WATER WARFARE IN SCOTLAND:
A Case Study in Issues Management

"For as long as one hundred of us remain alive we shall never in any wise consent to submit to the rule of the English, for it is not for glory we fight, for riches, or for honours, but for freedom alone, which no good man loses but with his life."
Scottish 'Declaration of Arbroath' April 1320

Abstract: Efforts of the British government under Conservative Party leadership to strip Scotland's water utilities from local control resulted in a negative reaction by the Scottish public that political opposition parties were able to exploit in the 1995 local council elections. This paper chronicles the public relations campaigns of both the government and its political opposition as a case study providing timeless lessons in issues management to political science and public relations practitioners and students on both sides of the Atlantic.

Purpose of this study

The abilities of an organisation to survey its environment, discover unmet needs, avoid pitfalls and exploit opportunities are crucial to its survival. In an age of near-instantaneous communication, the recognition of potential problems and the resolution of those problems are challenges demanding both research and judgement. Further, while a structured research programme may eliminate much of the potential for disaster, often enough the organisation may be in a position needing to make an immediate response to an issue. The period of time between the onset of a problem and the full recognition of the potential adverse effects of that problem (*recognition lag*) is as critical as the gap in time between the problem recognition and its solution (*resolution lag*).

There have been some notorious cases where the recognition lag was allowed to become large enough that it compounded the original problem. The infamous case of the tanker, Exxon Valdez, in Prince William Sound, Valdez, Alaska, USA, plus the Westland helicopter affair and, more recently, the *bovine spongiform encephalopathy* (a.k.a. the 'Mad Cow' disease) scare in Great Britain are all excellent examples of organisations failing to fully recognise a problem in time to contain its effects.

However, few examples demonstrate the effect of hubris in the creation of recognition lag as was the case when the British Government in Westminster under the leadership of the Conservative Party insisted on stripping Scottish local water utilities from local control as part of its reorganisation programme for local government in Scotland. Indeed, the folly of the government's failure to appreciate the public relations hazards of entangling the sensitive issue of Scottish water service in its local government reorganisation scheme (where no coherent opposition existed) permitted opposition political forces to parlay passionate Scottish sentiments regarding their local water system into a much larger political success.[1] As a result of this and other instances of the mismanagement of issues, Conservative successes in local elections have been reversed and the once considered untouchable Conservative majority in Parliament has completely eroded.

From chronicling the public relations warfare between both sides of the Scottish water utilities issue to the conclusion where particular issue management concerns and techniques are addressed, this study provides an often behind-the-scenes look at an important and truly national public relations campaign.

Scottish Local Government Reorganisation

Scotland of 1995 was governed by a central parliamentary government located in Westminster in Greater London through the Secretary of State for Scotland, and by a two-tiered Scottish local government structure of nine large regional councils and a few score of local/island councils. The local governments generally provided the municipal services Americans generally expect from local government including education, roadworks, housing and water/wastewater services. On 1 April 1996, the local Scottish government structure completely changed, with a single-tiered council structure imposed by the Conservative central government and with the water utilities stripped completely from local control.[2]

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On 6 April 1995, the electorate of Scotland elected the councillors for these newly created offices that these councillors formally take over on 1 April 1996.[3]   During the interim, these new councillors served as a transition committee beginning the acceptance of duties and responsibilities from officials and staff of the just abolished two-tier regional/district council structure. Created under the Local Government etc. (Scotland) Act of 1994 that was passed by the Conservative Party-led Parliament in London, 29 single tier councils replaced the older system of nine regional and 53 district councils, leaving the three island councils unchanged.[4]

The government's rationale for the change in the Scottish local government structure as stated in their consultation paper, "The Structure of Local Government in Scotland" essentially boiled down to their stated belief that large regional councils had outlived their original purpose of providing a wide range of services which now, the government argued, can be provided by private enterprise.[5] Of course, any time the ruling party redesigns voting district boundaries more political motives must be considered.

Water Privatisation becomes a Scottish Public Issue

One major sector of local government affected by the government reorganisation is the water utility systems of Scotland. While the English/Welsh water systems have all been operated by private companies since the 1980s,[6] Scotland's water supply system has been operated by regional councils and the Central Scotland Water Board.[7] As early as 1992, but in conjunction with the dismantling of the regional councils, the Conservative Party government under Prime Minister John Major made movements to privatise (sell off to private investors) the Scottish water systems.[8] His predecessor, Margaret Thatcher, previously sold off the last ten English and Welsh large water utilities still remaining under government control shortly after she took office. In point of fact, the severe economic and environmental challenges facing the government-owned water authorities in England and Wales made privatisation an attractive alternative. Many of the water and wastewater systems in England and Wales were archaic. Years of inadequate funding by the government

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created a situation in which the English/Welsh systems could not meet recently enacted European Community water and environmental standards. Instead of diverting funds to clean up the problem, the Thatcher regime, in the midst of privatising several other industries, sold off the existing ten water authorities which became ten separate, independent water companies. An elaborate regulatory scheme was established to monitor progress and determine appropriate rates and profit levels.[9] Of course, convoluted financial structures smell of collusion to a cynical ratepayer.

Although the English/Welsh private water/wastewater systems have actually performed adequately, the critics of privatisation can still manage to find reasons to complain. The massive capital investment needed to make up for decades of neglect resulted in significant rate increases. Although the percentage of service "shut offs" was fairly low compared to some American private utility experiences, to the British public any denial of a basic necessity of life seems the height of capitalistic callousness.[10] Public relations messages regarding water privatisation were broadcast, but these messages were created at the national level and some local customers considered them a "waste of money."[11] However, the utilities have begun to make headway in meeting European Community regulations and have started to right their ship financially.[12] Now cash enhanced, they face hostile take-overs by foreign investors, particularly the massive French private water corporations. The spectre of French control of British water supplies is bothersome if not outright frightening to Britons.[13]

After watching the growing pains of the English/Welsh privatisation experience, almost every political entity in Scotland strongly resisted the initial manoeuvrings of the government to privatise the Scottish water utilities.[14] Trumpeting a warning by British health authorities that cutting off water supplies could lead to sanitary problems more normally associated with developing countries, the anti-water privatisation forces forced passage of a law that Scottish water utilities could not cut off residential water supplies for non-payment.[15] This defiant act would have the additional effect of making it more difficult for a newly privatised water company to collect necessary rates.

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Is Water Privatisation Necessary?

Prior to the council reorganisation, Scotland had no real incentive to transfer their water systems to the private sector. Unlike England, Scotland has not faced even the remotest possibility of drought.[16] Scotland enjoys outstanding water supplies with no salt water intrusion, no sink holes and no dramatic increase in service population.. Although often and rather harmlessly coloured by peat, the water itself has an international reputation as a quality ingredient in Scotch whisky.[17] Further, due to topographical relief and an excellent system of lochs, Scotland does not fear any short or long-term deterioration of either water quality or quantity. Finally, unlike some regions, particularly East Anglia, Scotland is not overly plagued by nitrates or other industrial or agricultural pollutants.[18] Piping does needs extensive replacing but that is a relatively straight-forward engineering problem requiring little else but adequate and steady funding.[19] Some analysts argue that what capital investments are necessary would have been available if the national government had not redirected revenue collected from Scottish water bill payers to fund projects elsewhere.[20] It is a testament to the professionalism and rather intensive and extensive training of its water/wastewater workers that Scotland has enjoyed clean, safe and adequate water supplies and wastewater treatment without heightened capital investments. Their systems have served the public rather well under the management and control of local government.

A safe, quality water system is a modern public need. As such, it is a proper function of government to ensure, one way or another, the availability of such a public good. A government may provide the good directly or ensure that it is provided by the private sector. Generally, when a public good is provided by the private sector, government must provide oversight and regulations to ensure a high quality of service at a reasonable cost.

The move to transfer their water systems from government to private operation was not welcomed by the Scottish people. Not only was there no perceived problem to be corrected, they had little

faith that the central government would or could through regulation by Westminster of private systems provide the high quality to which they were accustomed at a comparable price.

The architect and recognised guru of British privatisation schemes, Professor Stephen Littlechild of the University of Birmingham, admitted:

> "Water authorities provide a vertical chain of services: water resources, water supply, sewerage services, and sewage and effluent treatment and disposal. (Usually the customer is interposed in the middle of the chain.) Monopoly power can be exerted at any point in this chain. If the profit on, say, water supply is held down, monopoly profit can still be extracted by increasing the (internal) charge for water resources to the water supply division, or by increasing the price of sewerage services (since water in equals water out). Regulation will therefore need to encompass all these services provided by the water authority."[21]

Clearly, the concern in Scotland over water privatisation extends beyond any Scottish parochialism.

The Government Tacks a New Course

When the initial probe towards privatisation met stiff Scottish resistance including a massive anti-privatisation rally in Glasgow's George Square, the Conservative (Tory) Party tried another approach. In what one public policy observer for the Convention of Scottish Local Authorities (COSLA) referred to as the "thin edge of the wedge of privatisation,"[22] the Government created three Scottish water/wastewater service "Quangos" (quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisations) whose chairmen and directors are appointed by the Secretary of State for Scotland rather than by the local councils.[23] According to the Guide, a public information publication of the Scottish Local Government Information Unit, these new authorities are "responsible for the supply of water to private households, as well as industrial and commercial premises, and for the collection, treatment and disposal of sewage." The government also created a "Scottish Water and Sewerage Customers Council" for the purpose of "representing the interests of customers and potential or former customers of the new water and sewerage authorities." [24]

The *Guide* identified the duties of the new authorities as follows:

o Promote the conservation and effective use of Scottish water resources;
o Provide adequate water supplies throughout Scotland;
o Maintain services for the collection and treatment of sewage:
o Secure the collection. preparation, publication and dissemination of information and statistics relating to water.
(*It is interesting to note the Government's recognition of the role of public relations.*)

Another feature of the new arrangement allows the new water authorities to be able to sell water surplus to regions outside of Scotland. Further, they can form or join with private companies under various terms and conditions.[25] This arrangement has been labelled by the government as "buy, own and operate" which has the unfortunate acronym, "BOO."[26] Needless to say, the idea of the new Quangos forming or joining with private companies raised more than eyebrows in Scotland.[27] Having believed they won the battle against selling off a critical resource to the London government's "friends" for no better purpose than "to make huge profits," they now felt betrayed by that government's "backdoor privatisation" plan.[28]

The Opposition Strikes Back.

During March 1994, the Strathclyde Regional Council held a referendum on the proposed new water system. Participation in the referendum was remarkable. More than 71 percent of the eligible electorate submitted ballots. The Council was rewarded by nearly 97 percent (1.2 million voters) of the total casting *no* votes to the Government's scheme. The voting far exceeded the numbers for the last regional council election in 1990 which attracted only 45 percent of the eligible population to the polls.[29] A poll taken of a representative sample of the whole of Scotland discovered very similar attitudes throughout the northern kingdom. The poll, conducted by the System Three Scotland research organisation, asked a random selection of Scots to respond whether they were in favour of or against the following: "The Government is proposing to transfer control of water and sewerage services from locally elected regional and islands councils to three larger public water authorities appointed directly by central government." Approximately 95

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percent stated they were in favour of leaving water services in locally elected hands, four percent favoured the government's plan and significantly, only one percent said they had no opinion. The survey sampled enough Scots to be able to break down the results into three regions of Scotland and the analysts were successful in identifying how those identifying with various political parties felt about the new water authorities. Interestingly, in all three regions, the Government's plan was highly unpopular. Even Scottish Conservative Party members failed to support their own party's programme.[30] The results of these polls received extensive coverage as the political organisations opposed to the Government's Quango scheme used the poll as fresh ammunition to renew their attacks on water privatisation and Tory rule as a whole.[31]

In spite of the Secretary of State's Scottish Office printed explanations of the water Quango scheme, Scots remained fearful of eventual water privatisation. Strathclyde Regional Councillor Des McNulty, chair of the council's local government restructuring committee, stated, "People know water is not only cheaper in Scotland, but safer and best when it is run by directly-elected councils rather than by private companies such as in England and Wales."[32] Strathclyde Regional Councillor, Alex MacLean, Chair of the Council's Water and Sewerage Committee commented on the Scottish Office's public relations campaign: "What the expensive Scottish Office leaflet campaign didn't explain was how much customers of private water companies in England and Wales are paying for their water services."[33] An equally expensive pamphlet produced by the Strathclyde Regional Council, stated that the average Scot's water bill is approximately $105 per year cheaper than in England and one-half the rate of the water bill for customers in Wales.[34]

The Strathclyder, a public relations newspaper of the Strathclyde Regional Council, stated in its August 1994 issue that Scots in Strathclyde pay an average of approximately $143 per year for both water/wastewater services while those in England/Wales on average pay over $300 annually. Opposition parties and other analysts concede that rates would have increased if proper water/wastewater capital improvements had been made all along, but even with these increases,

Scottish water/wastewater rates would remain substantially lower than what is currently being experienced in the south. [35]

Articles in the Scottish newspapers about the rise in executive pay of water CEOs in England and Wales have only exacerbated Scottish sourness over the government's programme.[36] In each English/Welsh water company, the chief executive officer received a pay raise well in excess of the consumer price index. Some water chiefs actually received raises in 1991 that nearly doubled their salary of the previous year.[37] The utilities have defended the salary increases as necessary to match the salary norm for such positions in the private sector. Such statements, however, beg the question of why those chief executives would have accepted a public sector position at public sector wages in the first place. In a period of recession and high unemployment, these salary and benefit increases appear gluttonous.[38] When *The Herald*, a respected daily newspaper of Glasgow, printed the salaries of the recently-appointed part-time chairmen of the new Scottish water Quangos, reaction was swift and negative. According to *The Herald's* Frances Horsburgh, two of the Quango part-timers will receive over $60,000 a year for working 2.5 days a week and the other will earn $36,000 for a day and a half's effort each week.[39] Not missing an easy opportunity to make a point, Scottish National Party's vice president, Andrew Welsh, immediately complained about spending "obscene sums for a job that the elected chairs of water and sewerage committees have been doing for a fraction of the cost."[40]

Opposition Parties Build Planks over Scottish Water.
Different opposition political parties have stated similar plans for the future of Scotland's water if they earn the electorate's favour. *The Scottish Labour Update*, a regional public relations newspaper of and for the Labour Party, said the new Labour Government would "make a bonfire of the Quangos and return water and sewerage to local democratic control."[41] Labour Party spokesperson Ann Devine stated that Party members strongly believe that water privatisation means a "basic human right taken away from the people."[42]

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The Scottish National Party (SNP) bases its water platform on the status of Scotland's union with the rest of the United Kingdom. In a position paper promoting Scottish independence, the SNP recognised that there is a "unique agreement" across party lines in opposition to privatisation but reaffirmed its claim that in an independent Scottish Parliament, there would never be the contemplation of turning over the Scottish water industry to the private sector. To the SNP, the water issue is yet another argument for independence where the "most effective way to oppose (water privatisation and Quango schemes) is to challenge the Tories' democratic mandate to govern Scotland."[43]

Although political bedfellows in opposition to water privatisation, SNP's rationale may differ from Labour's. Labour, a nationally-based political party, has historically and philosophically stood for extensive, perhaps pervasive, government, especially in the grey areas separating traditional government services from the private sector. It is, therefore, politically consistent for Labour to oppose privatisation, however well disguised it may be. SNP's motives, on the other hand, may include the simple, practical requirement of retaining the water utilities as a significant source of government revenue necessary to help fund a new national government.

Other issues rankled the Scottish electorate as well. The Government's attempt to privatise the railway system raised concern that the more rural areas of Scotland would lose rail service, a serious problem in a country dependent on public transportation.[44] The Government's earlier attempts to install a "poll tax" and the local government reorganisation plan itself received abuse at the hands of the opposition parties and local councils.

Defending the Strathclyde Regional Council
A major player in the anti-water privatisation effort was the Strathclyde Regional Council. The Council waged an extensive and desperate public relations campaign to convince the Government and Parliamentary voters to stop the local government reorganisation effort, which, of course,

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would disband the Council. Strathclyde's self-defence campaign included publishing and mailing to every household a monthly newsletter, the creation of a slick media information kit, several full-page newspaper advertisements with the headline, "Strathclyde Works" and even an eleventh-hour appeal printed within the pages of the conservative newspaper, *The Daily Telegraph*. Featured prominently in their public relations campaign literature were references to the fact that Strathclyde's publicly controlled water supply system was just fine as it is.[45] While the campaign failed in its primary mission of freezing the Government's reorganisation programme in its tracks, it did not fail in leaving a lasting impression on Scottish voters.

Strathclyde, then being the largest local council in Europe, clearly had its share of problems. The Council, representing more than two million Scots, was massive in size. According to David Wilkinson, a lecturer at the Glasgow Nautical College, it could take a motorist three to four hours to make the trip to the Glasgow central offices from the outer reaches of the region. Further, the city-based employee often failed to understand the issues dear to the heart of rural Scotland. Smaller councils had an easier time establishing a direct line to the people.[46] It did not help Strathclyde's cause that even the Tory government's political opponents sensed a need for a single-tiered local council structure. Neither Labour nor SNP defended the status quo of the Strathclyde regional structure. According to Anne Devine of Labour, the Party's concern was more in the manner by which the Government conducted its reorganisation programme.[47] Even Strathclyde Region's Elsbeth Girvan admitted, the Strathclyde Regional Council was often "slagged off" (criticised) by residents. However, Girvan said, "Scots still prefer their local government to Westminster." [48] A System Three poll agreed. In the agency's April 1994 poll, only 23 percent of Strathclyde residents supported a "change to unitary councils." This poll result stands as a testimony to the effect of Strathclyde's public relations campaign on at least one of its targeted publics.[49] The central government, however, had the power to impose the new single-tier local government -- and did.

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Scottish Revenge at the Polls.

When Scots went to the polls in April 1995 to vote for councillors for the new single-tier councils, they made their frustrations known. In absolutely none of the new councils did the Conservative Party receive a majority. In spite of heavy efforts to carve out safe districts in the new government restructuring,[50] the Conservative Party moved from second place to fourth place in total representation in Scotland.[51] In fact, at least one Tory councillor claimed that the only way he survived the torrential anti-Tory vote in his region was to desert the party on the issue of water privatisation.[52] For many members of the opposition the water privatisation issue was prominently featured on their campaign literature.[53] Although SNP and the Liberal Party made gains throughout Scotland, Labour, seen as the strongest challenge to the Tories, had the greatest success. In Scotland, Labour's strengths were now such that Scottish National Party spokesperson, Carolyn Sawers, lamented, "In some areas Labour could have run a cabbage and still have won."[54]

With the cracks in the Tory armour now of chasm proportions, worse news for the Tories followed hard upon the Scottish debacle. The momentum created by the Scottish defeat of the Tories spilled over into England and Wales and created havoc among the Conservatives in the run up prior to the English and Welsh councillor elections held in May 1995.[55] With a solid victory behind them in Scotland, the Labour Party was seen to begin to hit its stride.

According to Margaret Vaughan, political researcher and correspondent for *The Herald*, the water privatisation issue added to the perception of Government not being responsive to its constituents and adding to the Government's "sleaze factor." [56] Philip Stephens, Political Columnist for *The Financial Times*, was even more blunt: "The Tories are the most unpopular government since polling began." Current national figures, Stephens said (in June 1995), show the Conservatives with only a 23-24 percent backing while 58-59 percent support Labour. "The Government," Stephens said, "promised that the recession of the early 1990s would be shallow and short. Instead, the recession has turned out to be deep and long."

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As the Conservatives have become less palatable, the Labour Party has become more moderate. Its new leader, Tony Blair, "has been throwing out the old baggage" of traditional socialistic dogma including what Stephens called, "the outdated poetry of old Labour" - the pro-nationalisation Clause Four compact.[57] As moderate or, perhaps, as ambivalent as the Labour Party now seems regarding nationalisation, their commitment to placing Scottish water in local government's hands remains solid, and it is well for them that it does.

The Bonfire of the Tories

As grimly accurate as *Julius Caesar*'s soothsayer, the pundits' predictions that the Tories would lose many hundreds of council seats in England and Wales came to pass.[58] With the loss of these seats, the entire Tory parliamentary base evaporated overnight. The considerable grassroots organising support provided by Tory local councils now no longer exists.

As of this writing, John Major has shown an ability to survive a mutinous night of the long knives in his own party, but one can easily speculate that he may now remain only long enough to watch his party lose in the next parliamentary general election.[59] Few stalwarts are now willing to place a bet on anything remotely resembling a bright Conservative Party future.

Trailing now well behind the rejuvenated Labour Party in the polls and holding onto the slimmest of a parliamentary majority, the Conservatives, tired and weakened, may finally be eliminated from national power.[60] If that happens, like the vessel in Shakespeare's *Tempest*, the ship of the Conservative Government would have foundered from, literally, the violence of troubled waters. Said Shakespeare's Miranda, "O, I have suffered with those that I saw suffer! A brave vessel, who *had* no doubt, some noble creatures in her, dashed all to pieces."[61] Some noble creatures, perhaps, but clearly nearsighted in their attempts to gerrymander Scottish government and to impose upon an unwilling populace a scheme of water privatisation that clearly had no essential purpose save ideology.[62]

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Reflecting on the Water Privatisation Campaign

Whether one considers the classic public relations *Research-Action-Communication-Evaluation* (RACE) formula or its various kin including the author's own *Situation analysis - Planning-Action/communication - Measurement/evaluation* (SPAM) model, neither side in the water utilities fight conducted a textbook campaign.[63] The anti-privatisation campaign began with no single voice, no overarching campaign strategy. Each of those fighting water privatisation in Scotland did so under the flag of their own agenda.[64] What is interesting about the outcome of the water privatisation fight is that typically and historically Scots have cared little about regional issues when exercising their franchise.[65] Yet, for all the lack of formal planning on the part of the anti-water privatisation coalition, the public, for whose favour the campaigns were waged, became incensed over this issue.

COSLA, as the association for local governments, assumed the leadership role in the anti-privatisation fight, although the opposition political parties preached to their own faithful. COSLA's Maureen Ferrier, stated that while no one in the anti-water privatisation coalition sat down and designed a formal grand strategy, everyone kept the goals in mind. According to Ferrier, no one gave a thought to applying the methods stemming from a particular communication theory, but instead relied on "experience" and knowledge of the media.[66]

Outside of Strathclyde's survival campaign, no one conducted a classic proactive public relations campaign.[67] The opposition forces did react forcefully to government moves with counter-punching blows that were immediate and well publicised. As the water issue remained an oasis attracting anti-Tory elements of every fur and feather, government announcements could expect to be rewarded with a cloudburst of opposition responses. This "read and react" strategy (to borrow an American football term) may be too reactive to be textbook public relations but the opposition coalition could rely not only on the media covering, but actually supporting their point of view. Indeed, the press may have been fairly predictable in the level of support in their coverage. In fact,

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were it not for the ethics of COSLA and the well known attitude of the System Three agency to refuse to participate in any "pseudo-science PR ploy,"[68] the opinion survey on water system reorganisation that was administered by COSLA could have been manipulated and still have been publicised.

There was no real attempt to conduct a formal content analysis to determine the effectiveness of media coverage. Although the Scottish branch of the main opposition party, Labour, had no established public relations department to conduct formal issue tracking, this did not seem to handicap their overall efforts in this campaign. Indeed, the degree of each reaction to the government's water reorganisation efforts seems to reflect the visceral nature of the water supply issue; the mere thought of water privatisation and control by the central government seemed to evoke an instant "gut reaction," needing very little "wordsmithing" to demonstrate an opposition leader's passion about the issue.[69]

Although the government never did seem to come to grips with recognising its public relations problems, even the opposition coalition did not truly understand the deeply held emotions of the Scottish public regarding the water issue. "We were rather surprised by the public's reaction," Ferrier said. "The boiling anger and the constant worry created by the government's water privatisation activities finally percolated to the surface during the local county elections."[70]

According to Robert Meadow in his article, "Political Campaigns," there is nothing unusual about the lack of any formal plan for evaluation of the effectiveness of a politically-oriented campaign. Meadow stated: "Compared to other public communication campaigns, systematic experimental evaluation is usually absent in political campaigns for three reasons." He listed those reasons as: 1. The reluctance to use scarce resources on campaign evaluations, 2. The fact that campaigners are reluctant *not* to try anything that may reach a constituent, and, 3. Campaigners do not want

any potential voter being a member of a "control group" which, in a classic experiment would mean that voters in such groups probably would not receive the campaign literature. While Meadow also stated that political communicators have less control over the message being distributed by the media, from the vantage point of the anti-privatisation coalition the media in the water privatisation case did not take a hostile or even a neutral stand on the issue. [71]

As in any war, enhanced weaponry were trotted out during this campaign. While it has lagged behind the United States, Britain has discovered the political "sound bite." Although Holli Semetko and her co-authors state in the conclusion of their book, Formation of Campaign Agendas, that British politicians are generally allowed more air time in impromptu interviews to present their point of view than are Americans, Labour has began to favour the use of carefully crafted sound bites to add more punch to their message.[72] By emphasising and re-emphasising key concepts through shorter messages, Labour seemed more vibrant to Scottish voters.

The lack of a single formal plan and formal after-action research make an itemised analysis of the anti-water privatisation campaign extremely difficult,[73] but the results of the campaign are clear. The government's initial thrust to completely privatise Scotland's water utility system was deflected to the point the government created a publicly-held water system scheme, although, for the time being, the new Quango water systems are run by government appointees of the Scottish Office and a mixed bag of locals. Ironically, the Scottish general public served the anti-privatisation coalition in an intermediary role to help send a message to the central government on the issue. Now this once intermediary public is part of the entire British electorate which, of course, possesses the power to resolve the issue itself. To the opposition parties, the greatest prize of all, the utter defeat of the Conservative Government, now is seemingly within reach. Considering that each opposition party has resolved to return Scottish water to local government in some fashion, a change in the national government should result in the opposition's long fought war against water privatisation finally ending in victory.

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Notes

1. Kendall, Robert L, Public Relations Campaign Strategies: Planning for Implementation 2nd edition. (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, Inc., 1996)   Also: Gaudino, James and Joe Fritsch. "If you knew what I knew, you'd make the same decision: A common misperception underlying public relations campaigns?" Carl Botan and Vincent Hazelton, eds. Public Relations Theory. (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1989) p 302

2. U.K. Her Majesty's Scottish Office, Local Government in Scotland: The New Councils. February 1995.

3. U.K. Her Majesty's Scottish Office Information Directorate, "Local Government Reform Bill Published." News Release, 9 December 1993.

4. U.K. Her Majesty's Scottish Office, Local Government in Scotland: The New Councils. February 1995. See also: Brown, Tom. "Knives are out in battle for power." Daily Record. 26 March 1995. p 4.

5. U.K. Her Majesty's Scottish Office, A Consultation Paper: The Structure of Local Government in Scotland.   October 1992. pp 1, 3-5.

6. Chapman, Colin, Selling the Family Silver - Has Privatisation Worked? (London, England: Hutchison Business Books, 1990) pp 41-53.

7. U.K. Her Majesty's Scottish Office, A Consultation Paper: Investing in Our Future - Water and Sewerage in Scotland November 1992. pp 2-3.   This Consultation Paper outlined several options for restructuring water services in Scotland and stated: "The Government invites comments on this paper and will carefully consider all views expressed before reaching a decision on the shape of Scotland's water and sewerage services for the future."

8. Ferrier, Maureen, Press Manager, Convention of Scottish Local Authorities (COSLA). Letter to author, 28 March 1995. COSLA represents local government to the Secretary of State, Scotland. COSLA and others considered the Consultation Paper as merely a ploy to appear as if the government sought feedback and was of the opinion that the Paper so weighted the rationale for privatisation that it would bias any potential response.

9. Chapman. pp 41-53. Also: For an industry investor's view of the English privatisation process, see Anglian Water Annual Report 1989-90. pp 3-13.

10. Labour Party: Response to "Water and Sewerage in Scotland." The Labour Party Scottish Council. 27 January 1993.

11. Peacey, Mike. Media Relations Manager, Wessex Water. Letter to author, 10 April 1995. Also: Painter, Stephen. Group Public Relations Manager, Yorkshire Water. Letter to author, 5 April 1995.

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12. Various sources including: Alexander, C.E., Water Services Division, Her Majesty's Department of the Environment. Letter to author, 7 March 1995. Also: Annual Reports - Yorkshire Water, 1994; North West Water, 1992; Thames Water, 1994. Also: "Summary of Recent, Current or Pending Capital Schemes by MP Constituency." Anglian Water Plc. February 1995.

13. Gerrie, John - Director, PR Consultants Scotland. Letter to author, 10 March 1995. Also, in a personal letter of 10 April 1995 to the author, Mike Peacey, Media Relations Manager of England's Wessex Water, wrote that "Water privatisation has helped the British water industry enormously. Without access to funding and real 'profits' our ageing infrastructure would have 'creaked on' and there would have been little chance of attaining the standards demanded by our customers." The possibility of French companies owning British water systems was not idle speculation. Northumbria's water utility was purchased in the winter of 1996 by a major French water corporation, Lyonnaise des Eaux, which already owned a neighbouring, smaller water system, North East Water. Further, Lyonnaise already owns Essex and Suffolk water companies and all four utility systems will be joined together. Sims, Christopher. "Lyonnaise in offer for Northumbrian." *The* (Glasgow) *Herald*. 24 November 1995. p 24.

14. Crooks, Kerry Anderson, "Scotland's Water Privatization War" Water National Association of Water Companies. Spring 1993.

15 Girvan, Elsbeth, Marketing Manager and Assistant Publicity Officer, Strathclyde Regional Council. Telephone interview by author, 26 February 1995.

16. "Investing in Our Future." p 13.

17. Lockhart, Sir Robert Bruce, Scotch - the Whisky of Scotland in Fact and Story. (London, England: Putnam & Co, 1959, 1966) p 5.

18. Crooks, K. A. and Linda Lay. "The Privatization of the English/Welsh Water System." Water. National Association of Water Companies. Summer 1991. p 21.

19. Chambers, Ernest. Then Director, Strathclyde Regional Water Authority. Interview by author in Glasgow, Scotland, 26 July 1990 for article "Scotland's Water - at the Crossroads." Water. National Association of Water Companies. Spring 1991. While Chambers did not comment specifically on the degree of complexity of the engineering task, he discussed the advances in piping technologies. Although the civil engineering and community relations concerns that accompany pipe laying are not to be taken lightly, these are long-standing and known issues.

20. "Response to Secretary of State for Scotland's Consultation Paper of November 1992 - "Water and Sewerage Services in Scotland - Investing for the Future." COSLA pp 2, 4-5. This response criticises the Government's failure to provide enough time to adequately prepare a thoroughly researched response. Further, it noted that the options for reorganisation were strongly weighted towards the privatisation options.

21. Littlechild, Stephen. "Economic Regulation of Privatised Water Authorities and Some Further Reflection." Oxford Review of Economic Policy. Vol. 4. No. 2. (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1988) Littlechild was the architect of Mrs Thatcher's utility privatisation efforts.

22 Ferrier, Maureen. Letter to author, 28 March 1995.

23. Local Government etc. (Scotland) Act 1994. Part II "Water and Sewerage Reorganisation." p 55.

24. Ibid. p 58.

25. Ibid. p 71.

26. "It's Boo for Private Water Schemes." Strathclyder. The Strathclyde Regional Council. April 1995. p 3.

27. Ferrier, Maureen. Letter to author, 28 March 1995.

28. "It's Boo to Private Water Schemes."

29. "Strathclyde Works." A media briefing guide on the Local Government etc. (Scotland) Bill. Strathclyde Regional Council.

30. "General Public's Attitudes on Government's Proposals for Water and Sewerage Services." System Three Scotland. 11 November 1995.

31. Various COSLA news releases including, "Scotland's Councils Will Continue to Fight Water Proposals" March 11, 1994 and "Unanimous Rejection of Water and Sewerage Proposals." 16 January 1994. Newspaper coverage of the results of the water referendum continues. See "Time to Grasp the Thistle." The Guardian. p 24. and "SNP Water Stand" The Scotsman. 19 April 1995.

32. Brown, John. "Strathclyde Water Referendum: Over One Million Say - No." Strathclyde Regional Council Publication. 22 March 1994. p 3.

33. "We Save You a Water Bomb." Strathclyder. The Strathclyde Regional Council. August 1994. p 1.

34. "Strathclyde Works." Note: British pounds are converted to U.S. dollars at 1:1.55 and figures are rounded.

35. "Response to Secretary of State." p 10.

36. Lambert, Richard, editor. The Financial Times. Letter to author, 20 February 1995.

37. "Report on Water Privatisation in England and Wales." COSLA. October 1992. See also: Ridley, Kirstin. "Thames throws cold water on power bid talk." *The Reuter European Business Report.* 31 October 1995. Ridley states that industry regulator Ian Byatt has "repeatedly warned" English/Welsh water companies to share with customers "the benefits of bumper profits."

38. Stephens, Philip. Political Commentator, *The Financial Times.* Interview by author, 16 June 1995.

39. Horsburgh, Frances. "Baptism of Fire for Water Chairmen." *The Herald.* (Glasgow) 1 February 1995.

40. "Quango Chiefs Get Snouts in the Money Trough." Scottish Nationalist Party News Release. 6 February 1995.

41. "Power to the People" *Scottish Labour Update.* February 1995. p 2.

42. Devine, Anne. Information Officer, Scottish Labour Party. Telephone interview by author, on 27 February 1995.

43. Sawers, Carolyn. Press and Research Officer, Scottish National Party. Telephone interview by author, 19 June 1995.

44. Vaughan, Margaret. Political Correspondent, *The Herald.* Telephone interview by author, on 12 June 1995.

45. Girvan, Elsbeth. Marketing Manager, Strathclyde Regional Council. Letter to author, 3 April 1995.

46. Wilkinson, David. Lecturer, Glasgow Nautical College. Telephone interview by author, 1 March 1995. Wilkinson is rather uniquely qualified here as he lectures, amongst other topics, ground navigation (orienteering), and has travelled the Strathclyde region extensively.

47. Devine, Anne. Telephone interview by author. Also: Ferrier, Maureen. Telephone interview by author, 22 March 1996. Ferrier stated that even when the two-tiered structure was created some 20 years prior, there were "many" who considered the plan unwieldy.

48. Girvan, Elsbeth. Telephone interview by author.

49 "Strathclyde Regional Council Advertisement." *Daily Telegraph.* 27 October 1994.

50. Buxton, James. "Tory Rout Leaves Scotland Bathed in Red." *Financial Times.* 8 April 1995.

51. Brown, Tom and Dave King. "Slaughter of the Tories." *Daily Record* 7 April 1995.

52. Peston, Robert and John Kamfner. "Major Calls for Party Unity after Scottish Poll Rout." *Financial Times.* 8 April 1995 (predictions). The actual figures, as relayed to the author by Margaret Vaughan of *The Herald* (14 June 1995): Conservatives - 8 councils, Labour - 155, Lib-Dems - 45, no clear majority - 118 councils, the remaining 20 councils split between other parties or independents.

53. Campaign brochures of SNP's Graham Russell, Labour's John Turnbull, and Independent Kenny McGuigan. April 1995 Scottish Council Elections.

54. Sawers, Carolyn. Telephone interview by author, 19 June 1995

55. Vaughan, Margaret. Telephone interview by author.

56. Ibid.

57. Stephens, Philip. Telephone interview by author.

58. Comfort, Nick. "Results Key to Defiant PM's Future." *Daily Record.* 8 April 1995. In fact, in Wales as in Scotland, the Conservative Party in 1996 controls not one single local council.

59. "Major Calls for Party Unity." Also: Stephens, Philip. *Financial Times.* Personal Interview by author, 16 June 1995. Mr Stephens believed at that time that the Conservatives will probably not call an early parliamentary election but may ask that John Major steps down. Major subsequently forced a vote of confidence from his party, thereby reinforcing his position as party leader for the time being. As of April 1996, the Tories have a Parliamentary majority of just one.

60. "Results Key to Defiant PM's Future." Also: in personal interviews conducted in June 1995, both *The Financial Times'* Philip Stephens and *The Herald's* Margaret Vaughan point to the government's water privatisation programme being perceived as another indication of the Government's "sleaze factor." Stephens further referred to the public's perception of the Tories as a "tired, unpopular government" being dragged down by a chain of "broken promises." Stephens also pointed to Labour leader Tony Blair as an "attractive, modern figure" with more moderate views than his predecessors. This has allowed dissatisfied Conservative voters to bolt directly to Labour rather than choose the middle-of-the-road but much smaller Liberal-Democrat Party.

61. Shakespeare, William, The Globe Illustrated Shakespeare - The Complete Works, annotated. Howard Staunton, editor. (NY: Gramercy Books, 1993) p 1533.

62. "Response to Secretary of State." COSLA

63. Kendall. pp 6-23.

64. Ferrier, Maureen. Telephone interview by author, 7 December 1995. Ferrier felt that while COSLA and the Labour Party were in synch regarding this particular issue, COSLA, representing all local government, is tasked to remain independent of any external influence.

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65. Miller, William, Irrelevant Elections?: The quality of local government in Britain. (Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1988) pp 176-178. In a May 1986 survey, only 39 percent of Scots had a fair amount or better interest in local politics.

66. Ferrier, Maureen. Telephone interview by author, 7 December 1995.

67. Kendall. pp 7-8, 16, 18. While Kendall also forwards for consideration a theory that "proactive" campaigns are campaigns waged "in the public interest," such a definition would be so vague as to permit any organisation to claim their campaign is "in the public interest." For the purposes of this paper the meaning of "proactive" is simplified to signify whether a public relations activity is a result of research and formal planning to address a potential situation or need, or just a reaction to events already transpired or on-going (reactive).

68. Ferrier, Maureen. Telephone interview by author, 7 December 1995. Ferrier stated that while COSLA was confident they had public support, they did not know for certain how the Scottish public would respond to the survey questions, which, she admitted, were carefully crafted. When the results turned to be extremely critical of the Government's efforts to reorganise water utilities, COSLA fired off a series of news releases containing these results. One can only speculate whether COSLA would have been so forthcoming if the results were different.

69. See the position papers on water services and related issues by both Labour and SNP, COSLA's continual barrage of news releases, and the Strathclyde materials including the Strathclyder paper during this period, some of which have already been highlighted in these notes.

70. Ferrier, Maureen. Telephone interview by author, 7 December 1995. In a further interview on 22 March 1996, Ferrier stated "The public anger over the water issue was, absolutely, reflected in the anti-Tory vote at the polls." Ferrier also stated that the Government is "waiving" the debt of the Scottish water utilities prior to the reorganisation. This allows the utilities to reduce their level of rate increases. This is obviously a sop to the public concern about the Government take-over of the utilities. As a further concession to COSLA in particular, the Government also placed some local councillors on the water boards. Of course, they appointed as many of the few Tory councillors they could find. Thus out-manoeuvred on this minor issue, COSLA was, in the words of Ferrier, "hoisted on our own petard."

71. Meadow, Robert. "Political Campaigns." Ronald Rice and Charles Atkin, eds. Public Communication Campaigns, second edition. (Newbury Park, Calif: SAGE. 1989, 1981) pp 253-259.

72. Semetko, H. and J. Blumler, M. Gurevitch, D. Weaver, The Formation of Campaign Agendas: A Comparative Analysis of Party and Media Roles in American and British Elections. (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1991) pp 180-183.

73. Heath, Robert and Richard Nelson, Issues Management (London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 1986) pp 192-194. Note: While this is the only citation annotated from this book, the entire work served as a guideline for this paper. As a final word, to quote the authors: "If you don't manage issues, issues will manage you." Amen.

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The Stories of Women Public Relations Campaign Planners
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The Stories of Women Public Relations Campaign Planners Revealed Through Feminist Theory and Feminist Scholarship

This study explores whether women campaign planners use two-way symmetrical communication in planning public relations campaigns. Their stories are told through in-depth interviews. Few of these women's voices have been heard before, but they deserve attention now due to the increasing number of women entering the field. Findings reveal that the women use mostly one-way communication and little research, but employ collaboration and ethical principles. They also a express desire for change in responsibilities.

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Introduction

Although many studies have been conducted on public relations campaigns, little has been done on the role of campaign planners themselves. In particular, the work of women campaign planners deserves scholarly attention because women comprise more than half of the public relations profession today (Creedon, 1993) and their voices need to be heard. In addition, concern over "feminization" of the field (Toth & L.A. Grunig, 1993) creates a need to reevaluate the structures in which women campaign planners work.

The prevailing public relations campaign models seem to neglect women's experiences in campaigns. One reason for this, according to Rakow (1989b), is that men ultimately define the structure of campaigns through their wish to control the production of information. Common practices in campaign planning reflect a masculine design that does not attempt to change the organization, but rather concentrates on one-way goals (Rakow, 1989b). Rakow (1989b) stated, "Men have put themselves in the position to produce the forms of thought and symbols that express and order the world we live in, depriving women of participation in creating the general currency of thought" (p. 166).

In contrast to this, feminist theory asserts that a feminist model for campaigns would reflect the two-way model of communication. The two-way model of communication, developed by J.E. Grunig and Hunt (1984) and later revised by Dozier (1995), has been shown to be important for effective public relations. The two-way model consists of a negotiating process between symmetrical and asymmetrical communication (Dozier, 1995).

The purpose of the current study was to explore whether women campaign planners use feminist campaign models characterized by the two-way model of communication. By listening to their stories, we might discover how they conduct these campaigns, what outcomes do they achieve and what sacrifices do they incur.

The women might be reconciling the feminist principles that encourage two-way communication in order to work within a patriarchal structure, or they might overcome conflicts by ignoring the patriarchal paradigm.

The current study utilized radical feminist theory, which has contributed to communication research over the past few years (Dervin, 1987; Fine, 1988; Foss & Foss, 1988; Rakow, 1987; Steeves, 1988; Treichler & Wartella, 1986). Radical feminism proposes changes in the structures and systems that are developed and perpetuated by a patriarchal society (Rakow, 1989a, 1989b). These systems, which include media industries and information production, have traditionally devalued women and women's work, and have denied women their own voice (Creedon, 1991; L.A. Grunig, 1995; Hon, 1995, Rakow, 1989a, 1989b; Toth, 1989). In order for women to attain "voice," the prevailing systems governing communication in our society need to be changed (Hon, 1995).

Due to the lack of research on women working in public relations campaigns, this study was exploratory in nature, and utilized the qualitative research method of in-depth interviewing. It sought to follow Toth and Cline's (1991) suggestion that future research should seek beliefs and interpretations of meaning "by listening to individuals more fully than our questions permitted" (p. 174). In addition, Hon, L.A. Grunig and Dozier (1992) argued that because women outnumber men in public relations classrooms and practice, "a logical, if not moral, mandate suggests that research and discussion about women be carried out in a way that benefits women and thus, public relations" (p. 430).

The findings of the current study should add to the body of knowledge in two ways. First, in exploring the neglected experiences of women campaign planners, the study offered voice to a group of practitioners that had largely been ignored. Second, the findings uncovered factors that might help develop a "re-visioned" (Creedon, 1993b) theory for public relations campaigns that reflects a feminist paradigm.

Theory and Literature Review

Public Relations Campaigns

There have been several definitions and models for campaigns. Rogers and Storey (1987) defined communications campaigns as purposive, communication efforts planned for a certain time limit, usually with the goal of persuading or influencing selected audiences. Many studies seem to incorporate this by focusing on attitude and behavior change, message impact, and evaluation (Anderson, 1995; Anderson, 1989; Fischer, 1995; Flora, Maccoby, & Farquhar, 1989; Rice & Atkin, 1989; Viswanath, Kahn, Finnegan, Jr., Hertog, & Potter, 1993; Witte, Stokols, Ituarte, & Schneider, 1993). For example, Anderson (1995) examined the effectiveness of public service announcements on self-efficacy beliefs. Viswanath, et al., (1993) studied audience motivation, level of education, and the effectiveness of a cancer risk reduction campaign. Fischer (1995) tested an innovative evaluation method on two county-wide information campaigns.

Kendall (1992) defined public relations campaigns differently than Rogers and Storey (1987), by including the goal of building mutually beneficial relationships with publics (p. 4). Such an emphasis reflects Grunig and Hunt's (1984) two-way symmetrical model and a feminist model of communication (J.E. Grunig & L.A. Grunig, 1992; Rakow, 1989a), in that both stress collaboration and ethics. Two-way communication is both symmetrical and asymmetrical (Dozier, 1995; J.E. Grunig & Hunt, 1984). It involves research, feedback from publics, collaboration and dialogue between publics and organizations. At times, organizations use persuasive methods to convince publics, but at other times, organizations consider the publics' viewpoints and change accordingly (Dozier, 1995; J.E. Grunig & L.A. Grunig, 1992).

Today's campaign structure, however, is based only on one-way communication. In fact, J.E. Grunig and L.A. Grunig (1992) found that most public relations work reflects one-way communication. In addition, few studies were

found that examined two-way communication in campaigns (Gaudino, Fritsch, & Haynes, 1989).

No feminist study was found that focused on campaign planners. To date, most of the literature found on campaigns has measured gender only as a descriptive characteristic, if at all. For example, Olasky (1987) presented a case study of an abortion rights campaign but made little attempt to consider gender as an influence. Rosser, Flora, Chaffee, and Farquhar (1990) did look at gender differences in audiences, finding that women tended to learn more about health from a heart-health campaign than men. However, they mentioned this only by stating that socialization affects gender and other demographic traits (p. 76).

Two critiques were found that discussed the challenges for women involved in campaigns (Rakow, 1989b; Spender, 1985). Rakow (1989b) stated that information is constructed by men, and that campaigns are the conduit for such information. Men create power by maintaining one-way channels: persuasion is a predominant goal because it offers the "sender" power over the "receiver" (Rakow, 1989b). Rakow (1989b) argued, "Our cultural preoccupation with persuasion reflects a conquest mentality that justifies the "violence" of strategies to change others, reflecting a larger, cultural -- masculine -- propensity to dominate and conquer" (p. 169).

Feminist Scholarship in Public Relations

There have been some significant contributions to feminist scholarship in public relations and mass communications (Creedon, 1993b; Dervin, 1987; Rakow, 1988; Rakow, 1989b; Rakow & Kranich, 1991; Spitzack & Carter, 1987; Steeves, 1987; Treichler and Wartella, 1986). Gender issues have been analyzed in salaries, roles, research agendas, discrimination and excellence in public relations (Cline & Toth, 1993; Creedon, 1991, 1993a, 1993b; L.A. Grunig, 1988, 1991, 1995a, 1995b; J.E. Grunig & L.A. Grunig, 1992; Hon, 1995; Toth, 1988, 1989a, 1989b; Toth & Cline, 1991; Toth & L.A. Grunig, 1993). For example, in looking at roles theory, Creedon (1991) found that women tended to be technicians rather than managers. Toth and L.A. Grunig

(1993) argued that women often play dual roles of both technician and manager, "doing it all" but for less money (p. 168). These researchers claimed that hierarchy and power, which have delineated manager and technician roles, are masculine prescriptives for a system that leaves women and minorities at the bottom (Creedon, 1991; Hon, 1995; Toth & L.A. Grunig, 1993).

Some communications research has studied women on their own terms, without judging them against a male norm (Creedon, 1993a; Creedon, Al-Khaja and Kruckeberg, 1995; L.A. Grunig, 1995a; Hon, 1995; Kucera, 1994). One recent study built the framework for a feminist theory of public relations (Hon, 1995), and considered women to be effective communicators who were valuable to the field. However, according to L.A. Grunig's (1995b) analysis of feminist research over the last several years, most public relations research still reflects a male viewpoint.

Feminist Theory

Feminist theories "understand the origins and continuing nature of women's nearly universal devaluation in society" (Steeves, 1987, p. 96). One feminist theory is liberal feminism, which calls for equality through assimilation of women into the current systems (Steeves, 1987). Radical feminism goes further, in arguing that assimilation is not enough because it does not attack the patriarchy that caused problems in the first place (Krepps, 1973, cited in Kucera, 1994). Rakow (1989a) stated that adding an equal number of women will not help women's position if work is still within a male-dominated society. She claimed that the very structures within society that devalue women and perpetuate the status quo need to be changed.

The status quo is defined by a prevailing male perspective. Reskin (1991) stated that "dominant groups remain privileged because they write the rules, and the rules they write enable them to continue to write the rules" (p. 141, cited in Kucera, 1994). Sherwin (1988) agreed with this premise, in arguing that what has been claimed as objective and universal is in reality the male point of view (p. 19).

"Gendered" characteristics have developed out of the status quo. Competition,

individualism and power are ascribed to males, and nurturance, cooperation and emotionality are ascribed to females (Hon, 1995; Rakow, 1989b). According to Rakow (1989b), however, these "feminine" characteristics are not inherently biological -- women are not naturally cooperative or nurturing. Rakow (1989b) asserted that "these values have traditionally in this culture been assigned to white women and have been associated with them. We should not be surprised, then, when many white women actually hold these values and practice them" (p. 293).

Feminist Methodology

Feminist scholars focus their efforts on changing the traditional, research paradigm of social science (Fine, 1988; Foss & Foss, 1988; L.A. Grunig, 1988; Rakow, 1987; Sherwin, 1988; Steeves, 1988). Prevailing research methods seek to objectify subjective experiences, offer little consideration of individuals and often use data generalized from males to both males and females, ignoring the experiences of women (Dervin, 1987; Roberts, 1981; Tetreault, 1985; Toth & L.A. Grunig, 1993). This "normal" research, believed to reflect patriarchal society, searches for primary causes and focuses on parts instead of wholes (Dervin, 1987). Feminist research, on the hand, includes a nonpositivist, nonlinear approach, a rejection of objectivity, and an acceptance of diverse forms of data (Dervin, 1987; Fine, 1988). Dervin (1987) stated, "How can you give voice to those who have been silent for centuries except by inventing new options?" (p. 109).

Foss and Foss (1988) offered three ways that feminist scholars can challenge established research systems: 1) Consider women's perceptions and experiences -- focus on interdependence, emotionality, wholeness and the process; 2) Seek to change the rules of construction of knowledge so they incorporate women's values; and 3) Seek to discover how gender construction denigrates women and attempt to change it (p. 9).

One research model that emphasizes women's voices is Tetreault's (1985) feminist phase theory, which categorizes stages of research on women. The first

phase is male scholarship, and assumes that male experience is universal. The second phase, compensatory scholarship, reveals a consciousness that women are missing, but men are still perceived as the "paradigmatic human being" (Tetreault, 1985, p. 367). The third phase is bifocal scholarship, which is characterized by the conceptualization of women and men as different but equal. The fourth phase is feminist scholarship, and emphasizes women's activities on their own. Women's everyday lives are investigated, and women are compared to other women rather than to men. Tetreault (1985) stated, "Individual women's experiences...contribute to the fashioning of the human experience from the perspective of women" (p. 375).

Public relations campaigns research should attempt to approach Tetreault's fourth stage because the increasing number of women in public relations has created a need for studying the value of women's experiences. This does not mean that research at the third, bifocal phase has no value. In some fields, feminist research is only beginning to be accepted, and stark comparisons to men are needed as a base from which scholarship can build. However, re-visioning public relations models will only begin by giving an independent voice to women.

In feminist scholarship, allowing women "voice" is a central tenet. Steeves (1987) argued that women have been made to stay silent by men controlling and producing language forms and meanings. As self-appointed proprietors of language, men have been able to structure a world that is amenable to their experiences and outlooks (Rakow, 1986).

However, this status is slowly changing (Dervin, 1987; Wood & Cox, 1993). Rakow (1986) claimed, "A growing appreciation for women's lived experiences, values and contributions has led to more research that recovers women's words and their alternate meanings that value women's talk" (p. 17). Dervin (1987) argued that the field of communication should focus on the fundamental concern of giving women voice "so we may hear their reality" (p. 112). This focus is especially important in an area such as public relations campaigns, where, for example, the

experiences of women campaign planners have not been examined in depth.

Research Questions

Based on the exploratory, qualitative nature of this study, these research questions were posed:

RQ1: How do women campaign planners develop campaigns within a masculine model characterized by such elements as one-way communication?

RQ2: Are women campaign planners attempting to utilize a feminist model of campaigns characterized by two-way communication?

RQ3: When given their own voice, what do women campaign planners say about how campaigns should be developed?

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Method

The research methodology employed by the current study embodied Tetreault's (1985) feminist scholarship, where women were not compared to men, but rather spoke for themselves. Results focused on feelings and personal experiences, which are valid for feminist scholarship (Dervin, 1987; Fine, 1988).

An inductive approach was utilized, where collected data might enhance a feminist theory of public relations. Through the women's stories, factors were identified that might be used in re-visioning campaign planning.

Research Technique and Protocol

To operationalize information campaigns, the participants in the study were asked to define the concept and describe their responsibilities in campaign development. How the women planned campaigns and what they considered important marked the definition.

The qualitative method of in-depth interviewing utilized in this study is favored in feminist research because it develops a relationship between the respondents and the interviewer (L.A. Grunig, 1995a; Steeves, 1987). The instrument used for the interviews was an open-ended protocol of ten broad question areas rather than a structured questionnaire.

Respondents

Respondents were women campaign planners who have worked in the field for over ten years, and who held manager positions. The type of organization where the women worked was not a factor in selection of respondents, since it has been argued that corporations, non-profit organizations and public relations agencies are all part of a larger, patriarchal society that employs the same system of information and communication channels (Rakow, 1989a). It was, however, noted whether respondents felt that their organizations practiced two-way communication or supported a participative organizational culture.

The selection of respondents was a "snowball" sample, where the women recommended other professionals in the field to participate. The first respondent interviewed was recommended by a female professor. Five women were asked to participate in the study, and the same five agreed to be interviewed.

The interviews, though small in number, were lengthy in time, achieving depth and richness of information from the participants. This depth is a desired goal in both qualitative research and feminist scholarship, because it allows for the respondents' voices to speak for themselves. It offers details in how women plan campaigns and how they utilize models of communication. Generalizability, often a goal in traditional, quantitative research, was not attempted here, because surface descriptives of women campaign planners would not be helpful in answering the research questions or solving the challenges in today's campaign planning.

Procedure

Pretesting the interviewing instrument on two female graduate students who have had experience planning campaigns allowed for modifications in the order and wording of questions. After pretesting, interviews were arranged, with the respondents selecting the locations. All the interviews were tape recorded and conducted in person, each one taking approximately one hour.

After completing all the interviews, data analysis began, with transcriptions of all interview tapes. The transcribed text was grouped by both patterns of general consensus and unique stories or opinions. The women's voices were retained as much as possible by using many direct quotations in reporting the results. In addition, the respondents were sent a copy of the results and given the opportunity to comment and offer suggestions.

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Results

Four of the women work in a mid-sized city and one works in a large city. Each woman has at least 15 years of experience in public relations and holds a director or manager position. One works in an agency, while the others work at either non-profit organizations or academic institutions.

The findings presented here reflect participants' perceptions and not the researcher's. Whether respondents' beliefs are supported by other research or by the researcher is not relevant to this section; according to Hon (1995), these women's experiences are valuable in their own right.

Each interview was unique, and the women did not reveal striking similarities in personalities. However, some patterns did emerge when responses were grouped according to the Research Questions.

Research Question 1: How do women campaign planners develop campaigns within a masculine model characterized by such elements as one-way communication?

The participants develop campaigns by relying on one-way communication and media relations to pursue goals of "moving" target audiences. They conduct some prior planning and informal research, but lack time and money to do as much as they would like. For various aspects of campaigns -- from definitions to planning, decision-making, audiences, evaluation and implementation -- the participants included traditional, media-oriented activities or marketing.

In addition, the women said they often develop campaigns with limitations set by decision-makers, supervisors or clients. Most of the participants stated that they do not often initiate campaigns, though they are asked to implement them.

Defining Campaigns

Participants had difficulty defining campaigns in one sentence, because the campaigns they implement vary a great deal. One participant said that a campaign

can be very informal -- "It can be three people sitting around a table and saying I'll do this, I'll do that," -- or very formal.

All the women's definitions included objectives. Other concepts mentioned were time-specificity, "moving" an audience, using media and "marketing." One participant defined a campaign as "where you want to move an audience, or public, whatever you would define that to be, to some kind of response, using mass and niche media and everything in between, everything but person-to-person."

Participants said they do not often run campaigns similar to the definitions they gave. One participant noted, "What we do does not always fit a campaign." Another said, "Ideally, that's the textbook way, and a lot of times it doesn't work that way."

<u>Planning</u>

All the participants claimed that it is important to plan or try to plan. The words "design" and "strategy" were used synonymously with "plan." One woman stated, "We do have a long range plan and we usually do have a public information plan for the year." She also said that her "administration" tells her what "they hope to accomplish," and "this is usually sort of negotiated, and from that I'm frequently asked to put together a plan." The one woman who works for an agency said that her firm always plans for client campaigns.

However, planning often consists of a "seat-of-the-pants" approach, a term used by two participants. One woman remarked, "My planning is like getting in the middle of a stream with a really strong current." Some said plans are in their heads, but they considered this equivalent to a written plan. One woman's days were "constant checking, list making, negotiation with vendors. I'm an obsessive organizer." Another woman explained, "Drop everything, stop everything, this is an emergency, put out that fire. That's the way it seems to work for me."

<u>Decision-Making</u>

Although the women hold director positions, they do not have final approval for their campaign plans. They said their campaign plans and materials are

approved or "reviewed" by at least one supervisor or client before implementation. Some of the women didn't mind this, while others complained about it.

One participant noted that her reporting mechanisms are "weird" because she reports to two supervisors. She explained how this situation developed:

> We just had a consulting firm come in over the summer and they recommended that I shouldn't report to the CFO that I should report to the COO and we all agreed, but we're not going to change it. I work with both of them, and I tell both of them everything I do anyhow, so they didn't feel as though there was any burning desire to literally move me from one to the other.

The participant didn't "mind" the reporting structure, however, because "they're both nice women" and because previous reporting procedures were worse.

Audiences

Campaign audiences vary by situation. Audiences mentioned included physicians, employees or staff, patients, alumni, consumers, students, faculty, donors, and the "general public."

Little interaction and dialogue occurs between the campaign planners and target audiences. Phrases that described the amount of personal interaction with audiences included: "Some more than others," "Not all that much, more indirectly," and, "The ultimate audience? Not even close." When informal dialogue does occur, it is usually through coincidental meetings, "mall intercepts," at "a cocktail party," or by walking around and asking questions of employees. One woman said, "I think it's really important to touch and feel the person who's going to buy the product." She agreed that it is not always possible, but she always tries.

Research/Evaluation

Little formal research is conducted by participants, with the exception of the woman from the agency. The other participants conduct informal methods. One woman commented, "A lot of it is just oral." Another participant stated, "We just finished our...campaign, and one of the nurses said, 'Geez, it would be really nice if

we did an evaluation,' and I thought it was a good idea, but we never got to do it."
Another described research conducted at her organization as "anecdotal."

Examples of research included clipping files, "paying attention," "x number of reporters were there, you get a note from the person heading up the event saying thank you," and, "you can feel if there's a resonance." One participant did discuss a survey that measured interest in a program. Another said her organization did a count of how many flu shots were given to people during their flu shot campaign.

Research on audience needs is not usually the source for campaign ideas. Instead, campaign ideas are either suggested by upper-level management or clients, or were successfully done in the past. For example, one participant said that an idea came from a supervisor who had discovered that similar organizations were doing the campaign. Another participant said that the nature of her organization allows for others on staff to decide what services they would like promoted. She noted, "So that's beyond our area of control. The weather is beyond our area of control."

The woman who works at an agency has more opportunity to conduct research, though she did mention this it is often cut if budget is limited. She remarked, "I would never start a project without doing research." She listed a variety of research techniques, such as "primary data," focus groups and surveys.

Although participants agreed that more formal evaluation is desired, they also agreed that there is little time or budget for it. "You just don't have time to do formal evaluation." Another woman said, "Some things are really hard to monitor," and "A lot of what we do is difficult to evaluate." One participant remarked, "The best evaluation is years of experience, comparing what you put in and what you can see you got out, compared to other things that you worked on."

Implementation

The women's campaigns range from large, unique campaigns to weekly, media efforts, including a successful flu shot campaign, a recruitment campaign, a consumer marketing campaign, and an educational program.

Some participants described implementation as "publicity" and "press relations." One participant relies on marketing, due to the types of clients and campaigns she manages. Another participant commented, "A lot of it crosses over between public relations and marketing. I really see my job blended."

Media coverage is a measure of success for many participants. Their activities include calendar listings, news releases, radio spots, and "cable calls." One woman noted, "From my perspective, the real important part is the air time." She described one of her successes: "We had three TV stations, two radios, three newspapers and a color photo on the front page of the *Herald*, which was really good."

Limitations or Barriers

There are limitations that participants work around in order to accomplish effective campaigns. All the participants talked about the lack of money, staff and time. One woman said, "Everything is always done on a shoestring budget."

However, the "hardest" or "worst" barrier mentioned by some of the campaign planners is "internal politics," "hidden agendas," or lack of autonomy. A couple of women discussed how they deal with supervisors who get involved in campaigns, but who do not have any experience. One woman talked about a new policy that was enacted without her input, but she was asked to plan the promotional campaign. She discovered that the policy was inaccurate and had to tell her supervisor. "Those are the hardest things to do...telling bad news to somebody who doesn't really want to hear it." She explained, "The most difficult part is that very often our own administration will have a preconceived notion of some aspect of the campaign and they would do what I call fall in love with your own idea."

Another women noted, "The getting there could be a lot more fun if you didn't have the politics." She added that in the end, however, "the right thing is done and people are happy, I'd say 90-something percent of the time."

One participant told a story about supervisors who decided on a campaign idea, and then told her to "take care of it." She remarked, "I couldn't get anybody's

attention who really cared." A supervisor's wife got involved, and "at the last moment...it was like 'don't screw up.'" The respondent described the wife's contributions, "I wouldn't have thought of gluing little doo-dads on the tables...I wouldn't have run all over the city looking for accent squares on the tablecloths." When asked if these additions were important, the respondent said yes -- it assisted with internal morale-building for the staff who attended the event.

Research Question 2: Are women campaign planners attempting to utilize a feminist model of campaigns characterized by two-way communication?

The evidence did not support a strong use of two-way communication, although some similar, feminist characteristics were apparent. For example, participants said they value teamwork, collaboration, ethics and flexibility.

Two-Way Communication

There are no clear examples of two-way communication in practice. The women's organizations do not change to meet audience needs, and there is little research or dialogue with primary publics. However, a couple of women said that staff is slowly learning about the value of public relations. One woman said that "front-line staff" is becoming more "attuned," that they are understanding they are "all a part of it." Another woman described the education process as an "ongoing campaign in the organization that never ends whatever campaign you're working on." One participant noted, "If you make a good case for something, the clients will listen to you."

Compromise was discussed with regards to media. One participant said her "boss" once changed his schedule so that he could meet with media. Another participant said it's a "balancing" between the media and the institution, but argued that "the needs of the institution are always going to win out."

Teamwork Within the Organization

Participants said they often work in teams with other staff members on campaign planning and development. Many of them used the term "we" when

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describing their work on campaigns. One said of her assistant, "We've worked together for over ten years, so we're really a pair." Another explained, "we will sit around a table and five of us will talk about all these wonderful things we should be doing. Then we'll put it down on paper and each person's responsible for something else." She said that this is different from the past, when "you had a lot of separate fiefdoms that interacted on occasion when absolutely necessary."

One participant noted that although her teamwork experience has been positive, she thinks total teamwork is a "slight bit overboard." She explained, "I also think it is really important to let people do their own thing, to bring their own strengths to the picture. Let's do our jobs, let's come back together...but we don't live, eat, sleep, dream together in order to get the project done."

Collaboration with Other Organizations

Cooperative publicity was mentioned, where some respondents said they join other organizations to promote a campaign. One participant described a program where "they are doing it to build audiences, we're doing it to show our wares to people." Another woman said, "I think you see a lot of it shared all across the system, all across the country, people share ideas..."

Ethics

All participants mentioned honesty, accuracy and ethics as the most important principle they abide by in any campaign. One woman mentioned the PRSA Code of Ethics as her guide. Another participant expressed concern for what she thinks is an increasing trend to "manipulate and be asked to manipulate."

Other values important to the participants included "trying to meet your client's needs," and to "counsel" to the best of their abilities. In discussing competitiveness for media, another participant used the terms "piggy" and "grabby" as behaviors she avoids. She said, "I'm more than happy to have our share."

Flexibility

Because plans often change due to circumstances out of their control, flexibility

is important for campaign development. One women said, "I don't know how you could have possibly dealt with this thing if you were rigid." Another participant explained, "It's important for people to understand that you need to do a broad mix of things in a campaign -- something will work, something won't."

Research Question 3: When given their own voice, what do women campaign planners say about how campaigns should be developed?

For campaigns to be developed effectively, all the women said they need more allotted resources and more respect or autonomy. Most of the respondents added that campaigns should be developed with shared or participative planning.

Resources

Participants agreed that their campaigns would be more effective if they had more money and time. One woman answered, "I would do ads in the paper, because it really turns people out." Another said, "I would have hired someone to do the whole deal..." A third wants time to train staff in media relations.

Respect/Decision-Making

Most of the participants said their campaigns would be better if they had more control and decision-making power. One participant said, "I would like somebody to tell me what they want to accomplish, and leave it to me to put together the plan that I know would work based on the fact that I have the education, training and the track record to do that."

Although participants plan and orchestrate activities, most of the women said they do not initiate campaigns. For example, one woman said her supervisors usually tell her what the event will be. Another woman said that several staff members decide what programs they want in their individual settings and she carries out the plans. She related one story where someone had applied for a grant to produce bumper stickers for people who can't read: "I said I think we should do radio spots for people who can hear but can't read. They overrode everything I said." The person received the grant, and then turned to the respondent to derive a

message to print on the bumper stickers. "I was beside myself," the participant recalled, "My kids were little then, and I was crabby at the dinner table and my son who was probably nine at the time said, how about, 'If you can't read this, honk.'"

Some of the women described campaigns they were proud of because they had control, "credibility" and "respect." One participant said, "I actually got my hands on a concept of a real plan from scratch, it felt like I had some ownership." She said she became "intimately involved" with the project. Another participant said, "On one project I work on, I coordinate all the aspects pretty much. I have control over that...I choose the topic...and I know what I want out of it. I want a good quality speaker, I want good media coverage and I want a good audience for this event."

Shared or Participative Planning

Most of the participants agreed that campaigns should be developed without personal interests getting in the way, without "hidden agendas." More gains would be made in their work if conflict would be reduced. It "could make life easier for some," and allow for flexibility. One woman said that if she could get rid of the politics, she would "do it a lot faster, and spend a lot less time gnashing my teeth."

One woman expressed her desire for "all parts to work together." She argued, "We can't have ourselves isolated...Why are we fighting with each other? It affects the public relations because so much has an internal focus, like an ingrown toenail rather than a united front. It's very troubling to me and I hope its turning around."

Additional Findings Not Related to Research Questions

There are additional patterns that emerged that do not directly address the research questions. These findings are relevant not only for the purpose of this study, but also for the women who considered them important enough to discuss.

Job Responsibilities

Most participants do more than campaign development and execution. Some complete mailings and photocopying. One woman remarked, "I found that I didn't really have a lot of help so I wound up doing a lot of the practical work myself, like

literally stuffing the kits, putting the bags together and everything."

Another woman said that she does not want managerial responsibilities though she is director. She remarked, "I don't want to have to sign people's time sheets." She enjoys creative work and wants to continue writing, producing public service announcements and "going on the air." Another participant described the times she is part of the management team as "doing stuff I think is beyond what is really considered public relations." She mentioned that her management responsibilities "take me away from what I see is the promotion aspect of what needs to be done."

Another woman acts as "ghost writer" for a supervisor, though people in her office do not know this. She did not complain, except to say that she has to complete many other activities simultaneously.

A couple of participants said they are facilitators. One woman stated, "You have to be the kind of person people can come up to and say it took me so long to do this. And then you can go back to your boss and say what's happening?" She said she was "translator" between media and her organization "to try to help them understand each other." Another woman used the term "troubleshooter or fix-it person."

Gender Issues

All the participants but one work for male supervisors, even if the organization is predominantly staffed by females. One woman commented that, although the staff is female, "of course the boss is a man...he has more chicks in his hen house." She said, this makes "certain kinds of planning much more difficult."

Participants' attitudes were not similar on gender issues in the work force. One woman noted that she is probably more like a male because she wants tangible accomplishments. She explained, "The other people are like, we did something because we had a meeting. I think if I go to a meeting, I'm not doing anything." She described herself as different from others because she desires "closure" on activities. This participant presently has one male employee. She argued, "Every time I have a search, I'm told we need to hire females because of affirmative action reasons, and I

find myself thinking, au contraire, I need to have better diversity."

Another woman said that she does not believe that being a woman affects her job or any aspect of her position, "not in any way, shape or form." She contended that it is not gender that brings about problems:

I think a lot of what you do you bring about yourself...yes, there is still discrimination, but I think people are a little too quick to jump to that and to use that as the excuse rather than looking at themselves and their place in the organization. Here, I don't think any one has either got ahead or not got ahead because of gender.

The one participant in this study who works with women supervisors said she likes working for men better than women. She said with men, "you always know where you stand." With women, she said there are "hidden agendas."

Discussion

The current study addressed the situation in which women campaign planners may lack voice in the campaigns that they develop. Are women campaign planners encouraging a feminist model of campaigns that uses two-way communication? Do they maintain the status quo by emphasizing one-way, persuasive techniques? The findings are mixed. The patterns that emerge seem to represent campaign development confined by masculine structures of information and one-way communication, but it is also apparent that the women collaborate, share ideas and stress ethics. It seems that the women desire a more feminist perspective in campaign development than what actually occurs in their jobs. However, they are not attempting to overthrow the status quo -- they are attempting to work within it.

Status Quo in Campaigns

There are several indicators that pointed to the women maintaining the prevailing, masculine structures that define campaigns. These included their heavy reliance on one-way communication, the lack of dialogue with publics, their use of language and the dual roles they play. The most significant finding, however, was the lack of representation or voice offered the women in their campaign development.

The participant's voices stayed silent in their work, even if they had experience, knowledge or responsibility. When unique opportunities arose for the women to work on campaigns "from scratch," they felt they had "ownership" and "control" for a change. According to Hon, L.A. Grunig and Dozier (1992), female practitioners may be experiencing feelings of oppression or lack of empowerment because they do not have the option of removing the patriarchal structures that guide their work. There is evidence for this, in that all the participants except one mentioned frustrations over a lack of decision-making power, autonomy, or respect.

These frustrations do not necessarily stem from gender, but from working

within a traditionally partriarchal system. Rakow (1989b) stated that gender differences are not "property acquired by individuals, but...a principle around which social life itself is organized" (p. 290). Therefore, it may not be one man or boss that restricts the campaign planner in her work, but a work setting that dominates with power and control. The woman who said that she doesn't like working for women may not realize that her female supervisors are working within a patriarchal system that rewards certain behaviors regardless of gender.

The code of silence that evades the women's work is perpetuated by our patriarchal system. At least two vivid examples of silenced women were revealed in the findings. One participant has worked for her organization over 20 years, and was "overrode" by three male supervisors who decided to approve bumper stickers to target illiterate people. Another woman has been playing what is considered a normal public relations role of "ghost writer." She has been anonymously writing important reports for a male vice president, and has taken time away from her other job responsibilities. This lack of voice affects the women's work and perpetuates masculine-structured practices such as one-way communication and publicity efforts.

The findings showed that there is a predominance of one-way or asymmetrical communication. The organizations these women work for push persuasion, a key criteria in one-way communication. Also, all but one of the participants did not believe their organizations are receptive to change. There was little research or dialogue, which are important for two-way communication. Although the campaign planners used negotiation, it was to compromise between supervisors and media, not between primary publics and the organization.

The language use of participants portrayed a masculine viewpoint for campaigns. The women described their campaigns as "marketing," "publicity," and "promotion." These words indicate one-way communication efforts and may be interpreted as a sign of the socialized language that controls and defines public

relations.

Another example of the prevailing design was the participants' job duties. Although their titles were manager or director, the women performed many technical responsibilities, which supported the findings of Creedon (1991) and Toth and L.A. Grunig (1993). The participants played the dual roles of both technician and manager, by "doing it all" (Toth & L.A. Grunig, 1993, p. 168). Creedon (1991) and Toth and L.A. Grunig (1993) claimed that hierarchy and power, which have delineated manager and technician roles, are masculine prescriptives given to a patriarchal management system that leaves women at the bottom. This seemed to be the case for some of the women in the current study, since they had no authority over campaign decisions, though they implemented the campaigns.

Feminist Model for Campaigns

Although the findings illustrated masculine characteristics of campaigns, there was some evidence of a desire for a feminist paradigm. For example, all the women stressed honesty, ethics, teamwork and collaboration. "Ethics" was the first word offered by participants when asked if they work by certain principles. Ethics not only characterized a feminist perspective, but it was also significant to a symmetrical world view, a paradigm prescribed by J.E. Grunig and White (1992) that embodies the two-way model of communication (Dozier, 1995).

Other evidence of two-way communication came from the two participants who said that staff is learning the value of public relations. This experiential education could be the first step in moving organizations to accepting a symmetrical world view.

Another feminist characteristic mentioned was teamwork. All but one woman supported the idea of increasing participative methods for planning. This woman believed in retaining individuality along with working in teams. In other words, she did not want the team effort to subsume the individual voices of the members. This woman worked in an agency and developed campaigns differently from the

other participants in that she did not desire change, she believed she had autonomy, and she conducted formal research. This could be seen as evidence of socialization: women are not biologically collaborative, for example, they are "trained" to be that way. In addition, this woman might have learned that the only avenue to success was through the masculine world view that rewards individuality. It may just be the agency setting that created different campaigns, or it may be personal experiences that lead her to different conclusions. The findings did not arrive at any one answer.

The use of informal research by the other four participants may be construed as somewhat feminist, depending on interpretation. Though not supportive of the two-way model, the informal methods and the reliance on oral feedback are elements of a feminist approach to research. They are subjective approaches but no less valid according to feminist scholarship. However, feminist research is still rigorous and relies on dialogue and connections with the subjects, elements not practiced by the campaign planners. Therefore, research by the women can be interpreted as partly reflecting feminist scholarship, and partly reflecting a lack of either feminist or traditional methods.

Liberal Feminism

The women illustrated a liberal feminist perspective in their campaigns work. When given the opportunity to speak, the women professed a desire for change to more collaboration, more involvement, or greater voice, which reflect a desire to move towards a feminist paradigm. However, there was no evidence of attempts at changing the actual patriarchal structure that is the source of complaints. Instead, it seemed the women assimilated the best they could to get their work done without conflict. They talked about flexibility and compromise, but only in the context of their work load and dealing with supervisors.

This is not to say that the women were not strong, creative and important. They obviously were, to get as far as they had with the limitations set upon them in their

daily practices. They juggled several activities at once, with little time or resources, accomplished successful campaigns, and yet still found time to offer at least an hour of their time for academic research.

<u>Limitations of the Study</u>

There were some limitations of the current study that may have affected the findings and interpretations. First, the respondents were all similar in age, experience level, race and class. Their voices, therefore, need to be understood within this context. Second, using in-depth interviews limited generalizable conclusions. However, the goal of this study was depth, not breadth offered by large survey samples. It would add to the current findings, though, if the research questions were applied to a greater number of women campaign planners. Third, the interview protocol should have had at least one question area directly asking participants their feelings about being a woman in the field. This would have allowed for opinions on gender issues related to campaigns.

Theoretical limitations involved the lack of established research on feminist theory and feminist scholarship as they apply to campaigns. Gaps and inconsistencies might be apparent in the findings because of the exploratory nature of this work. Future research might attempt to close any gaps by answering new questions that have emerged from the current findings.

<u>Future Research</u>

From a theoretical viewpoint, this study has been helpful in identifying issues and factors worthy of future research. For example, the women in the study were not struggling for voice in their campaign planning, but were aware of limitations placed on them. They did not have strong influence on the campaign process, but did not attempt to change this process. Is this indicative of most women campaign planners? It could not be concluded from this research if the findings indicated a move towards a feminist paradigm or only unique situations.

In addition, the importance placed on teamwork and collaboration might offer

areas of future study. How do these factors contribute to campaign effectiveness? How do women work with other women in teams, and would they be more productive working alone?

Conclusion

In conclusion, the current study utilized feminist scholarship to explore the stories of women campaign planners and whether they practice two-way communication. It applied feminist theory in examining the work of five women campaign planners, and found that a liberal feminist perspective seems to be employed by the participants. The women campaign planners in this study were still developing campaigns within a controlling structure created and perpetuated by a masculine model. There was, however, some evidence of feminist principles, such as collaboration and teamwork. In addition, the women desired change in their work and in their organizations, which might eventually lead to two-way communication and a feminist paradigm for campaign development.

With the increasing numbers of women in public relations, women's viewpoints need to be heard. This study represented a few voices who experience working within limitations set by organizational and campaign structures. Public relations practitioners could learn from this research to become more aware of women campaign planners' insights and to increase education within organizations about these women's value to two-way communication. Although the women in this study contributed to their organizations, they could offer even greater contributions if they were allowed decision-making responsibilities, opportunities to practice their expertise, and freedom to speak with their own voices. Theoretical application might further examine the evidence discovered for collaboration, teamwork and ethics, and how these concepts add to a feminist model for public relations campaigns.

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IT DEPENDS: A Contingency Theory

of Accommodation in Public Relations

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Abstract

We argue here for a contingency theory of accommodation in public relations based on a continuum from pure accommodation to pure advocacy. The theory posits that antecedent, mediating and moderating variables lead to greater or lesser accommodation. We identify 87 variables for inclusion in the matrix of factors affecting **the degree** of accommodation undertaken by public relations practitioners. We offer the theory as an alternative to the normative theory of excellence in public relations based on the two-way symmetrical model.

Foreword: The "It Depends" Test

Imagine asking a seasoned practitioner how he or she relates to publics. You ask whether two-way

symmetrical public relations is most effective and morally upright. He or she answers, "It depends. It depends on a

whole lot of things. First, you have to talk in terms of a specific public at a particular time. Then you must ask some

questions. Is the public reasonable or radical? Are the public's beliefs or behavior morally repugnant? Do I have

support from top management to make the call? How enlightened is my boss about accommodation's benefits to all

parties? How much of a threat is the public? Is the public socially responsible or a couple of extreme crackpots with a

photocopier?" We argue that this fictional practitioner has tens of thousands of counterparts in actual practice who offer

a better, more subtle and sophisticated understanding of accommodation than what is to be found in the academic grove.

The practice of public relations is too complex, too fluid and impinged by far too many variables for the

academy to force it into the four boxes known as the four models of public relations[1]. Even worse, to promulgate one of

the four boxes as the best and most effective model not only tortures the reality of practicing public relations but has

problems, even as a normative theory. It fails to capture the complexity and multiplicity of the public relations

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In 1984, J. Grunig, along with Hunt, identified four styles of relating to publics or models of public relations which they believed were not only representations of four stages in the history of public relations, but also were four representations of forms of public relations practiced today. These models are: (a) press agentry/publicity model, or one-way asymmetric; (b) the public information model, one-way symmetric; © the two-way asymmetric model; and (d) the two-way symmetric model. The researchers characterized the four models based on two dimensions: direction of communication (one-way/monologue or two-way/dialogue) and balance of intended effect (asymmetric/unbalanced or symmetric/balanced).

J. Grunig and Hunt (1984) originally described the four models as "representation(s)...simplified in the same way that a perfect vacuum or perfect competition are simplified representations in other sciences" (p. 22).

The Grunigs (J. Grunig & L. Grunig, 1992) argue that the two-way symmetrical model is normative theory, the type of theory that represents how organizations should practice public relations to be most ethical and effective, but they write that in reality, excellent public relations is a combination of the two-way asymmetrical and symmetrical models. J. Grunig (1989, p. 30) also argues that "only the two-way symmetrical model represents a break from the predominant worldview that public relations is a way to manipulate publics for the benefit of the organization."

This model uses two-way communication and scientific research in a non-persuasive fashion. Its assumptions, based on the writings and not the practices of Lee, Bernays, and John Hill, include "telling the truth," "interpreting the client and public to one another, and management understanding the viewpoints of employees and neighbors as well as employees and neighbors understanding the viewpoints of management" (J. Grunig & Hunt, 1984, p. 42). Organizations practicing this model engage in negotiating, bargaining, and conflict management to bring about symbiotic changes in both the organization and its publics (J. Grunig, 1989). J. Grunig and Hunt (1984) write that in two-way symmetrical communication between publics and top management, "the public should be just as likely to persuade the organization's management to change attitudes or behavior as the organization is likely to change the publics' attitudes or behavior" (p. 23).

J. Grunig (with L. Grunig, 1989) originally believed that organizations practice one of the four models as a single public relations policy, but when research conducted by Cupp (1985), Nelson (1986) and L. Grunig (1986) showed that organizations often use several models together, J. Grunig abandoned this belief.

The Grunigs now argue that the models serve two functions: as situational strategies used by an organization's public relations department for dealing with different publics and different problems, and as part of an organization's ideology, which is a component of organizational culture (J. Grunig & L. Grunig, 1992).

environment.

How one practices public relations, we conclude, depends on assessment of a number of factors, factors ranging from antecedent conditions to current pressures and opportunities. These factors determine the **degree** to which certain practices and positions will prevail for the nonce as well as what stance by the organization will be both effective and ethically sound. Essentially, we need a theory that responds to simplistic questions such as "what is the best way to relate to publics" or "how should you practice public relations" by responding: "It depends ..." It depends upon the ethical implications in the situation. It depends on what is at stake. It depends upon how credible the public is. **It depends upon a whole lot of things.** This paper offers 87 of those things as candidate factors that affect the stance of an organization.

Before presenting the factors, we first review the work employing continua. We then offer conceptual definitions of the terms serving as poles of our proposed continuum.

Precedents for a Continuum

Aware that unobtrusive control may exist, Hellweg (1989) argues that what is symmetrical or asymmetrical depends on one's perspective. Thus, an organization may view inviting a representative of a local activist group to attend policy meetings as a symmetrical form of accommodation, but a third party or even the activist group may perceive this same action as an attempt to unobtrusively gain the consent of the external public. Hellweg (1989) suggests "the issue of whether two-way symmetrical organizations exist may be resolved by developing a continuum between the two-way asymmetric practice and a true two-way symmetric practice, such that organizations both internally and externally can be measured more by an infinite number of points than an 'either-or' picture might suggest" (p. 22).

That the concept of symmetric communication should be refined along less rigorous lines of a continuum ranging from conflict to cooperation also was argued by Murphy (1991, p.124). Along this continuum are situations ranging from pure conflict at one extreme to pure cooperation at the other. In the middle of the continuum are mixed-motive games to capture the idea that in interaction, the interests of the players (organization and external public) are neither strictly coincident nor strictly opposed. In a coorientation context, mixed-motive games do not aspire to pure congruence or complete agreement but rather to understanding and accuracy (p. 125). Referring to the mixed-motive equilibria on this continuum Murphy writes, "This balance is often an uneasy and precarious one, arrived at by a kind of bargaining dialogue between an organization and its constituent publics" (p. 125).

Murphy (1991) also found fault with the four models in game theory terms. She found that the asymmetric

model resembles zero-sum games, and symmetric communication resembles games of pure cooperation. One of many similarities between games of pure cooperation or purely cooperative behavior and the two-way symmetrical model is that both are seldom found in the real world. Applying game theory concepts, Murphy (1991) states that, like games of pure cooperation, symmetrical communication may produce results unsatisfactory for both sides because by trying extremely hard to please the other side, neither side ends up with a satisfactory solution.

Building on Murphy's (1991) discussion of game theory, Dozier, Grunig and Grunig (1995) offered a mixed-motive role for the public relations professional. As a cooperative anatagonist, the professional directs persuasive tactics toward both the organization's dominant coalition and toward the organization's publics. These persuasive efforts are subordinated to a larger, symmetrical worldview which is ultimately accommodative, hence, located at only one point on the continuum. We hold that this sort of boundary spanning role as cooperative antagonist is only one of many stances along the continuum from advocacy to accommodation. We can conceive of a whole range of stances as a consequence of the numerous factors that we posit as affecting the degree of accommodation offered by the organization. At one extreme, we can imagine situations when a dominant coalition would not need to be persuaded to compromise generously with a public. We also readily conceive of situations when that same dominant coalition would prohibit compromise with what it viewed to be a reprehensible public engaging in untruths founded on "wrong" thinking.

Hellweg (1989), Murphy (1991) and Dozier, Grunig and Grunig's (1995) arguments that public relations strategies or models are more realistically portrayed in a continuum coincide with the reasoning behind the advocacy/accommodation continuum presented here. We also argue that this view is a more effective and more realistic illustration of public relations and organizational behavior than a conceptualization of four models. Like Hellweg and Murphy, this paper suggests that a continuum more accurately portrays the variety of public relations stances available to organizations in dealing with their publics. It also argues that this approach more effectively illustrates the fluidity with which organizational stance decisions and public relations strategy decisions are made and change over time.

Influenced by Hellweg (1989), Murphy (1991), and other researchers' criticisms of the four models, J. Grunig (with L. Grunig, 1990) decided to reconceptualize his theory of models into two continua: craft and professional public relations. Through reconceptualizing the four models into two continua and reevaluating the function the models serve in organizations as situational strategies, J. Grunig and L. Grunig helped to shape the models into more realistic representations of actual public relations practices, but we argue that even more can be done.

The attempt to place the four models at the two poles of two continua results in unnecessary complications and

confusion. We suggest that the models serve well as clusters of activities, techniques and strategies, but not as poles of continua. This study's continuum is presented as a next step, one that emphasizes a more realistic description of how public relations is practiced in organizations, how organizations practice a variety of public relations stances at one point in time, how these stances are capable of changing quickly, and what influences those changes.

The continuum represents an organization's possible wide range of stances taken toward an individual public. Whereas the normative theory offers a prescription, this theory holds that identifying excellence is not so simple and that experienced professionals know that "It Depends." We must always ask what is going to be the most effective method at a given time. True excellence in public relations may result from picking the appropriate point along the continuum that best fits the current need of the organization and its publics.

We must have simple terms that academics, professionals and students can all grasp. The terms should focus on the essentials and be flexible enough to avoid confounding an organization's accommodative position with practices that may or may not be accommodative. Just because a practitioner uses public information tactics in communicating with a given public, for example, doesn't preclude the organization from an accommodative stance to some degree with that same public. Practices typically associated with certain of the four models should be free to appear in conjunction with a greater or lesser degree of advocacy. For example, public information tactics may be a baseline or preparatory effort as part of a campaign that will heat up with greater persuasive techniques (perhaps based on research, but not necessarily so) being combined with continued public information efforts. Conversely, public information may precede a series of negotiations of a mutually beneficial outcome regarding an issue and a particular public.

<center>Conceptual Definitions of Advocacy and Accommodation</center>

Advocacy

Webster's New World dictionary (1984, p.10) defines advocate as "one who pleads another's cause or (pleads) in support of something." A review of practitioner descriptions of the function of public relations shows that advocacy has been an integral part of public relations ever since its dawning (Sallot, 1993). Bernays (1928), often called the father of modern public relations, defines practitioners as "special pleaders who seek to create public acceptance for a particular idea or commodity" (p. 47). Smith (1972) argues the function of a public relations practitioner is to advocate, much like an attorney representing one side of an issue. Cutlip, Center, and Broom (1985) maintain that public relations must "ethically and effectively plead the cause of a client or organization in the forum of public debate" (pp. 450-451). Barney and Black (1994) argue that professional advocacy is a socially acceptable and socially necessary role of public

relations. Similarly, J. Grunig (with L. Grunig, 1990) wrote "many, if not most, practitioners consider themselves to be advocates for or defenders of their organizations and cite the advocacy system in law as an analogy" (p. 32).

Accommodation

Despite the attestations to the existence of advocacy in public relations, some practitioners appear uncomfortable with the notion of advocacy because it is often associated with negative images of manipulation and persuasion. For example, L. Grunig (1992b) defines advocacy as an "unsolved problem" in public relations and asks, "How far in giving advice to clients can a consultant in public relations go without weakening his or her independence?" (p. 72). In contrast, Bivins (1987) argues that the function of advocacy in public relations "can remain a professional role obligated to client interests, professional interests, and personal ethics. What is required is an ordering of priorities" (p. 84).

The function of public relations as an accommodator or builder of trust with external publics is also evident in public relations literature. Cutlip, Center, and Broom (1985) define public relations as helping establish and maintain mutually dependent relationships between an organization and the publics with which it interacts. Similarly, J. Grunig, L. Grunig, and Ehling (1992) say that organizations and their respective public relations practitioners should build relationships and manage an organization's interdependence.

A 1993 poll, although unscientific, showed that public relations educators and practitioners hold mixed perceptions of whether the function of public relations is to advocate, build consensus, do both, or serve some other function (Katzman, 1993). Of the 84 participants in the poll, 46 (57%) responded that practitioners are both advocates and consensus builders (p. 11).

Some researchers claim that the external environment of an organization is the greatest determinant, while others believe that an organization's public relations stance is most contingent upon decisions arbitrarily made by organization leaders, also called the dominant coalition. Still other researchers believe that the dynamics of each relationship between an organization and a public has the greatest effect on the organization's stance.

We argue that a combination of factors contribute at any given time to how an organization deals with its external interdependencies, its publics.

The Advocacy-Accommodation Continuum

Between the two extremes of pure advocacy and pure accommodation are a wide range of discrete operational stances and public relations strategies which entail different degrees of advocacy and accommodation. A simplified

version of this continuum is presented below.

Figure I.

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          Pure |----------------------------------------| Pure
          Advocacy                                Accommodation
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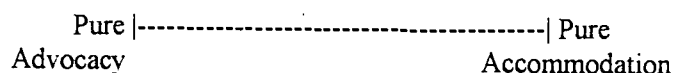
Public relations practitioners must typically choose, either consciously or by default, a stance somewhere between pure advocacy and pure accommodation. Not only does the role public relations practitioners serve range from pure advocate to pure accommodator, but communication acts reflecting both extremes can actually occur simultaneously in dealing with one public. Considering the numerous publics being addressed by an organization at any given time and the welter of techniques, skills and approaches that can be taken, any attempt to identify a single model of practice for public relations in an organization, much less a single ideal model of practice is difficult at best. The multiplicity of co-eval approaches is supported by Long's (1987) argument that the function of public relations is complex. He writes, "I'm intrigued by... (an) attempt to define narrowly the chief function of the public relations discipline. Is it persuasion or mediation, advocacy or advisement? I believe it's a combination of all four, depending on the type of organization you work for and the challenge of the moment" (p. 91).

Why Move Beyond the Four Models to a Continuum?

Weak Data in Support of the Four Models

Although Grunig's models have made an enormous contribution to public relations research, they have certain limitations. For example, findings in seven studies testing the models' reliability produced low alphas ranging from only .42 to .65 (J. Grunig & L. Grunig, 1990, p. 33). The values are below minimum standards for reliability[2]. J. Grunig and L. Grunig (1992) later reported they had substantially improved the reliability scores of three out of the four measures of the models by using fractionation scales. With these scales, reliability alphas were found to range from .60 to .81 for the models (Wetherell, 1989). However, Leichty and Springston (1993) question the validity of this increase and assume that the improved scores may only reflect a social desirability artifact (p. 329-330).

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[2] Wimmer and Dominick (1994) write that a commonly held standard for reliability alphas is .75 or above, and Carmines and Zeller (1979) state that reliability alphas should not fall below .80 for "widely used scales" (p. 51). Similarly, Bowers & Courtright (1984) endorse a .70 minimum.

Weak correlations have been found between many of the proposed factors affecting the four models of public relations. In particular, items defining the structure and environment of an organization were not particularly helpful in understanding what brings about a model of practice (J. Grunig and L Grunig, 1989; J. Grunig 1976, 1984; Fabiszak, 1985; McMillan, 1984; E. Pollack, 1984; R. Pollack, 1986; and Schneider, 1985a;, Schneider, 1985b).

Conceptual Concerns

In spite of statistical problems, the four models are remarkably robust and sound concepts. However, the assumption of ethical high ground for the two-way symmetrical has problems. Accommodative behaviors such as engaging in dialogue with morally repugnant publics or offering tradeoffs to those perceived as entirely wrong could be viewed as unethical, an exercise in moral relativism. For example, an organization viewing abortion as murder is taking a moral absolutist position. For this organization to compromise with a pro-choice group would be unethical. Similarly, certain environmental organizations would take an uncompromising position toward the harvest of any whales or old growth forest.

To engage in dialogue, to change the organization's behavior or position as a compromise would be morally repugnant. It may be that the view of two-way symmetrical communication requires an assumption of moral relativism. This assumption is certainly not held by all groups. And many groups are convinced that their position is right and best for all concerned, whether on moral grounds or as a matter of practicality. We suspect that the appeal of compromise and negotiation as an inherently ethical practice wanes when one discovers a public working diametrically against a dearly hel position.

J. Grunig's (1992) suggestion that practitioners who practice "excellent" public relations combining two-way symmetric and asymmetric models may serve as advocates for their organization and for the organization's publics is confusing because it does not include advocates of conflicting organization and public interests (Sallot, 1993). Sallot writes, "perhaps it is possible to advocate for two interests when they coincide, but what happens when the advocate is called to 'represent' competing interests of the sponsor and the public?" (p.45). She argues that practitioners cannot advocate for two (or more) conflicting interests, and thus that one may then presume that the two-way symmetrical model is unworkable. Similarly, Pearson (1989) writes "serving client and public interests simultaneously is the seeming impossible mission of the public relations practitioner" (p.67). Is this the art of compromise?

Perhaps the most important problem with the claim that the two-way symmetrical model represents excellence in public relations is the dearth of research to support this claim. J. Grunig and L. Grunig (1992) cite two case studies,

Turk (1986) and L. Grunig (1986) as indirect support for this idea. These studies document two situations in which

asymmetrical communication techniques failed to reduce conflict, and the researchers, L. Grunig and Turk, assume that

symmetric communication would have been more successful. This conclusion seems premature since neither study's

findings directly support this assumption.

J. Grunig's conceptualization of the two-way symmetric model is also weakened by its lack of evidence which

shows that symmetrical techniques may produce asymmetrical results (Hellweg, 1989) through what Tompkins and

Cheney (1985) call unobtrusive control. For example, an organization may allow employees or the leaders of a local

activist group to periodically participate in the organization's minor decision making in an effort to co-opt the employees

and the activist group to accept the organization's control or decisions in a much more subtle way than if the

organization were to use coercive or overtly persuasive means.

Functionalist/ Professional Criticisms

Many, if not most practitioners, believe that advocacy, an asymmetrical form of public relations, not only is

ethical, but also is a highly effective function of public relations. Therefore, many practitioners argue that symmetrical

techniques may not be the best public relations answer for every situation. The functionalist approach would then argue

that whatever is -- is best -- or it would not be! We do not take this myopic view. We do draw upon the wisdom of the

prototypical enlightened practitioner who is far more subtle in considering when and how much accommodation is

appropriate. We are aware that accommodation undertaken by such practitioners is often done in the face of

organizational expectations that public relations should advocate on the organization's behalf. The organization will

tend to view advocacy of its position as not only best for itself, but best for the world in the long run.

Some critics of symmetrical communication, including practitioners and theorists, claim that it is unrealistic.

They argue that organizations hire public relations practitioners as advocates to advance the interests of the organization

and not as "'do-gooders' who 'give in' to outsiders with an agenda different from that of the organization" (J. Grunig &

White, 1992, p.46).

Others like Tuleja (1985) argue that while people in organizations have mixed motives or divided loyalties to

the organization and to society, these mixed motives do not make symmetrical communication unrealistic. Tuleja (1985)

along with J. Grunig and White (1992) argue that organizations will practice symmetrical public relations because of a

belief in the norm of reciprocity. Reciprocity suggests that an organization will get more of what it wants by giving

publics some of what they want, and it suggests that publics also will be willing to give up some of what they want to an

organization (J. Grunig and White, 1992, p. 46). However, Gouldner (1960) points out that, "given significant power differences, egoistic motivations may seek to get benefits without returning them" (p. 174). The four models of public relations do not sufficiently consider power differentials.

An extremely harsh analysis of J. Grunig's *Excellence* work (Dover, 1995) concludes that the two-way symmetrical model does not work well in the real world of practicing public relations. This reactive, *ad hominem*, attack probably is the best indication of how revolutionary, and upsetting, the accommodative approach to public relations can be. Such vitriolic criticism fails to participate in or acknowledge the attempt by academics to build on each other's best efforts to shape a constructive and powerful profession. Nevertheless, it does show the reaction of some professionals/traditionalists.

The Candidate Variables

Public relations literature includes many variables that make good candidates as factors influencing the extent of accommodation undertaken by an organization. A considerable number of these variables come from the research program of J. Grunig, starting in 1976, and continuing with several colleagues today. Although many of the variables tended not to correlate with the four models, they are still sound variables that merit consideration as factors in the simpler, more direct contingency theory with its continuous, bi-polar measure from accommodation to advocacy.

J. Grunig (1976) posited that the structure and environment of an organization would affect the model or models of public relations it practices. He found support for the hypotheses that problem-solving organizations practice diachronic (symmetrical) public relations and fatalistic organizations practice synchronic (asymmetrical) public relations. The findings suggest that organizations with open or problem-solving cultures will be more likely to be accommodative of external publics.

In later research, J. Grunig (1984) supported, with case-study evidence, his hypothesis that there is a link between an organization's product/service environment as described by Hage and Hull (1981) and the model or models of public relations an organization practices. Five studies tested aspects of the product-service environment (Fabiszak, 1985; McMillan, 1984; E. Pollack, 1984; R. Pollack, 1986; and Schneider, 1985b). Each study correlated the types of organizations with the four models of public relations, but in all of the studies, except Schneider (1985b), the correlations were small and nonsignificant. Due to the low correlation, L. Grunig concluded that organization type and organization environment together explain only a small part of variation in public relations behavior.

Schneider's (1985a) earlier finding that mixed mechanical/organic organizations have the largest and most

powerful public relations departments of the four organization types suggests that size and power of a public relations department may influence the likelihood that an organization will engage in accommodation.

Four of the studies cited above (Fabiszak, 1985; McMillan, 1984; E. Pollack, 1984; and R. Pollack, 1986) also tested J. Grunig's hypothesis that the political/regulatory environment of an organization influences the way an organization practices public relations. J. Grunig hypothesized that when constraint and uncertainty are high in this environment, organizations will attempt to control the constraint with asymmetrical public relations, and when constraints are low, they will use asymmetrical public relations to dominate their environment (J. Grunig & L. Grunig, 1989). Only at a medium level of constraint, J. Grunig hypothesized, will organizations practice symmetrical public relations in an attempt to be responsive to publics and either lower constraints or prevent their further rise (J. Grunig & L. Grunig, 1989). Once again the correlation findings for this variable were low and nonsignificant.

In their research program, J. Grunig (1976) and L. Grunig (Schneider, 1985a) tested several more concepts which organizational theory suggests may influence public relations behavior. These variables include technology, organizational structure, education in public relations, the support and understanding of top management for public relations, and representation of public relations in the organization's dominant coalition.

Schneider (1985b) found a correlation between long-linked technology and the size of the public relations department with the use of the two-way asymmetrical model in mixed mechanical/organic organizations.[3] J. Grunig and L. Grunig (1989) suggested that most organizations using intensive technology use symmetrical public relations as a buffer which produces compromise and avoids tenuous situations.

J. Grunig (1976) also tested the following variables which describe organizational structure: complexity, a measure of the number of specialists who have a college degree; centralization of decision-making power; stratification, a measure of employees working at different levels of a hierarchy; and formalization, the number of rules and regulations an organization and its employees abide by. He found that all of these variables correlated with the four models except

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J. Thompson's (1967) theory of technology differentiates between three uses of technology: long-link, mediating, and intensive. An example of long-linked technology is an assembly line where there are several interdependent stages of work. Mediating technology, as used in banks, links otherwise independent consumers, and intensive technology allows an organization to focus several techniques on accomplishing a major goal (J. Grunig and L. Grunig, 1989). Bales (1984) argued that organizations with long-linked technology and intensive technologies would try to buffer themselves from their environment. Bales also hypothesized that organizations with mediating technology would have the greatest need for two-way symmetric public relations to help link the organization to its clients.

formalization.

Yet another influencing variable hypothesized by J. Grunig and L. Grunig (1989) is education in public relations. They found small correlations between this factor and the practice of both two-way models. They assume that this correlation exists because these models are more complex forms of public relations, and those persons with more specialized training in public relations would be more likely to practice them. Cameron, Weaver-Lariscy and Sweep (1992) also found that education in public relations is a good predictor of formative research typical of two-way practice.

J. Grunig and L. Grunig (1989), in analyzing findings from E. Pollack (1984), Fabiszak (1985), and McMillan (1984), found small and mostly significant correlations between the practice of the two-way models and top management support and understanding of public relations.

R. Pollack (1986) researched the effect of public relations participation in the dominant coalition on behavior of organizations. Pollack found that those departments with the most representation in the dominant coalition tended to have the most autonomy and were more likely than other department types to practice two-way symmetrical public relations. R. Pollacks (1986) data found higher trained practitioners are most likely to work for corporations.

Following several studies characterized by chronically low and nonsignificant correlation findings, J. Grunig and L. Grunig (1992) assumed that the theoretical relationship between the models and an organization's environment and structure is more normative than positive. They then began to explore a power-control approach as a new explanation for organizational public relations behavior.

The power-control approach assumes that how an organization practices public relations is the direct result of choices made by its dominant coalition, those with the power to set organization structures and strategies over a sustained time (Child, 1972). Four concepts have been researched as possible influences on the decisions made by dominant coalition members. They are political-value, organizational culture, potential of public relations department, and schema for public relations. In general, the power-control approach suggests that the dominant coalition of an organization will choose a model or models of public relations dependent on "whether (they)...feel threatened by a model and whether it fits with organizational culture, the schema for public relations in the organization, and whether the public relations department has the potential to carry out the preferred model" (J. Grunig & L. Grunig, 1992, p. 303). The dominant coalition also makes decisions based on its perceptions of the organization's environment. According to Weick (1979), organizations and thus dominant coalitions create their own environments by paying attention to some elements of the real world and ignoring others.

Political-value is a representation of those values held by the members of the dominant coalition which may affect the decisions they make. These values include liberal versus conservative political values, external versus internal values, and efficiency versus innovation. J. Grunig (with L. Grunig, 1992) reasoned that dominant coalitions with liberal, external, and innovation values would be more likely to choose symmetrical public relations. McMillan (1984) found a significant correlation between executives being politically conservative and use of the two-way asymmetrical model, but he found no significant correlations between efficiency and innovation as values and the four models. Lauzen (1986) also found no significant correlations in this area. However, R. Pollack (1986) found positive correlations between valuing a strong central authority and the use of public information and press agentry models, but she found no correlations between the models and efficiency and innovation factors.

As a whole these findings suggest that organizations with dominant coalitions composed of individuals who foster liberal or innovative values will be more likely to be open to input from external publics than organizations with conservative dominant coalition members.

Sriramesh, J. Grunig, and Buffington (1992) write that corporate culture provides a broad base world view, meaning and values that affect all decisions made in an organization including how the organization practices public relations. These researchers also reduce other typologies of organizational culture into a continuum between authoritarian and participative cultures. Authoritarian cultures, they suggest, usually use a closed-system approach to management, and participative cultures tend to use an open-systems approach.

The influence of organizational culture on the organization's choice of public relations behaviors is documented in Buffington's (1988) study of ten Blue Cross-Blue Shield organizations. The study distinguished between four culture types by two dimensions: authoritarian versus democratic and reactive versus proactive. In this typology, systematized cultures are authoritarian and reactive. Entrepreneurial cultures are authoritarian and proactive. Interactive cultures are democratic and reactive, and integrated cultures are democratic and proactive.

Buffington (1988) found that nine of the ten Blue Cross-Blue Shield organizations had integrated (democratic/reactive) or entrepreneurial (authoritarian/proactive) cultures and practiced mostly press agentry. In three organizations studied with integrated cultures (democratic/proactive), the two-way symmetrical model was used in combination with the two-way asymmetrical and press agentry models.

R. Pollack (1986) researched the effects of culture in scientific organizations using Donohue, Tichenor, and Olien's (1973) concepts "knowledge of" and "knowledge about" science to identify closed and open-system styles of

management. She found that organizations which valued knowledge of science (closed-system oriented) correlated with press agentry and public information models. Conversely, knowledge about science organizations (open-system oriented) correlated significantly with the two-way symmetrical model and approached significance with the two-way asymmetric model.

The external culture or societal culture within which an organization exists has also been cited as an influence on an organization's internal culture. As Sriramesh, J. Grunig, and Buffington (1992) write, "External culture also affects the environmental interdependencies of an organization. On a continuum, external culture may vary from an open, pluralistic, or democratic system to a closed, authoritarian, or autocratic one" (p. 591). This suggests that how organizations relate to their external publics may also be influenced by their external, social environment.

Potential of the public relations department is yet another variable associated with the power-control approach. In addition to R. Pollack's 1986 research, previously reviewed, J. Grunig (1976), Buffington (1988), Nanni (1980), and Wetherell (1989) all found positive relationships between professionalism and the two two-way models (J. Grunig & L. Grunig, 1992).

Another element of L. Grunig's research on activist groups related to the variable "potential of public relations department". Many practitioners in her study cited lack of funding and lack of time as reasons for trying to ignore the pressure of activist groups (L. Grunig, 1992a, p. 524). This finding suggests that the potential of an organization's public relations department to engage in accommodative relations with external publics may be affected by the amount of funding available to the department to engage in this activity and may be affected by the portion of time or number of staff members that the public relations department can assign to dealing with external publics.

According to the power-control approach, the dominant coalition also develops a schema for public relations which suggests what contributions public relations is able to make and is allowed to make to an organization. If the dominant coalition is unwilling to adjust this schema, it will limit an organization to practicing public relations in a certain way and will influence decisions on how to deal with external publics.

J. Grunig (1989) writes that many organizations do not practice the two-way symmetrical model because their world view or schema for public relations does not include the presuppositions on which this theory is based. Research, however, suggests that schema for public relations can be expanded if the dominant coalition is educated about the benefits of symmetrical public relations, or if senior public relations managers, trained in symmetrical communication, gain access to the dominant coalition and reshape the schema.

However, J. Grunig and L. Grunig (1992) along with other researchers point out that public relations often does not gain access to the dominant coalition. One potential reason for this is that the dominant coalition may not believe that its public relations practitioners have sufficient expertise to be included as top advisors in the organization. Yet another potential factor is gender. Research exists that argues that femininity fosters concepts like cooperation, negotiation, and compromise, and that practitioners with these feminine personality characteristics tend to have an enhanced ability to practice symmetrical public relations. However, women, and perhaps men with feminine characteristics, often are not allowed or do not attain a managerial position and thus do not gain access into the dominant coalition (J. Grunig & L. Grunig, 1992). According to this research, all factors which affect a public relations department's access to the dominant coalition may ultimately also affect how accommodative an organization decides to be of various publics.

A recent survey provides hope that public relations practitioners are increasingly gaining access into their organization's dominant coalitions. The survey, which polled public relations managers in 700 companies from the Fortune 500 and Fortune 500 service lists, found that communication executives often report that their responsibility and status in their organization is rising and that they are increasingly allowed to have greater involvement in policy and long-range decision making in their organizations (Skolnik, 1994).

Other variables which may influence how an organization relates to its publics are what J. Grunig (1989) defines as presuppositions of asymmetrical and symmetrical communications. J. Grunig (1989) states that theories most relevant to asymmetrical communication are those theories which explore attitude and behavior change, means of persuasive communication, diffusion of innovations, and the effects of media campaigns. In contrast, J. Grunig (1989) suggests that theories most relevant to symmetrical communication include coorientation theory, systems theory, interest-group liberalism, and conflict resolution theories.

L. Grunig's (1986) research on organization's actions when pressured by activists again suggests several additional variables which may influence the dynamics of an organizations' relations with its external publics. L. Grunig's (1992a) study revealed that more than a few organizations tried to ignore all pressure from external publics. Interviewees explained their inaction in a variety of ways: "They had too little money, the threat was not great enough to bother about, they did not want to legitimize the activists' complaint, their efforts were spread too thin by facing many different pressure groups, they could rely on their association to handle the problem, or the media were prejudiced anyway" (p. 524). The potential variable, relative threat or relative power of an external public, is also cited in game

theory as a variable influencing interaction outcomes.

Most of the variables reviewed thus far as possible explanations for public relations behavior are organizational-level concepts; that is they relate to organizations as a whole and their respective public relations departments. Leichty and Springston (1993) argue that better explanations of public relations behavior can be found by analyzing this behavior from a relational level which calls attention to the dynamics of interaction between organizations and individual publics. They hypothesize that...

an organization differentiates between publics and interacts with each of them somewhat differently. The approach that is taken toward any particular public should partially depend upon how that public is perceived within the categories of the predominant organizational culture. The direct perceptions of each public should better predict an organization's public relations orientation in a particular instance than global assessments of the organization's environment. In addition, an organization's mode of public relations behavior is almost certainly an emergent property of the communication exchange between an organization and a particular public (1993, p. 333).

If Leichty and Springston's hypotheses are supported, then much of what influences an organization's stance toward an external public is the product of their interaction. These relational dynamics are the subject of several theories including coorientation theory, game theory, conflict theory, and issues management theory.

Ferguson (1984) argues that relationships between organizations and their publics should be the central unit of study for public relations researchers interested in theory development, but as stated earlier, few scholars have studied those relationships. J. Grunig, L. Grunig and Ehling (1992, p. 81) call that lack of interest strange because "organizations must deal with other organizations daily."

Coorientation theory (Pearson, 1989) explains the strategic moves of two parties in an interaction as the result of (a) how each party perceives the degree of similarity or congruence that the other party has with their beliefs and evaluations of an issue or situation, (b) how each party perceives the likely actions that the other party will take concerning an issue, and © how accurate these perceptions are of the other party's beliefs and likely actions. This theory allows public relations practitioners to measure the extent to which a public views an organization like the organization wants to be viewed (Heath, 1990, p. 45). However, it does not explain how the perceptions an organization and a public have of each other influence the strategies they choose when interacting.

Broom and Dozier (1990), citing the coorientation model as a description of perceptions organizations and

publics have about each other, suggest that varying degrees of agreement, accuracy, and perceived agreement between a dominant coalition and public creates four coorientation states (Broom & Dozier, 1990). These states are true consensus, descensus, false consensus, and false conflict (Dozier and Ehling, 1992).

True consensus, as the name suggests, is when organizations and publics are aware that they share the same views on an issue. Dozier and Ehling (1992) suggest that in these situations, public relations will seek to maintain consensus through two-way communication. In contrast, the state of descensus exists when both the dominant coalition and the public are aware that they hold conflicting views about an issue. Dozier and Ehling (1992) recommend that techniques of dispute resolution, involving adaptation and adjustment by both dominant coalitions and publics, should be used quickly in this state before either party's position becomes hardened.

A state of false consensus exists when the dominant coalition or public mistakenly believe that there is a consensus of their beliefs on an issue, policy, or organizational action. Conversely, a state of false conflict exists when these two sides erroneously perceive a descensus in their beliefs concerning an issue or organizational action.

Dozier and Ehling (1992) suggest that false states offer unique opportunities for public relations practitioners to avoid a communication crisis resulting from misunderstandings. Those practitioners which utilize issues management or environmental scanning activities may be able to provide an organization with vital information about an organization's external environment including external publics. Without accurate information about the true beliefs of external publics, dangerous misunderstandings can occur. As Dozier and Ehling (1992) write, "Misperceptions can lead to catastrophic actions, whenever the dominant coalition sees agreement or disagreement when none actually exists. When target publics misunderstand the organization's true positions on issues, truthful communication about the organization's views can alleviate potentially damaging coorientation states" (p. 181).

Coorientation theory further suggests that how organizations and their publics are cooriented to each other is an influencing factor in when an organization will choose accommodative strategies, but this theory does not explain exactly how coorientation influences this decision.

Game theory can help an organization and its public calculate the potential rewards and costs associated with different interaction stances. This theory also assumes that organizations and publics will prefer those behaviors or stances which promise rewards and avoid those for which costs are greater than benefits (Folger & Poole, 1984).

Pavlik (1989), using game theory terms, assumes that in situations where organizations have greater power than their publics, they can get the greatest benefit by practicing asymmetric forms of communication. He adds that

organizations are unlikely to practice public relations symmetrically until a public gains roughly equal power.

Evidence of the influence of power is found in L. Grunig's (1986) research in which many of the public relations mangers she interviewed said they often ignored activist groups because "the threat was not great enough" (L. Grunig, 1992a, p. 524). This description of publics as threats has an obvious negative connotation which suggests that organizations often view their interaction with publics as conflicts. For this reason, conflict theory becomes relevant.

Conflict theory literature contains a wealth of information on interaction strategies available to interdependent parties, but it generally focuses only on interpersonal relations. We argue that many conflict strategies found at an interpersonal level are also indicative at an organizational level and thus may be used by an organization in dealing with its external publics. Similar to the presuppositions grounding this study's proposed continuum, Hocker and Whelmed (1991) state that parties in a conflict may choose from a limitless supply of tactical options ranging from violence to collaboration, but they must first make the fundamental choice whether to avoid or engage the conflict. Conflict theory assumes that both tactics, avoidance and engagement, can be productive or destructive for a relationship depending on the circumstances of the situation.

Hocker and Wilmont (1991) divide avoidance tactics into four types: denial and equivocation, topic management, noncommittal remarks, and irreverent remarks. Engagement tactics are also subdivided into competitive tactics and collaborative tactics. Competitive tactics, which are pushes toward self-interest often at the expense of the other party, may include threats and violence. These tactics would be the outer extreme of advocacy behaviors.

Conversely, collaborative tactics are attempts to find a mutually favorable resolution to conflict by inducing or persuading the other party to cooperate (Hocker & Wilmont, 1991). Collaboration may involve self disclosure, acceptance of responsibility, soliciting criticism, and a willingness to make concessions. It is an attempt to integrate one's self interest with the interest of the other party. Hocker and Wilmont's description of this strategy is a perfect description of what we consider to be pure accommodation.

Blake and Mouton (1964) identify five conflict styles based on two independent variables: assertiveness, behavior to satisfy one's self interest; and cooperativeness, behavior to satisfy the other party's interest. The five styles are competitive, accommodative, avoiding, collaborative, and compromising. Competitive style describes an attempt to defeat the other party. In contrast, accommodative style is to be unassertive and attempt to appease the other party. Avoiding style obviously is to avoid a conflict, and collaborative style is to be highly assertive and cooperative seeking full satisfaction for both parties. The final style, compromising, is intermediate in assertiveness and cooperativeness and

requires that both parties make sacrifices in order to reach agreement.

Unless conflict is managed, it is likely to escalate. Keltner (1987, p. 4) describes this escalatory process as a "struggle spectrum" which proceeds through six stages: mild difference, disagreement, dispute, campaign, litigation, and fight or war. In the first three stages, communication consists of discussion, negotiation, arguing, and bargaining. In the fourth stage, dispute communication becomes persuasion and pressure, and in the fifth stage, communication is advocacy and debate. Communication ends in the final stage.

Conflict theory is based on several assumptions. First it assumes that conflict is inevitable because there will always be differences in power, and resources will always be scarce (Prior-Miller, 1989). Second, it assumes that conflict can be positive because it can help clarify an organization's objectives, improve situations, and generate creative energy (Folberg & Taylor, 1984). Similar to game theory, it assumes that power is an ever-present variable in interaction, and a relative balance of it is necessary for productive conflict management (Hocker & Wilmont, 1991). Fourth, it assumes that better agreements are made in conflicts when both parties serve their self-interests and the interests of the other party. This concept is also supported by game theory. Fifth, conflict theory assumes that conflict interaction is shaped by the interdependence of the parties involved; for a conflict to occur, the behavior of one or both parties must have consequences for the other (Folger & Poole, 1984). Finally, like coorientation and game theories, conflict theory assumes that interaction is sustained by the moves and countermoves of participants which are based on the power they exert.

These assumptions suggest that possible variables influencing when an organization will accommodate a public are the relative power of the organization and public, and the moves and resulting countermoves of the two parties. Therefore, an organization may be more willing to accommodate an external public that, by virtue of its identity, is likely to greatly affect an organization, such as a government regulatory agency, than a public that is unlikely to have a great effect on an organization like a small group of protesters outside of an organization's building. This smaller and potentially less powerful public can attempt to increase its power and effect on the organization by threatening to sue, petitioning local political and community leaders, and appealing to the media for coverage of its cause, etc. This study argues that when a public successfully engages in these activities, organizations that once perceived the public as unimportant will not only pay more attention to the public, but also will be more willing to accommodate the public in some way.

In addition to disparities in power, conflict theorists (Folger & Poole, 1984; and Gray, 1989) suggest that

climate or organizational cultures, also affect conflict interaction by "reduc(ing) member's uncertainty about how to act and about how to interpret other's actions" (Gray, 1989, p. 104). This variable was also cited by J. Grunig and L. Grunig (1992) in their power-control approach.

Gray (1989, pp. 247-255) suggests several additional reasons why organizations refuse to collaborate or accommodate publics. The reasons include institutional disincentives, like an activist group that will not dilute its advocacy of a cause; societal dynamics, like individualism in America; differing perceptions of risk; technical complexity; political cultures; and historical and ideological barriers.

Dant and Schul (1992) likewise cite history as a possible influence which suggests that an organization's previous experience with conflict resolution could influence its relational perceptions of later interactions with publics. These researchers also propose that issue characteristics, its size, stakes, and complexity; relationship characteristics, including level of trust and dependency of the parties involved; environmental characteristics, including potential external imperatives like lean-market conditions; structural characteristics, how organizations are organized; and personality characteristics of involved individuals are all influencing factors on strategic choices made by parties in conflict (pp. 38-51). All of these variables have been included in this study as potential influences on how organizations respond to various situations involving external publics.

In contrast to some researchers' beliefs that personality is a variable, Terhune (1970) claims that many social scientists are skeptical about a possible influence of personality of individuals in cooperation and conflict because little empirical proof of its effect exists. He writes "small-scale experimental studies, establishing the connection between personality, cooperation, and conflict have been plagued by ambiguous or negative results" (p. 194). This study includes personality as a test variable because no research has completely ruled out its effects.

Yet another two variables hypothesized in conflict theory literature as affecting conflict resolution strategies are familiarity and liking. Druckman and Broome (1991) explored with two experiments the effects of familiarity and liking on pre-negotiation and negotiation behaviors of parties engaging in conflict resolution. In experiment one, liking influenced an expected movement of the parties from their original positions, perceptions of the opponent, and types of strategies prepared for the negotiation (p. 571). Familiarity primarily impacted the parties' perceptions of the situation as being conducive to agreement. Results from experiment two showed that reducing either liking or familiarity served to reduce willingness to reach compromise agreements (p. 571).

These results suggest that an organization will be more willing to accommodate an external public that it, as an

institution, is familiar with or likes. The findings also suggest that individual public relations practitioners or individual

members of the dominant coalition of an organization will be more likely to advocate that the organization accommodate

a public which they, as a group or as individuals, are familiar with, like or support.

In addition to the literature previously reviewed, issues management literature

also provides a variety of labels and definitions for possible interaction strategies assumed by organizations in dealing

with publics. Marx (1986) suggests that issues managers can choose from three tactical options in dealing with external

interdependencies: accommodation, domination, or harmonization. He describes accommodation as a response that

calls for an organization to bow to outside pressures. This study views this concept as an extreme form of pure

accommodation on the proposed continuum.

Marx (1986) defines domination as an aggressive response that assumes that an organization has the tactical

power resources to intimidate opponents and control public policy. On this study's continuum, domination, as defined

above, would be labeled as extreme or pure advocacy. The third option, harmonization, is defined by Marx as an

attempt to balance the interests of relevant parties with the goal of achieving harmony; this is perhaps a more acceptable,

hence common, form of accommodation.

Chase (1984, p. 4), using issues management theory, describes three alternative strategies: reactive, opposing

change; adaptive, attempting to satisfy the demands of an external public; and dynamic, creating and directing policy

rather than merely reacting to the policy trends presented by others. These strategies are also similar to the strategies

encompassed in this study's continuum.

Researchers and practitioners have defined issues management in a variety of ways. Heath and Nelson (1986)

suggest that issues management is a means to "help organizations fit themselves to long-term shifts in the climate of

public sensitivity, whether by changing corporate policy, shaping legislation, or influencing public opinion" (p. 21).

Heath (1990) writes, "Issues managers can assist their organizations' efforts to obtain information from their

environment. This information is used for decision-making and adjusting purposes, including yielding to external forces

or seeking to influence them as means for achieving harmony" (p. 43). Similarly, Heath and Nelson (1986) define issues

management as "... the identification and monitoring of trends in public opinion which may mature into public policy and

the regulation of corporations or industries" (p. 13).

These definitions suggest that the existence of effective issues management in an organization may help make

the dominant coalition and public relations staff well aware of the status and importance of that organization's many

external interdependencies or publics. We hypothesize that an organization which recognizes the value of utilizing issues management is also likely to recognize the value of positive relationships with external publics and thus will be more willing than other organizations to attempt to accommodate publics in some way. Due to its logical link to this study's research question, organizational use of issues management has also been included as a potential variable.

Many researchers (Heath, 1990; Heath & Nelson, 1986; Benoit & Brinson, 1994) have attested that issues management can help an organization work to strategically adapt to changes in its external environment instead of reacting to changes. Heath and Nelson (1986) write, "Much as a driver with quick reaction time has a better chance of avoiding a traffic accident, successful issues monitoring affords companies the alternative of accommodating rather than colliding with public opinion" (p. 14). The final section of this review follows.

In 1987, Miles introduced a framework for understanding how large corporations have organized themselves to deal with their external social environment which is comprised of numerous publics. He refers to this framework as a grounded theory of corporate social performance because it is grounded primarily in research he conducted on United States insurance companies. It is also supplemented with research on U.S. tobacco companies.

This theory, like the others previously reviewed, is relevant to the contingency theory because it identifies the kinds of structures and processes that large corporations use to deal with their publics and with increasing social constraints. Many of the variables cited in the theory are similar to variables already discussed in this review, but the theory also cites several new, interesting variables. Simply put, Miles' (1987) theory of corporate social performance assumes that how organizations relate to their external environment is determined by four core concepts: (a) business exposure, (b) top management philosophy, © external affairs strategy, and (d) external affairs design.

Business exposure, which is similar to Hage and Hull's (1981) description of product/service environment, refers to Miles' (1987) assumption that different American industries are exposed to different degrees of industry-specific public policy issues and that corporations in the same industry also vary in their exposure depending on what business strategies they pursue. He suggests that a company's degree of business exposure determines the level of top management attention, degree of staff sophistication, the type of involvement of operating managers, and the amount of resources that must be committed to effectively manage this corporate reality. Business exposure, Miles (1987) explains, is determined by a company's product mix, customer mix, and geographical mix. Companies that produce a majority of products or services regarded as necessities for the consumer will have a high exposure to the corporate social environment. Similarly, companies that produce consumer products will be more exposed than companies

producing commercial or industrial products. He also assumes that companies which market products regarded as necessities in urban areas are more exposed than companies that market similar products in non-urban areas.

The second factor, top management philosophy, is similar to J. Grunig and L. Grunig's (1992) political values variable. Miles' variable assumes that the leaders of a company, through their choices of business strategy, establish a linkage between the company and the public interest. He also suggests that the leaders' decisions are influenced by their personal values and political orientation as well as relatively enduring features of the company's history and culture. The theory further segments top management philosophy into two orientations: institution-oriented and enterprise-oriented. These segments are similar to what J. Grunig (1989) calls asymmetrical and symmetrical presuppositions. Enterprise-oriented executives seek to operate the company independent from society, and make decisions geared toward maximizing short-term economic performance and preserving their traditional business practices. In contrast, institution-oriented executives recognize the company's interdependencies with society and view that the company has a duty to adapt to a changing society and respond to social claims. These two orientations are also similar to the closed and open concepts from system theory.

Similar to this study's proposed continuum, the third variable in Miles' (1987) theory, external affairs strategy, distinguishes between collaborative/problem-solving strategies and individualistic/adversarial strategies. Collaborative/problem-solving strategies include attempts to maintain open, trusting relationships with a variety of publics and maintain a broad problem-solving perspective on the resolution of social issues impacting the company and its industry. In contrast, individualistic/adversarial strategies attempt to ignore the legitimacy of social claims or interpret issues in terms of the company's self interests. Executives with this orientation respond to the encroachment of society into their business affairs in one of two ways: (a) ignore the encroachment until forced by a high-impact issue to mount a defense, or (b) operationalize their resentment by attempting to directly influence trends and events in the environment.

External affairs design, the final concept of the theory, is also based on the systems theory idea in which J. Grunig (1989) grounded his contingency theory. This idea is that a company's structure or sophistication of its external affairs function must correspond to the company's degree of business exposure in order to effectively deal with its social environment. Miles' theory defines sophistication in two dimensions: breadth, the number of staff members assigned to maintaining the company's external affairs; and depth, the intensity external affairs practitioners are permitted in conducting research and analyzing emerging social issues which are likely to impact the company and its industry. This

concept also includes the degree of line-manager involvement in this function. Line-managers are those managers

ranked just under the dominant coalition.

Miles' research on insurance corporations supports every element of his theory, but he also found the following

relationships. First, he found what he calls the philosophy-strategy connection, which is that institution-oriented

corporations tended to mostly practice collaborative/problem solving external strategies, and enterprise-oriented

corporations tended to practice adversarial/individualistic strategies. The second relationship, exposure-design

contingency, is that those corporations which were designed with a complexity to fit the complexity of their external

environment exposure, were more effective in maintaining positive external social and political contingencies. Miles

also found that institution-oriented executives, who tended to have far more personal exposure to outside experiences in

public forums than their enterprise counterparts, also tended to be more knowledgeable about the escalation of public

and government expectations of their company and industry. Also these institution-oriented executives were more

motivated and better equipped than other executives to exert their personal influence on the corporate social

performance.

Finally, Miles found that when the economic performance of an insurance company was successful, executive

leaders were not likely to question the efficacy of the company's traditional values and strategies, but when economic

performance was low, executive leaders were more pronounced in questioning the efficacy of the company culture.

Therefore, organizations facing economic instability will be more likely to shift or completely rebuild their corporate

culture, and this may affect how these organizations relate to their external publics.

<center>Synthesis and Expansion of Contingent Variables</center>

The previous literature review presents numerous variables which have been hypothesized as contingent

factors in what strategies organizations use in dealing with their external publics. In order to test these variables for their

effects, need to be compiled into an in-depth list. This list is then condensed so that no duplication of ideas existed. For

example, both game theory and conflict theory literature suggest that power may be an influencing factor, and these two

mentions of power as a variable were condensed into one mention. The newly condensed list of potential influencing

variables is then divided according to two factors: variables found in an organization's external environment and

variables found in an organization's internal environment. The variables are divided this way because it appears to be a

natural division. With the variables divided into external and internal categories, the variables are further subdivided

according to the specific subject area each one addresses. A complete listing of these variables is included as Table 1.

In addition to testing those variables found in the research literature, this approach also offers variables that have never been studied. A number of the newly proposed variables are additions to the originally hypothesized external variables based on L. Grunig's (1992) finding that organizations may ignore publics which they do not perceive as threats. These new variables consist of a grouping of threat variables including: threat of litigation, threat of government regulation, threat of negative publicity, and threat of the marring of the organization's reputation.

Based on game theory's and conflict theory's claims that power is an important variable in determining interaction behavior, several variables describing the power of a public are also added. These variables characterizing the power of a public include: size, credibility, past successes or failures, degree of advocacy, commitment of members, general public perceptions of the group, and whether or not the public has public relations advisors, and the level of media coverage the public has received in the past.

Also included are internal threats to an organization as potential influencing variables. These variables include the following: threat of economic loss; threat of marring employee, volunteer or stockholder perceptions of an organization; and threat of marring the personal reputations of dominant coalition members.

In addition to variables previously hypothesized by other researchers regarding an organization's characteristics, age of the organization is also included. This variable indicates that the age of an organization may influence the potential variable of value placed on tradition. Value placed on tradition, as it was identified in the literature review, is the subject of Broom's (1986) historical causal model.

Based on the knowledge that in many organizations the bottom-line or financial concerns often are a powerful influence in all organizational decisions, economic stability is included as a new potential variable under the internal variable heading. In addition, the existence or influence of an organization's legal department is included as an internal variable. This potential influencing variable is included because, in reading for the literature review and in discussions with practitioners, it has been noted that legal counsel is often cited as a hurdle that public relations must often clear in order to be open with and accommodative of external publics.

In addition to those characteristics that the literature cited as variables affecting the potential of a public relations department, the experience level of the public relations practitioners in dealing with conflicts involving external publics is also added. Based on research documenting the negative influences on a public relations department placed under a corporation's marketing umbrella, location of the public relations department in the corporate hierarchy is included. We also argue that the physical placement of a public relations department in relation to the offices of the

president or C.E.O. of an organization may affect the department's potential to influence an organization to practice

open communications and to accommodate certain publics.

Along with other characteristics of the dominant coalition, the general altruism level of its members is added

because the argument can be made that the altruism level of individuals may significantly affect how the members assess

situations involving publics and also affect the dominant coalition's resulting decisions. The subcategory, individual

characteristics, is expanded to include personality variables: tolerance of or ability to deal with uncertainty, comfort level

with conflict or dissonance, comfort level with change, ability to recognize potential or existing problems, extent to

which the individual's perception of reality is open to innovation, extent to which the individual can grasp other's world

views, cognitive complexity, how the individuals receive and use information and influence, predisposition to

negotiation, and predisposition towards altruism. Finally, the variable, personal ethics, is also included because in

certain situations it may affect how the larger organization deals with publics.

A Proposed Research Program

Qualitative Research

The first stage in research derived from the contingency theory should include a program of in-depth interviews

with public relations professionals and educators to address a number of fundamental questions and to ground the

contingency theory of accommodation in the terminology and perspective of practitioners. Fundamental questions

include better conceptual and operational definitions of accommodation, an assessment of the extent of accommodation

in practice as well as the circumstances that lead to a greater degree of accommodation. If and when accommodation

occurs, the interviewer should allow the practitioner to offer factors that drive greater accommodation or advocacy.

Assessments of the effeectiveness and ethical implications of accommodation should also be explored.

The final phase of the initial interview with a practitioner would be a review of the entire matrix of factors

offered here to assure that valid factors have not been overlooked by the interviewee. After data has been collected and

organized, a second interview should be conducted as a verification check and refinement of the theory.

Quantitative Research

The qualitative work should provide a focus in the development of the contingency theory and survey instruments

to explore the theory. Grounded in the qualitative work, more generalizable data collection can proceed to test the role of

contingency variables and to better understand the place of accommodation in the practice of public relations. Thematic work should include gender differences, effects of feminization of the field, encroachment on public relations functions and autonomy and the place of new technologies in determining the degree of accommodation of a given public at a particular time.

Conclusion

The contingency theory of accommodation is a logical extension of work to date on models of public relations . The theory provides an alternative to normative theory and a structure for better understanding the dynamics of accommodation as well as the efficacy of accommodation in public relations practice.

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Potential Variables for

Contingency Model of Organizational Accommodation

of Individual External Publics

Idea that an organization's or corporation's stance with outside publics is generally a mixture of advocacy and accommodation. What mix of advocacy and accommodation is potentially contingent upon a variety of internal and external variables summarized below.

External Variables
1. External Threats
2. Industry Specific Environment
3. General Political/Social Environment
4. External Public Characteristics
5. Issue Under Question

Internal Variables
1. General Corporate/Organizational Characteristics
2. PR Department Characteristics
3. Dominant Coalition Characteristics
4. Internal Threats
5. Personality Characteristics of Internal, Involved Persons
6. Relationship Characteristics

External Variables
1. **Threats**
   A. Litigation
   B. Government Regulation
   C. Potentially Damaging Publicity
   D. Scarring of Company's Reputation in Business Community and in the General Public
   E. Legitimizing Activists Claims

2. **Industry Environment**
   A. Changing (Dynamic) or Static
   B. # of Competitors/Level of Competition
   C. Richness or Leanness of Resources in the Environment

3. **General Political/Social Environment/External Culture**
   (level of constraint/uncertainty)
   A. Degree of Political Support of Business
   B. Degree of Social Support of Business

4. **The External Public (Group, individual, etc.)**
    A. Size/# of Members
    B. Degree of Source Credibility/Powerful Members or Connections
    C. Past Successes or Failures of Groups to Evoke Change
    D. Amount of Advocacy Practiced by Organization
    E. Level of Commitment/Involvement of Members
    F. Whether the Group has Public Relations Counselors or Not
    G. Public's Perception of Group: Reasonable or Radical
    H. Level of Media Coverage the Public Has Received in Past
    I. Whether Representatives of the Public Knows or Likes Representatives of the Organization
    J. Whether Representatives of the Organization Know or Like Representatives from the Public
    K. Public's Willingness to Dilute its Cause/Request/Claim
    L. Moves and Countermoves
    M. Relative Power of Organization
    N. Relative Power of Public

5. **Issue Under Question**
    A. Size
    B. Stakes
    C. Complexity

Internal Variables
1. **Corporation Characteristics**
    A. Open of closed Culture
    B. Dispersed Widely Geographically or Centralized
    C. Level of Technology the Corp. Uses to produce its Product or Service/Complexity of products and/or Services
    D. Homogeneity of Heterogeneity of Employees
    E. Age of the Corp./Value Placed on Tradition
    F. Speed of Growth in the Knowledge Level the Corp. Uses
    G. Economic Stability of the Organization
    H. Existence of Non-Existence of Issues Management Personnel or Program
    I. Corp. Past Experiences with Conflicting Outside Organizations: Positive or Negative
    J. Distribution of Decision Making Power
    K. Formalization: # of Rules or Codes Defining and Limiting the Job Descriptions of Employees
    L. Stratification/Hierarchy of Positions
    M. Existence or Influence of Corporation Legal Department
    N. Business Exposure (Product Mix & Customer Mix)
    O. Corporate Culture

2. **Public Relations Department Characteristics**
    A. Number of Practitioners Total and Number with College Degrees
    B. Type of Past Training of Employees: Trained in PR or Ex-Journalists, Marketing, etc.

    C. Location of PR Department in corporate Hierarchy: Independent or Under Marketing Umbrella/Experiencing Encroachment of Marketing/Persuasive Mentality
    D. Representation in the Dominant Coalition
    E. Experience Level of PR Practitioners in dealing with Conflict
    F. General Communication Competency of Department
    G. Autonomy of Department
    H. Physical Placement of Department in Corporate Building (Near C.E.O. and Other Top Decision Makers or Not)
    I. Staff Trained in Research Methods
    J. Amount of Funding Available for Dealing with External Publics
    K. Amount of Time Allowed to Use Dealing with External Publics
    L. Gender: Percentage of Upper-Level Staff Female
    M. Potential of Department of Practice Various Models of Public Relations

3. **Characteristics of Dominant Coalition (Top Management)**
    A. Political Values: Conservative of Liberal/Open or Closed to Change
    B. Management Style: Domineering or Laid-Back
    C. General Altruism Level
    D. Support and Understanding or PR
    E. Frequency of External Contact with Publics
    F. Their Perception of the Organization's External Environment
    G. Their Calculation of Potential Rewards or Loses of Using Different Strategies with External Publics
    H. Degree of Line Manager Involvement in External Affairs

4. **Internal Threats (How much is at stake in the situation)**
    A. Economic Loss (Potential Loss Versus Potential Gain from Implementing Various Strategies
    B. Marring of Employees' or Stockholders' Perception of the Company
    C. Marring of the Personal Reputations of the Company Decision Makers (Image in Employees' Perceptions and General Public's Perception)

5 **Individual Characteristics (Public Relations Practitioner, Dominant Coalition, and Line Managers)**
    A. Training in PR, Marketing, Journalism, Engineering, etc.
    B. Personal Ethics
    C. Tolerance or Ability to Deal with Uncertainty
    D. Comfort Level with Conflict or Dissonance
    E. Comfort Level with Change
    F. Ability to Recognize Potential and Existing Problems
    G. Extent to which Their Perception of Reality is Open to Innovation
    H. Extent to which They Can Grasp Other's World Views
    I. Personality: Dogmatic, Authoritarian
    J. Communication Competency
    K. Cognitive Complexity: Ability to handle Complex Problems
    L. Predisposition Toward Negotiation

M. Predisposition Toward Altruism
N. How They Receive, Process and Use Information and Influence
O. Know, Familiar with External Public or Their Representative
P. Like External Public or Their Representative
Q. Gender: Female Versus Male

6. Relationship Characteristics
A. Level of Trust Between organization and External Public
B. Dependency of Parties Involved
C. Ideological Barriers Between Organization and Public

Teaching Mass Communication Theory: A Perspective from Public Relations

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ABSTRACT

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I have been assigned to teach the introductory mass communication theory course to graduate students. My purpose was to cover the theories and domains of research that students in public relations, journalism, and advertising could use as a framework for the rest of their program.

I developed a model patterned after a horseshoe. The horseshoe is called media effects. One side represents modernity -- the other side post-modernity. At the top are balancing theories. At the bottom are the *magnetizing* theories that pull the two sides of the horseshoe together.
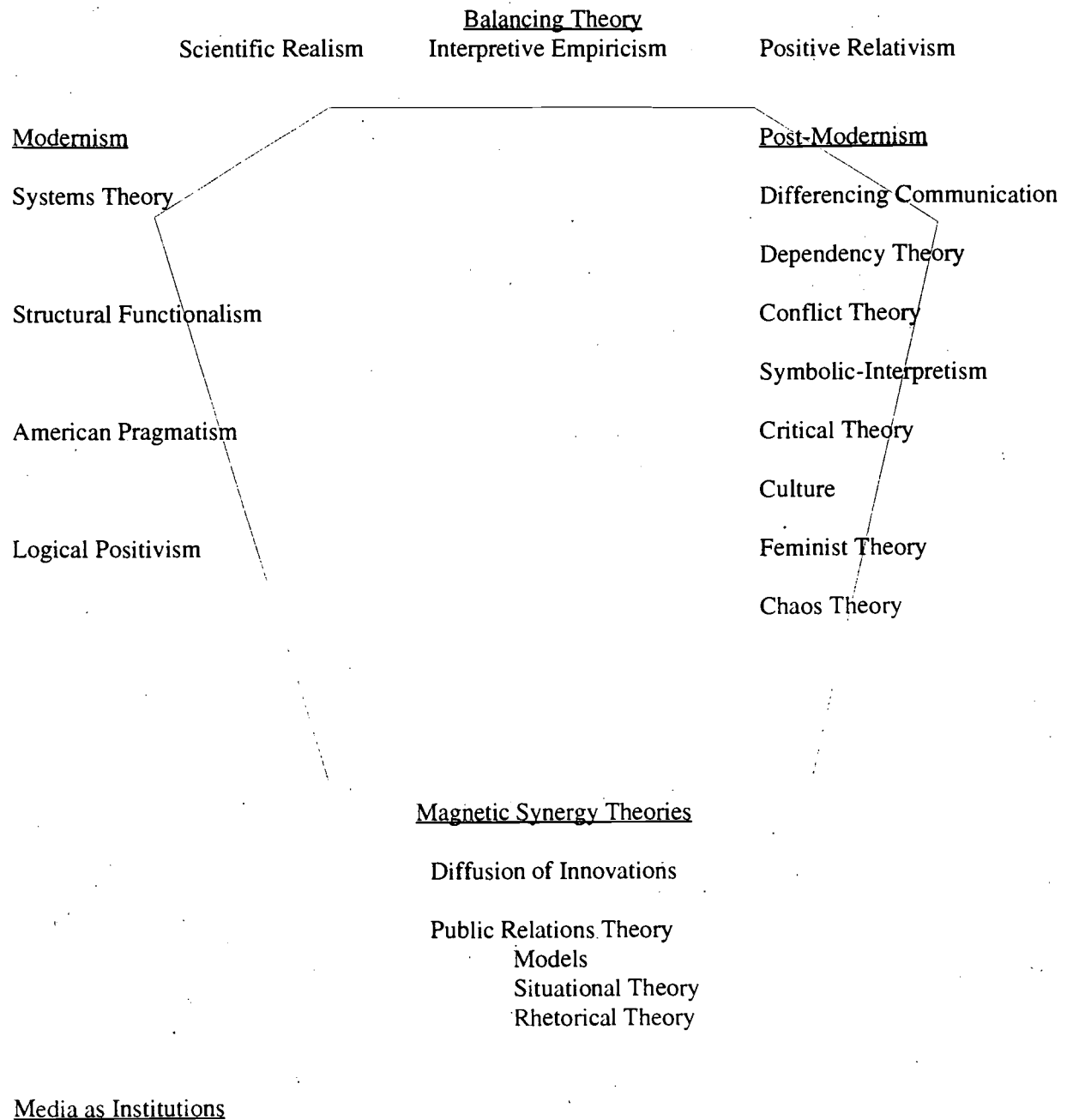
Teaching Mass Communication Theory: A Perspective from Public Relations

As a new assistant professor I have been assigned to teach the equivalent of the introductory mass communication theory course to graduate students. My purpose in teaching such a course is to cover the theoretical base, theorists, and domains of research that students in public relations, journalism and advertising can use as a framework for the rest of their graduate program. Classes average about 15 students, about half of them are in public relations and advertising and about half of them in journalism.

I have struggled with differences and similarities in public relations, advertising, and mass communication theory. If they fit together, how do they do so? Although some of these theories may not be relevant to all three groups, each should benefit from understanding the theories relevant to the others. Recent research has shown that the lines between the different fields of mass communication are blurring (Carter, 1995; Craig, 1993). An individual graduate student's career could include stints in all three areas.

My goal in such a course was to expose students to a wide range of theories in mass communication and how they relate to each other. Like Rosengren (1993), I developed a model to more easily understand the relationships in this vast field of theory. I adapted the conceptual horseshoe from Mintzberg (1983) (Figure 1) and magnetized it for my purposes.

Figure 1
Conceptual Horseshoe of Mass Communication Effects

<u>Balancing Theory</u>
Scientific Realism   Interpretive Empiricism   Positive Relativism

<u>Modernism</u>   <u>Post-Modernism</u>

Systems Theory   Differencing Communication

                                                                  Dependency Theory

Structural Functionalism   Conflict Theory

                                                                  Symbolic-Interpretism

American Pragmatism   Critical Theory

                                                                  Culture

Logical Positivism   Feminist Theory

                                                                  Chaos Theory

<u>Magnetic Synergy Theories</u>

Diffusion of Innovations

Public Relations Theory
          Models
          Situational Theory
          Rhetorical Theory

<u>Media as Institutions</u>

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A good *theory* course in mass communication should begin with just that, a discussion of theory. I will conceptualize all mass communication theory as essentially *media effects*. *Media effects* here will encompass both influence from the media and its messages to the audience as well as contributions from the audience in directing the form and extent of media influences (Levy and Windahl, 1985; McLeod, Kosicki, & Pan, 1991). Within media effects, I will divide the two major points of controversy into *modernism* and *post-modernism*. Within the camp of modernism I will cover *logical positivism, American pragmatism, structural-functionalism* and *systems theory*. As a bridge between the two camps I will discuss *scientific reality, interpretive empirical theory, positive relativism, Dervin's differencing, dependency theory,* and *conflict theory*. Under the opposite camp of post-modernism I will examine *symbolic interactionism, critical theory, culture, feminist* and *chaos theory*. Finally, I will attempt to magnetize or bring together the opposite ends of the conceptual horseshoe with Roger's *diffusion of innovations*, J. Grunig's *situational theory* of public relations, and *critical/rhetorical theory* in public relations.

Theory

I would begin teaching a course in mass communication theory by discussing the meaning and importance of theory in practice. Heath and Bryant (1992) said that most people create theories in a naive way to make sense of their daily lives. Rosengren (1993) went further, when he said models are critical to good theory. The clarity of a good model explains and intermeshes theory with practice -- so that theory is useful. A theory is only good if it can be used in practice (Kant, 1793, 1971). Tan (1985) discussed the scientific method of good theory, that it sets up hypotheses to explain, predict and control the objective reality around us. What she described is the positivist or empirical perspective of theory. Adapting the Mintzberg (1983) *conceptual horseshoe* (Figure 1), the positivist or empirical perspective of mass communication begins on the bottom lower left of that horseshoe.

Before continuing, however, I should delimit this discussion by considering what I would not

place on the horseshoe but probably should be part of a mass communication theory course. That mode or

paradigm of thought that touches on but does not exactly fit on the horseshoe is the consideration of the

mass media as institutions.

Institutions

In 1956, Siebert, Peterson and Schramm developed what they called the "four theories of the

press": *authoritarian, libertarian, social responsibility* and *Soviet-totalitarian*. Authoritarian means the

press may be publicly or privately owned but serves the interests of those in power, political or economic.

Libertarian is the press as "the voice of the people," discovering truth and checking on government as well

as informing, entertaining and selling. Ownership of the press is largely private. This idea falls in line

with Habermas (1989), his *public sphere* of social responsibility, where all groups have access to and a

voice in the mass media. Social responsibility is the notion that everyone with something to say be allowed

a forum in the media. If the media do not assume that obligation, regulatory forces must see that they do.

The media are controlled by community opinion, consumer action, professional ethics and regulation.

Soviet-totalitarian is an extension of authoritarian -- to serve the interests of Soviet government. Tactics

may be criticized but not the goals. The press is a public entity in this system. The media are controlled by

economic and political actions of government as well as by surveillance.

Aspects of all these institutions remain viable in my conceptual horseshoe but Altschull (1980)

said these four theories of the press are no longer relevant. He said that an independent press cannot exist

and that the mass media are the agents of those who hold the economic, political, and social power in any

system.

Mass Communication Effects

Now, back to the conceptual horseshoe of mass communication theory which I will call mass

communication effects. McLeod et al. (1991) said the generally accepted paradigm today of mass

communication theory is audience-centered in mass communication effects. Lang and Lang (1983) spoke of the *objectivist /subjectivist* dimension in mass media effects. Although perceived by Katz (1983), this dichotomy was only beginning 11 years ago. Rosengren (1993) cited *reception analysis* as rearticulating the gap between objective and subjective. The *transmission model* of sender-channel-receiver is being rejected, in part, because the quantitative evidence suggested limited effects of media in spite of their manifest social significance (Katz & Lazarsfeld, 1955; Klapper, 1960). Much of the work in this tradition then turned to *uses and gratifications*, asking now, what individuals do with what they receive from the media instead of visa versa (Blumler & Katz, 1974). This direction of research led to the *reception analysis* (Rosengren, 1993), the subjective, qualitative side where audience research helps construct a valid account of the reception, uses, and impact of the media.

Krippendorf (1993) also dwelt on the objective/subjective, but he called the objective, *message driven,* and the subjective, *reflexive explanations.* He went into Lasswell's (1948), "who says what, in which channel, to whom, and with what effects." This objective formula still defines many communication research designs. Also, in 1948, Shannon and Weaver added such terms as encoding and decoding of messages. Krippendorf regarded these early theories as failing to consider human participants in the process of communication as capable of making up their own meanings, negotiating relationships among themselves, and reflecting on their own realities.

In organizational communication, an *interpretive* approach (Putnam & Pacanowski, 1983) is the trend for theory. This approach holds that meanings are created and negotiated, not objectively given or categorized by scientific method.

One of the best examples of the effects of mass communication is the research on the media's ability to set agendas for public opinion and action (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). Another aspect of media effects is the *spiral of silence* (Noelle-Newman, 1984), adding to agenda setting the perception that individuals have the ability to influence others' opinions on issues.

Rothenbuler (1993) brought together Durkheim (1947) and (Hinkle, 1960) as an objectivist and Carey (1988) as a subjectivist, maintaining that through the subjective nature of communication and the objective nature of social structure, societies are created, maintained and transformed. Durkheim and Carey both answer the question of how societies transform themselves, as through the effects of communication. *Durkheimian* social order is a pattern across the actions, thoughts and feelings of individuals. An individual person, however, is not wholly socially constituted. People are individual human beings, born with and affected by their environment to develop their own character and personality traits. Carey agreed with Weber (1968) when he said that man is like an animal suspended in the webs of significance he has spun himself. But Weber did not follow with society being a collection of subjectivist constructions. His work concerned itself with rationality and bureaucratization suggesting that individuals could be subject to overall societal constructions.

Docherty, Morrison, and Tracy (1993) asked if effects should be treated as freefloating and subjective, meaning not caused. Or is there a relationship between institutionally-based or objective reality and the formation of public opinion. If there are webs of significance (objective or subjective), who is the real spider? I will develop this dichotomy of mass media effects discussed in the terms of objective/subjective dimensions through *modern* and *postmodern* theory respectively (Best & Kellner, 1991).

Modernity (Best & Kellner, 1991) began after feudalism and the Middle Ages. It opposed traditional societies and is characterized by innovation, novelty and dynamism. Modernity denotes the processes of industrialization, individualization, commodification, bureaucratization, and rationalization. Best and Kellner avowed that modernity's promises of liberalization masked forms of oppression and domination. *Postmodernism* was said to begin with the advent of computers and modem media technologies -- leading to the *global village* of Merrill (1974) and Bagdikian (1989) and the *medium is the message* of McLuhan (1964). It celebrates *relativism* and *interpretivism*, that theories at best provide

partial perspectives on the world. Postmodern theory rejects modern assumptions of social coherence and notions of causality in favor of multiplicity, plurality, fragmentation and indeterminacy.

Modernism

Under the rubric of modernism I would place *logical positivism, American pragmatism, structural-functionalism* and *systems theory.*

Logical Positivism.

Logical positivism (Tan, 1985) is the traditional scientific method of explain, predict and control. It assumes there is a real world outside the scientist. The theorist sets up hypotheses to test and see how close those theories come to objective reality. *Objectivism* and *empiricism* are other labels for this perspective on theory.

The scientific method's value for mass communication is its possibility to sort out knowledge about communication, to make connections between different observations, and to form an integrated view of communication processes. This search for order among facts presupposes there is some regularity or laws that can explain communication behaviors of people. These laws may change over time but their discoveries make it possible to predict future occurrences of similar events. Logical positivism and the scientific method provide explanations of communication processes (Tan, 1985).

American Pragmatism.

Craig, 1989, said that social scientists should stay with the empirical method of hypothesis testing and reproducible methods (objective). He said, however, that there is a constitutive role of emergent social structure that can fit into the framework of the empirical method. This is the view of *American pragmatism.* Theory influences how people in society think and talk about their own activities. This process shapes those activities and the emergent social structures produced and reproduced by them. The constitutive role, then, makes explanation, prediction and control insufficient as goals. The goal becomes

theory as an integrated part of social practice. Researchers would continue to use empirical methods to investigate empirical assumptions and consequences of the constitutive or practical theory.

Mass communication can best be understood as an integrated *practical discipline* in which subjective or interpretive, and objective or empirical research can have related and essential functions to perform (Craig, 1993).

Structural-functionalism.

The next stop up the conceptual horseshoe, *structural-functionalism*, suggests that social phenomena occur from the interactions of social structure and the functions those structures serve (Prior-Miller, 1989). This theory traces its roots directly to *logical positivism* and is an outgrowth of the writings of Durkheim (1947) and Weber (1968) -- Weber wanting to look at the entire (spider) of society and the structures of which it is comprised. Of paramount importance to structural-functionalism is the whole, assuming that organizations and relationships exist as part of a larger system, much as any single part of the human body exists to serve the whole. The processes that occur in organizations, such as cooperation, conflict, or communication, adjust to each other to maintain the whole. Organization structures then, are a result of the functions they serve; the functions served determine the structures. In the early 70's, communication scholars noted the lack of consideration of structural-functionalism in mass communication research (J. Grunig & L. Grunig, 1992; Tichenor, Donohue, & Olien, 1973).

Systems Theory.

Systems theory extends from the *positivist* (objective) theories discussed thus far, specifically structural- functionalism. Systems theory also considers the whole paramount over the parts (von Bertalanffy, 1969) but emphasizes the integration of the parts -- like the human body (Toth & Heath, 1992) where the parts are vital to keep the system functioning. Systems theory is known, too, as *hermeneutics*, the concept where the whole cannot be known without the parts and the parts cannot be known without the

whole. Windahl and Signitizer (1992) cited Katz and Kahn (1978) and Goldhaber (1986) in creating a systems model.

Goldhaber (1986) said balance is essential otherwise output or input would outweigh one another and lead to self-destruction of the system. Thruput is the transformation of input to the output to be acceptable to the audience. Feedback is necessary for a continual loop of adjustment. There are boundaries between the system and its environment. The boundaries are permeable because the system is interdependent with the environment and visa versa.

In systems term, then, the unit of analysis is not any one thing, person or event in isolation but a relationship between people and environments. These relationships can be approached partly through communication. The assumption being that social structures stay together through meaning shared by people who belong to the system (Windahl & Signitzer, 1992).

Compromise Theories

The next group of theories I term as compromise theories, and may be middle-range to find congruence between modernism and postmodernism. They are: *scientific reality, interpretive empirical, positive relativism, Dervin's differencing, dependency theory and conflict theory.*

Scientific Reality

The first one, closest to modernism and related to American pragmatism, is *scientific reality.* Its premise is one of external reality, apart from social construction of reality by individuals (Fitzpatrick, 1993; Greenwood, 1991). However, that reality may never be reached. It is informed by emergent and socially created realities. Subjectivity serves to prove objectivity (Greenwood, 1991).

Scientific reality moves beyond a positivist philosophy to consider social relationships in context. A realist view of human relationships examines not only how external events affect them but also how internal events, the purpose and reasons behind them, affect human interaction. The realist philosophy

supports developing objective, causal explanations for relationship processes. All the while it considers also clear, subjective justifications for its claims (Greenwood, 1991; Sappington, 1990).

Interpretive Empiricism.

The next theory is cited by J. Grunig (1992) as *interpretive empiricism*. Putnam and Cheney (1983, 1985) described social scientists who set up hypotheses to be tested from the ground up (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) using *naturalistic* inquiry to find what the subjects of study describe as their own situation. The results, however, may be that the conclusion reached by the theorists may not match those of the subjects of study.

Interpretive empiricism, despite this shortcoming, is an approach to merge the objective and subjective dichotomy. Social scientists construct theories and by doing so construct meaning for the reality they observe and measure (Laudan, 1977; Shapere, 1984; Suppe, 1989).

Positive Relativism.

L. Grunig (1992) described a medium between the objective and the subjective or modernist and postmodernist as *positive relativism*, a position that neither asserts nor denies an objective reality. Its roots are psychological (Bigge, 1971) and deals with a reality defined as that which people make of their experiences. It needs the results of the five senses to prove a theory or hypothesis worthwhile. Objects derive their qualities from the total situation rather than apart from their context. This notion of nothing existing apart from a larger scheme is consistent with systems theory.

Like interpretive empiricism, positive relativism assumes the nature of people and their relationship with the environment is interactive. People are not totally active, self-determined, or autonomous nor are they totally passive receivers of communication whose actions are determined by prior causes. Behavior may be scientifically or objectively predicted while arising from subjective or symbolic and rhetorical decisions. The communications scholar may be objective in studying human behavior by being subjective. to some degree (L. Grunig, 1992).

Differencing.

Dervin (1993) weighed into the controversy between positivism and relativism or the empirical versus the rhetorical/hermeneutic when she used the tried and true metaphor of the blind men and the elephant. She described the problem as each blind man feeling a different part of the elephant and describing accurately their share of the whole. Her position is *culture* versus *agency*, culture being the whole, and agency being the plurality and free will of the parts. This viewpoint, however, still dichotimizes the mass communication field. What is useful for a course in mass communication theory would not be all the *isms* but the issue of *difference*. What are the differences that disrupt communication among people? The structure or culture versus agency distinction is most often identified with Giddens (1984).

To alleviate these differences, Dervin (1993) said we have to look at the process of communication for the answer -- and that is the space between the static structure of culture or *noun* and the movement of agency (which is inevitable) or *verb*. We have to quit looking at communication and instead to *communicating*, the *differencing* between the noun and the verb. Homogenizing and differencing are reconceptualized as communicatings. The emphasis is on explaining the process and action, especially in mass communication where the subject or noun is ever-changing.

Dependency Theory.

Another theory I label as compromising is older, from DeFluer and Ball-Rokeach (1976, 1989). They interpreted Newcomb's symmetry model (1956) of self and other, orienting to the object in a triangulation toward society. Their three points of the triangle are audience, society and mass media. They said that people have various levels of dependence on mass media based on the amount of disorder, conflict and change in society among these three poles.

They essentially used Weaver's (1977) concept of *need for orientation*, where the effect of mass communication depends on message relevancy and uncertainty of an individual about a particular subject.

The key seems to be peoples' need to reduce ambiguity. Mass communication is very powerful if it reduces ambiguity through defining and structuring reality. In the "media has *limited effects* model," not enough ambiguity exists. In *cultivation theory*, people experience ambiguity through television about some aspect of the world they are not familiar with, so the dependency on the media is high (Severin & Tankard, 1988). Agenda-setting effects may show up strongly on those issues where there is widespread concern or dependence such as health care costs. Most media effects do not occur across board but are contingent on other variables. These "it depends" variables also incorporate Katz's (1960) factors of perception and interpersonal relations along with dependency theory.

Conflict Theory.

The final compromise or middle-range concept that has a little different orientation, comes from *conflict theory*. The conflict perspective assumes that conflict is the basis of social interchange and the product of social interchange (Conrad, 1990; Follet, 1940; Prior-Miller, 1992; Robbins, 1990). Organizations, rather than being the products of the consensus of individuals or organizations interacting with each other (subjective, critical/rhetorical, and symbolic interactionism), are products among participants in conflict. Conflict theory assumes that conflict is an inevitable part of social interactions because of the incompatible, competing goals and values of individuals and organizations.

Conflict theory (Rush, 1993) looks predominately at how conflict can be resolved within and without the organization -- that it is good to solve conflict for society to progress. Rush investigated how the mass media can serve as a mediator in society to resolve problems among competing groups. The media can take the process beyond overt positions to reach underlying values and interests. It can widen the agenda, as in McCombs and Shaw's (1984) agenda-setting to provide more options for resolution. And the media can talk about or talk to parties that otherwise would not have an avenue for getting together. Dukes (1993) called this multi-channel ability of the media to solve societal problems -- a tranformational function.

Postmodernism

The third part of my mass media effects conceptual horseshoe is the postmodern and includes *symbolic interactionism, critical theory, culture, feminist* and *chaos theory* and comes primarily from the receiver or audience perspective.

Symbolic Interactionism.

Symbolic interactionism has its roots in the empirical *modernism* and logical positivism. It grew out of some of the earliest efforts by sociologists to understand the interactions among people and the impact those interactions have on society (Prior-Miller, 1992). Among the seminal thinkers were Meade (Chicago School, 1934), and Kuhn (1970).

The concept of symbolic interactionism (Heath & Bryant, 1992; Prior-Miller, 1992) is that people create their own reality (*social reality, social constructivism*). They create reality through interpreting symbols received from one another. People use symbols in their interactions and the meaning of those symbols are in a continuous state of negotiation. Heath and Bryant called this interchange of symbols the symbolic exchange of language or rhetoric.

Critical Theory.

The next theory, *critical theory*, stems from Marxist and authoritarian viewpoints in that the media is manipulated by those in power. The theory's mission is to expose oppression, alienation, and injustice in organizations (Putnam & Cheney, 1983). The mass media flows in a one-way direction, to sway audiences and it is incumbent on audiences to critique the powerful -- to change the system so communication is more audience-centered (Toth & Heath, 1992).

Critical theorists approach organizations and their messages, not to improve on their efforts to advocate positions or reach audiences, but to disrupt beliefs about organizations. Critical studies are *significant breaks* with the *old*, established order, and the *new* is regrouped around a different set of premises or themes. Rather than looking at how communication assists societal structures, the critical

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scholar would ask whose interests are served in society and what role do they play in creating and maintaining power and domination (Toth & Heath, 1992).

Culture.

Culture is different from these other theories in that it views society as hermeneutic, the "parts and whole" cannot be considered separately. L. Grunig (1992) saw culture as symbols and meanings in communication (back to the symbolic interaction) and cited its fit with systems. Systems theory, however, views society as whole-part. Culture views the two as inseparable and together, and symbolic interaction views the process as communication from part to whole. Wagner (1981) and Agar (1993) viewed culture as the co-construction of meaning. Hall (1959) and later Carey (1989) saw communication as culture and culture as communication. He said communication does not create laws to explain events but that communication seeks to understand events and diagnose meanings. Carey cited Geertz (1974) discussing culture in the context of the whole *spider web* of meaning. But Weber does not say that culture is a multiplicity of subjectivist constructions. Rather, his work suggests that individuals could be subordinated to abstract social constructions. Tthe modernists might have asked, "who is the spider?"

Feminist Theory.

Feminist theory also is audience and receiver-oriented. Logical positivism has been extensively criticized in feminist research for it division between theory and practice, between researcher and the *object* or the audience of the research. *Liberal feminists* work with the male-dominated system and *radical feminists* work to overturn and transform it (Hon, 1992; Van Zoonen, 1991). Creedon (1993) criticized system theory because it supports existing, patriarchy systems. Reinharz (1985) discussed the making explicit of implicit values and norms; those values being feminist, more person-oriented. Toth (1992) said research must not be separated from its subject. There is a mutual process of creation occurring between researcher and subject. Fine (1993) called for an *infrasystem* rather than a *supra* or *subsystem* in systems theory that would transform patriarchy to the implicit values and norms L. Grunig (1992) also mentioned.

The infrasystem concept derives, in part, from feminist theory because it does charge that organizational norms and values are male-defined. It may seem that an infrasystem is implicit in systems theory but Fine said that the infrasystem must be explicitly acknowledged to be recognized. Unless this is done, the rhetoric surrounding equality and equity is incomplete.

Chaos Theory.

Finally, in the postmodern view I bring chaos theory. Chaos theory (Cottone, 1993) makes sense at the global level. It is the extreme allowance of relativism, intepretism and agency. Its pluralism is chaos or disorder. It sees order in disorder, and it sees sudden and profound changes, fluctuations and transformations.

Nothing in chaos theory, no variable is not considered. If positivist science dismisses data that are not relevant, chaos states there is nothing that is insignificance.

To be fruitful in mass communication studies, Cottone (1993) said chaos theory must look at three themes: a multidisciplinary effort, an investigation of extreme cases, and work that is tranformative in nature. Chaos theory must, in Cottone's translation of J. Grunig (1989b), change the worldview of society and organizations toward communication.

The Magnetic Field

So, where does this media effects paradigm, the conceptual horseshoe of modernity and postmodernity lead? Perhaps it leads to some configuration of the six compromise theories previously discussed. I propose that this horseshoe also may create a magnetic field to bring the two poles of objective/positivism and subjective/rhetorical together. One sources of this magnetism may be diffusion of innovations; another would be public relations theory.

Diffusion of Innovations.

One way the poles could come together is through the diffusion of innovations concept of Rogers (1983). This theory is a process, like the communicating of Dervin (1993) and the interacting of systems

theory that begins with: 1. innovation; 2. channels; 3. time; and 4. with society -- that Rogers used to

describe how knowledge (the mass media) interrelates on an interpersonal level (*persuasion/rhetorical*) to

reach what Rogers and earlier Kincaid (1979) called convergence to mutual understanding.

Rogers and Kincaid (1981) claimed the combination of the mass media and the interpersonal is the

most effective for attitude change. Mass media channels reach large audiences, spread information and

change weakly held attitudes. Interpersonal channels provide a two-way exchange of information and are

more effective than mass media in dealing with resistance or apathy from the audience. Roger's (1987)

current view of the diffusion process is based on the *convergence model* of communication that he and

Kincaid developed. Communication, now, is a process where participants create and share information

with one another to reach mutual understanding. The model's weaknesses are a pro-innovation bias,

assuming that innovations are good in and of themselves and an individual blame bias, as opposed to

system blame.

The convergence model, as extrapolated by Windahl and Signitzer (1992), is the interaction

discussed earlier and communication takes place in a social reality, an environment where certain social

factors may be decisive. Instead of sender, receiver, and message being so relevant, participants and

shared information are important. In most communication models, the individual is the unit of analysis. In

the network model of Rogers (1986), the dyad linked by communication and the groups within the group

are studied. Mass media effects, in this context, arise from joint activity and affect all participants. Rogers

characterized a communication network as consisting of *interconnected individuals linked by patterned*

communication flows.

Public Relations.

The convergence and mutual understanding of *diffusion of innovations* leads to the preeminent

models and *situational* theories in public relations (J. Grunig & Hunt, 1984). The ideal model is the two-

way symmetrical that leads away from the context/distribution of rhetorical theory (Heath, 1992; 1993) to

collaboration and mutual problem-solving of the two-way symmetrical model. In the past, rhetorical theory

has emphasized one-way persuasion but recently Heath (Toth & Heath, 1992; Heath, 1993) has described a

mutual persuasion model of communication. Like rhetorical public relations theory, the two-way

symmetrical model emphasized the receiver or audience view of an issue in strong alignment with the

postmodern view, the listening and caring view of feminist theory and the deconconstructionist stance of

culture and chaos theory. In public relations terms, these audience are called publics. Publics arise in

response to the consequence, pro or con, that an organization has on people as it pursues it mission.

Publics organize around problems and make issues of problems that actively affect them (J. Grunig, 1993).

Mass communication researchers have done little to define and explain the behavior of publics, the

most extensive research being Rogers (1983) diffusion of innovations. The situational theory (J. Grunig &

Hunt, 1984, J. Grunig & Childers, 1988) is the most researched of the segmentation of publics theories and

could contribute greatly in this era of mass media publics being broken down through technology. Indeed,

audiences of media are not longer *mass* in the classic sense (Hiebert, 1992; Lowery & DeFleur, 1983;

McQuail, 1987; Wright, 1983). The situational theory's three major variables to determine level of activity

of a public are: problem recognition, constraint recognition and level of involvement. The higher a public

recognizes a problem, the more involved it is likely to be on that issue. Then, if the public recognizes little

constraint from acting on that issue, it will be an active public affecting a particular organization on that

issue.

Rhetorical research in public relations comes into play here in that symbolic behavior influences

issues (Heath, 1992). People or publics use words and visual symbols to "share and evaluate information,

shape beliefs, and establish norms for coordinated collective action" (p. 17). Rhetoric also helps explain

how people and organizations manage their relationships in a situation that requires a response to a

problem that arises from that situation. One or more publics channel messages in the situation surrounding

each message. This situation influences which facts and arguments in the message are relevant. It

constrains what can be said and how it can be phrased on an interpersonal level. *Issues management* studies such as those by Crable and Vibbert (1983, 1985) and Heath and Nelson (1986), asserted that issue can be created by the organization and that through the use of symbolic strategies, communication can influence the public policy debate. Although typically thought of as one-way persuasion, Heath (1992, 1993) argued against one-way rhetoric intended to dominate and persuade the opposition, and instead to mutual persuasion.

Public relations, then, developed theories of models, situations, and rhetoric that in turn draws from systems theory and structural functionalism on the modernist side of the horseshoe in that the whole predominates over parts. It also draws from aspects of the two-way models and the rhetorical in that both sides change perspectives, and this comes from the critical -- alleviating power, the symbolic interaction -- symbols negotiate meaning or parts over whole, to culture -- parts and whole together; to feminist and chaos theory (and conflict theory) to transform how communication is viewed in society.

Given the number of theories involved on the conceptual horseshoe of mass communication from a public relations perspective, granted it is somewhat convoluted and difficult to follow in such a brief treatment of the subject. However, with a 16 week semester to teach mass media effects, the modern and post modern view, it might just be possible to cover most of these subjects. At least that is how I would like to attempt to teach a course in mass communication theory, and enjoy doing it as well!

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