



Contents lists available at [ScienceDirect](#)

## Public Relations Review



Full length article

# Roots of public relations in Portugal: Changing an old paradigm

João Moreira dos Santos

ISCTE – University Institute of Lisbon / ESCS – School of Communication and Media Studies, Portugal

### ARTICLE INFO

*Article history:*

Received 2 September 2015

Received in revised form 21 October 2015

Accepted 19 April 2016

Available online xxx

*Keywords:*

Portugal

Propaganda

Public Relations History

The Anglo-Portuguese Telephone Co. Ltd.

### ABSTRACT

This article examines the roots of public relations (PR) in Portugal, which for the last three decades have been consensually placed in the late 1950s and early 1960s. It argues that such a historical paradigm is contradicted by thorough archival research and needs to be revised. In fact the origins of PR activities can be traced back as far as the 1900s, having evolved initially under the terms of propaganda and press relations, with no apparent influence from the United States (U.S.). The specific term and the concept of PR arrived in Portugal only in the 1910s and matured from the 1930s to the late 1940s. They were first imported from the U.S., where in 1915 a Portuguese professor witnessed the PR activities carried out by the agricultural system. However, the modern concept, theory and practice of PR were mostly influenced by the United Kingdom (U.K.). The connecting link was The Anglo-Portuguese Telephone Co. Ltd. (APT), which pioneered the development of PR in Portugal. It directly benefited from the PR work that Basil Clarke did for a British pressure group whose chairman also managed APT. Regarding PR historiography this paper reinforces the thesis that PR developed in Europe independently from the U.S. tradition and long before World War II. It also places Portugal among the first European countries where PR emerged.

© 2016 Elsevier Inc. All rights reserved.

## 1. Introduction

Despite the evolving historiography of European PR, Portugal is still lagging behind in this field for little is known about how, when and why public relations actually developed in the westernmost nation of Europe. Due to the lack of archival research, the founding milestone usually presented is the inception of the first PR departments in the 1950s, involving the National Laboratory for Civil Engineering (LNEC) and a number of foreign companies operating in the oil and gas industry, namely Shell, Mobil and BP. This narrative has been repeated and republished for the last 30 years, based mainly on oral testimonials and some personal assumptions which have been reproduced as undisputed facts in textbooks (Fonseca, 2001, 2011; Lampreia, 1988; Soares & Mendes, 2004; Tojal, 2006) and scientific articles (Soares, 2011). No political, economic, social, cultural or technological explanation has, however, been provided as to why PR started in Portugal in that specific time period or why LNEC and the above mentioned companies had the need to communicate with stakeholders.

To move on from this paradigmatic narrative, exploring the early beginnings of PR in Portugal, and to place the history of Portuguese PR on the map of European PR historiography, extensive archival research was deemed necessary. A two-step methodology was used. The first one consisted of consulting a large sample of business reports and accounts issued from 1900 to 1950 (encompassing the last 10 years of the constitutional monarchy and the first 40 years of the Republican regime), which

E-mail address: [joaomoreirasantos@gmail.com](mailto:joaomoreirasantos@gmail.com)

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2016.04.004>

0363-8111/© 2016 Elsevier Inc. All rights reserved.

Please cite this article in press as: dos Santos, J.M. Roots of public relations in Portugal: Changing an old paradigm. *Public Relations Review* (2016), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2016.04.004>

are deposited in the National Library of Portugal. When propaganda or public relations activities/departments were identified in such reports, a second step was then performed involving the practice of extensive research on the private archives of each company. The main archival sources were the Historical Archive of the Portuguese Communications Foundation and the Documentation Center of the EDP Foundation/Electricity Museum. This methodological approach was complemented by researching the *house organs* and a number of institutional brochures of the principal companies (either public or privately owned) operating in Portugal between the 1900s and the 1950s and by searching a set of keywords – “relações públicas [public relations]”; “relações com o público [relations with the public]” and “propaganda” – in the PORBASE (the Portuguese National Bibliographic Database) digital catalogue. All the methodological procedures revealed the special importance of two companies: the Anglo Portuguese Telephone Co. Ltd. and CTT (the Portuguese Postal Company); both operating in the communications business. Additional research was carried out in the government field; focusing only on the Foreign Ministry archives. The selection of this specific Ministry was made under the assumption that its potential exposition to foreign practices would make it the most prone to pioneer PR practices and structures in Portugal.

Acknowledging the fact that the development of PR depends largely on the global context and idiosyncrasies of each society (L'Etang, 2008), a special emphasis was put on explaining the framework of political, social, economic, cultural and mass communication conditions from which public relations emerged in Portugal.

The research presented in this essay is limited by the fact that it purposely placed more emphasis on companies (especially in the APT case-study) than on government or public organizations. It also acknowledges the difficulty in establishing boundaries between PR antecedents, or proto-PR (Watson, 2013), and modern PR (Bentele, 2013; Nessmann, 2000), as well as the main PR historiography challenges (Hoy, Raaz, & Wehmeier, 2007; L'Etang, 2008; Pearson, 1992; Watson, 2014a). Regarding the role Mário de Azevedo Gomes played in introducing the PR term and concept in Portugal, as an import from the U.S. agricultural system, this article lacks more insight into the early 20th century PR goals of the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) and the U.S. state university colleges of agriculture. The author could not however access the bibliography on these subjects – namely reports and other documents from the early 20th century – which is U.S. based.

## 2. Emergence of PR as term and concept

The term public relations, and a proto-PR concept, first emerged in Portugal in 1915 through an article written by Mário de Azevedo Gomes (1886–1965) entitled *A Universidade Americana nas suas Relações com o Público: a Obra da Extensão Universitária e os Progressos da Agricultura [The American University in its Relations with the Public: the Work of University Extension and the Progresses in Agriculture]* (Gomes, 1915). Azevedo Gomes was an agronomist who lectured at the Instituto Superior de Agronomia (ISA) in Lisbon from 1915 to 1955, and in the 1920s served as Minister of Agriculture. He traveled to the U.S. in April 1915 with the objective of studying “the general organization of the university agricultural education” (Mayer, 1915, p. 179) in three universities: Michigan, Illinois at Urbana–Champaign and Wisconsin–Madison. Azevedo Gomes was especially surprised and interested by “the good relations the American University maintains with the public” (Gomes, 1915, p. 211). He identified the publics targeted by the “university propagandists” (Gomes, 1915, p. 227), including students, former students, parents, farmers and companies. He also specified the communication media used by those propagandists – namely railway propaganda excursions, magazines, letters, press relations, exhibitions and train exhibits, product sampling, posters, conferences and contests – and the partners involved in the communication process, including railway companies, rural banks, farmers' institutes and farming associations. Gomes (1915) was aware of Edwin Emery Slosson's work, particularly his book *Great American Universities* (Slosson, 1910). This American journalist and chemist who popularized science argued that universities should employ people able to communicate with the public about science.

As for the PR concept, Gomes (1915) never stated it clearly, at least not as Grunig & Hunt (1984) defined it: “the management of communication between an organization and its publics” (p. 6). However, he did mention the “need for mutual understanding” (Grunig & Hunt, 1984, p. 7), which is an effect used by some authors (Black, 1962) to define PR. Accordingly, Gomes (1915) stated that “raising the general level of culture entrusted to the university action cannot take place without bringing down the classic barriers between university life and the life of the surrounding environment in terms of a more or less close mutual interpenetration” (Gomes, 1915, p. 210) and that “to be well understood [the university] needs to be able to speak the same persuasive language” (Gomes, 1915, p. 213). Another defining element of PR which Gomes (1915) noted in the university relations with the public was the need to generate goodwill, which is part of the definition of PR by the Chartered Institute of Public Relations (CIPR, n.d.). He stated: “the university organism aims, as is natural, to further strengthen that wave of external support; it sees in it the purpose of the hard mission it imposed on itself; and all its effort is to capture new everyday energies that will join its own energies” (Gomes, 1915, p. 212). Finally, we can find in Gomes (1915) an echo of Cutlip, Center, and Broom's (2006) classic definition of PR: “Public relations is the management function that establishes and maintains mutually beneficial relationships between an organization and the publics on whom its success or failure depends” (p. 1). The notion of dependence on the public is visible when Gomes (1915) stated that through the relations with the public, the university “defends [...] the maintenance of its living conditions” (p. 215) and shows the State “by which is subsidized and almost exclusively supported” (Gomes, 1915) and the public why universities should be financed by public taxes and investment. It is also interesting to note that Gomes (1915) used the term ‘relações com o público’ (‘relations with the public’) instead of ‘relações públicas’ (‘public relations’), a term which was only much later adopted in Portugal. He also referred to the practice as ‘propaganda’ and not ‘public relations’, and addressed the practitioners of PR as ‘propagandists’.

There is some evidence suggesting that in the 1920s Mário de Azevedo Gomes incorporated his PR knowledge into the agricultural system in Portugal, although, as previously stated, the PR term was not yet used. Pereda (2011) links the impact that the U.S. research stations and the extension work of the U.S. state university colleges of agriculture had in Gomes (1915), arguing that it led to the inception of the Central Agrarian Station (CAS). Created in September 1923 to promote agricultural techniques among Portuguese farmers, specially through public communication, the CAS was inaugurated in February 1924 by Mário de Azevedo Gomes, who had served until then as Minister of Agriculture. In 1928, he was designated director of the CAS, which participated in the so called “Wheat Campaign”, introduced in that same year by the Ministry of Agriculture (Pais, Lima, Baptista, Jesus, & Gameiro, 1976, 1978). One of the PR-like initiatives performed in the framework of that campaign was the creation of a propaganda train called the “wheat train”, which travelled across Portugal, promoting the improvement and development of wheat cultivation (Pais et al., 1976). It was set up in 1928, inspired by the train exhibits Mário d’Azevedo Gomes (1915) had learned about while in the U.S., and according to him was visited by a total of 5000 farmers (Gomes, 1928).

### 3. Early organizational PR-like activities and war propaganda

The PR-like practice emerged in Portugal from the 1900s onwards through the Touring Club of Portugal (TCP), also known as Sociedade Propaganda de Portugal. Following the boom in mass tourism that began in Europe in the mid nineteenth century and developed up to the First World War (Gyr, 2010), this private non-profit organization was founded in 1906 to promote Portugal internally and abroad as a tourist destination. Its inception was directly inspired by similar organizations operating in Switzerland and Austria, while also acknowledging the experiences made in France, Italy, Germany, Spain and even Japan. Heading TCP’s advertising commission, also created in 1906, was Sebastião de Magalhães Lima (1850–1928). One of the emblematic figures of Portuguese republicanism during the last two decades of the nineteenth century and in the first two of the following century, he was also a well-known journalist and founder of the renowned daily newspaper *O Século* (1880) and of two other important newspapers (Garnel, 2004). The PR-like activities Magalhães Lima implemented were diverse, including the creation of the TCP’s bulletin, establishing press-relations (both with Portuguese and foreign journalists, namely British), placing advertisements in foreign newspapers, issuing leaflets, promoting conferences, organizing exhibitions and special events and creating contests among the Portuguese hotels. As had been the case with Gomes (1915), propaganda was the term used to encompass the PR-like activities performed by the TCP until its progressive decline in the 1930s and 1940s.

The First World War brought to Portugal the propaganda machine of the main contenders. Great Britain was especially active, operating through the Bureau of the British Press in Lisbon (BBPL). Although little is known about this entity and the people behind it, it was probably affiliated with the British War Propaganda Bureau (WPB), which was set up in 1914 by David Lloyd George and directed by Charles Masterman from Wellington House (Taylor, 1999). The Bureau’s activity in Portugal is documented since 1917, one year after Portugal officially joined World War I on the allied side. Until 1918 at least 170 books and brochures were issued in Portuguese, 89 of which came out in 1917. Their purpose was to state the superiority of the British position in the war, while attacking the German side. *A Propaganda dos Beligerantes [The Propaganda of the Warring Parties]* (Bureau da Imprensa Britânica em Lisboa, 1917), for example, was designed to publicly expose the manipulation associated with Germany’s war propaganda, however, omitting the manipulation also carried out by the WPB. No author’s name or original title (in English) were ever printed on those brochures, which makes it difficult to state if they were in fact affiliated with the writers who worked for the WPB (Buitenhuis, 1988), namely Arthur Conan Doyle, Rudyard Kipling and John Buchan. And even if John Buchan’s *The Battle of the Somme, First Phase* (Buchan, n.d.) was translated into Portuguese (Buchan, 191-), it was not published by the BBPL but by Thomas Nelson & Sons.

The Second World War brought propaganda warfare back to Portugal although even before the war erupted, the British Council was already conducting PR-like activities. In July 1939, it organized a press tour, taking 14 Portuguese journalists (some of them working for renowned newspapers, e.g. Acúrcio Pereira, Artur Portela and João Ameal) to England, where they visited a Vickers aircraft factory, an aviation school based in Halton and also met Lord Halifax. The journalists were accompanied by Marcus Cheke (1906–1960), who served as British Embassy’s press attaché from 1938 to 1942. Even though little research has been carried out on the subject, the press attachés – and the information/propaganda services they managed in the embassies and legations which employed them – carried the propaganda torch in Portugal during wartime, having performed diversified PR-like activities. The most visible of those – whose activities were reported in the newspapers published in the 1930s and 1940s – were Leo Negrelli and Enzo Bolasco (the Italian Legation), Marcel Dany (the French Legation), Michael Stewart and Stephen Alexander Lockhart (the British Embassy), Henry Leverich, Samuel Iams Jr. and Robert Rendueles (the U.S. Embassy), and Wilhelm Berner (the German Legation and the Portuguese delegation of the German news agency Deutsche Nachrichtenbüro). Also operating in Lisbon in the 1940s as press attachés were Aron Cotrus and Mircea Eliade (the Romanian Embassy), Cesário Alvim (the Brazilian Legation) and Don Javier Martínez de Bedoya (the Spanish Embassy).

### 4. PR-like activities in the Portuguese Government

The first traces of organized PR-like activities carried out by the government are found after the establishment of the Portuguese Republic, which resulted from a *coup d’état* that, on 5th October 1910, deposed the constitutional monarchy. Seven years later, Sidónio Pais (1872–1918) led an uprising against Afonso Costa’s Democratic Party government and con-

sequently an authoritarian regime was established in December 1917. Regarded as the first Portuguese politician to set up a propaganda machine (Sousa, 2011), the new president supported the creation of the Information and Propaganda Services of the Portuguese Republic in Friend and Allied Countries (IPSPRFAC). This entity was proposed and created by the journalist Francisco Manuel Homem Cristo Filho (1892–1928), who was appointed to direct it since its establishment in Paris in January 1918. Working in connection with the Portuguese Legation in that city, his mission was to help Sidónio Pais obtain a *de jure* diplomatic recognition of his government by the allied countries – which feared the new regime could be Germanophile, monarchical or anti-war (Silva, 2006) – and also to conduct much needed counter-propaganda activity. IPSPRFAC's main concern was the fierce opposition which some prominent Portuguese politicians exercised within the French government and French public opinion and press (Raimundo, 2015). Both João Chagas (former Portuguese prime-minister) and Bernardino Machado (the President deposed by Sidónio Pais' *coup d'état*), openly criticized the policies, initiatives and the political protagonists of Sidónio Pais' *New Republic*. Although it may not be directly attributed to the IPSPRFAC's propaganda initiatives, in 1918 A. G. Loraine, a British resident in Portugal, published a book entitled *Portugal and the Allies: A Message to Great Britain* (Loraine, 1918). He defended Sidónio Pais' regime stating: "Public opinion in Great Britain and France should certainly support an administration which thus desires to utilize instead of suppressing Portugal's energies and resources" (p. 18). Reviewing this book, *The Spectator*, a conservative weekly British magazine, stated: "Mr. Loraine confirms [...] that the new Portuguese Government under President Sidonia [sic] Paes is far more representative of the nation and far more loyal to the Allies than the Democratic Administration which it overthrew in December last" ("*Portugal and the Allies: a Message to Great-Britain*", 1918, p. 21).

The first known Portuguese governmental press department was also created in the sphere of diplomacy. It was officially established in May 1919 by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) and its first manager was Nicolau Alberto de Fonty Archer (born in 1882). His work included reading and summarizing the news published in Portuguese and foreign newspapers and also advertising Portugal abroad. The department was restructured in 1929, acquiring new responsibilities, namely press relations and tourism promotion abroad. Francisco de Sande Salema Mayer Garção (1872–1930), a poet and journalist, was then appointed as its new manager. Over the years, the department had its name slightly changed and was directed by several managers, including Fernando Quartin de Oliveira Bastos (1893–1960) and Alberto Leite Monteiro Martins (1892–1970). From its major restructuration in 1935 until 1961 – when it became the public relations service – the department was headed by Joaquim Belford Correia da Silva (1908–1979), a famous literary author writing under the pen name Joaquim Paço d'Arcos.

Also at the governmental level, the PR-like activity developed by the Secretariat of National Propaganda (SNP) was highly relevant. The SNP was founded in 1933 as a central piece of Salazar's dictatorship known as *Estado Novo* (*New State*), which lasted from 1933 to 1974, based on the suppression of the freedom of expression and on political and moral censorship. The SNP was inspired by similar propaganda offices established at the same time in Germany and Italy and was headed from its inception by António Ferro (1895–1956), a journalist who idolized Salazar and Mussolini. Its mission was to manage all the state propaganda, coordinating the information process developed by the ministries. Among the activities that António Ferro and the SNP developed were the centralization of the media relations performed by the various branches of the Portuguese government and the state owned companies, the issue of publications and the production of propaganda documentaries and films, the staging of national events and public festivals and also the establishment of awards to stimulate national art and literature (Acciaiuoli, 2013; Guedes, 1997; Raimundo, 2015). The SNP also collaborated with the Portuguese propaganda bodies which operated abroad, overruling all the official press services acting outside the country, encouraging the exchange with international journalists and writers, organizing conferences and promoting and sponsoring national art and literature.

## 5. Early practices of corporate PR

Although corporate 'house-organs' have been published in Portugal since the mid-nineteenth century (Santos, 1995), the first corporate PR-like departments were only established in the 1920s and 1930s, acquiring more maturity and identity in the 1940s. The triggering point was an important set of political, social, economical, technological and mass-communication changes that took place between the 1910s and the 1940s. In fact, the emergence of corporate PR in Portugal is connected to the changing political environment and the instability caused thereby. There were no less than three different political regimes from 1910 to 1933: the democratic Republic, beginning in 1910; the military dictatorship, beginning in 1926, and the autocratic *Estado Novo*, beginning in 1933 and ending in 1974. This period was marked by social agitation (especially the successive strikes that took place during the first years of the Republican regime), a new mass communication context with an unprecedented rise of the popular press, the development of new media (such as radio and Portuguese news agencies) and a highly critical journalism towards companies. It also witnessed the progressive spread of information about advertising, propaganda and public relations through books and newspapers, an overall political propaganda environment, the emergence of national suppliers of new communication services (namely design studios, press clipping organizations and advertising agencies), the negative social and cultural representations of businessmen and the rise of social responsibility.

The companies providing public services were especially impacted by some of the above mentioned changes. In the 1910s and 1920s corporations as the Anglo-Portuguese Telephone Co. Ltd. (APT), CP (national train services), Carris (tramway services in Lisbon), CAL (water provider in Lisbon) and CRGE (gas and electricity) faced successive strikes and were attacked by an unprecedentedly critical and caustic press which – not without reason – depicted them as providing unreliable and even harmful public services. Among those companies, APT was by far the most targeted by the press and even by the political institutions. APT had been established in London in 1887 (Ferreira, 1967) to acquire the concession the Portuguese state had



granted to Edison Gower Bell (EGB) in 1881. This deal allowed APT the exclusive operation of the telephone services in the cities of Lisbon and Porto. Like EGB, APT was also a monopoly and had foreign (British) capital. Those two characteristics were not appreciated by the new Republican regime and were also under attack from the populist values that had emerged from the revolution of October 5, 1910, and, consequently, by the popular press. To worsen the situation, APT was regarded by the public, by its customers and by the press as providing a poor and expensive service with no proper metering of telephone calls.

This whole antagonistic environment – marked by unharmonious political, social, economical and media relationships – helps to explain why APT created the first known PR-like department, established in June 1928 under the direction of Armando Ferreira (1893–1968), a former journalist and popular humorist writer. In May 1935 he was appointed as Executive Secretary for the relations with the public, becoming the first known person to occupy such a function in Portugal. It was not, however, a coincidence that APT further developed its PR activities in the 1930s. If the media hostility towards the company had practically ceased then – either silenced by the censorship imposed by the autocratic political regime inaugurated in 1933 or appeased by Armando Ferreira's propaganda activity – a new critical front opened up in parliament, which operated on a single-party system. In January 1935 the deputy Artur Leal Lobo da Costa (1882–1963) not only criticized the way APT functioned – and the terms of the new contract it had signed with the Portuguese State in 1928 – but also proposed a bill aimed at forcing the company to install telephone call meters at the customers' residences. The bill was rejected but in February 1937 the same deputy, speaking in a parliamentary session, accused APT of robbing the public and depicted its customers as victims of an expensive and deficient service. By then, Armando Ferreira had already benefitted from the PR knowledge of the Telephone Development Association (TDA), which was founded in London around 1924 ([“The Telephone Development Association”, 1924](#)) and worked through the 1920s with Basil Clarke's Editorial Services (Evans, 2013), considered Britain's first PR agency. The link between APT and TDA was Sir Alexander Roger, their common chairman ([“The Telephone Development Association”, 1924](#); [“The Anglo-Portuguese Telephone Co.: A Satisfactory Year”, 1939](#)). Evidence of their cooperation is found in the advertisements used by APT in the 1920s and 1930s, which were simple adaptations of those produced by TDA.

The international connection may explain how APT had the knowledge expressed in the two internal PR manuals it published in 1934 and 1948 ([The Anglo-Portuguese Telephone Co. Ltd., 1934, 1948](#)), the first and only documents of this kind known in Portugal. The publication of the second one, which is the most important, took place after the Second World War, a period when APT faced enormous and unprecedented difficulties in coping with the increasing demands of telephone installations (Portugal, 1948). As a result, APT felt the need to improve its relations with the public, which was now regarded as “Mr. Public” ([The Anglo-Portuguese Telephone Co. Ltd., 1948, p. 31](#)). The reason for this particular concern was simple: “the best way [for the company] to prove its capacity to fulfill the mission that it has been granted and trusted by concession is to have on its side the public that the government wishes to serve well” ([The Anglo-Portuguese Telephone Co. Ltd., 1948, p. 6](#)).

Mello Portugal, who started working with Armando Ferreira in the early 1940s, gave a public speech in July 1948 (Portugal, 1948) which reveals what APT thought of PR and how it already had specific and updated theoretical knowledge about such a function. Mello Portugal used, for the first time, the term ‘public relations’, which he defined as “a complex of processes to know ourselves and those around us, and to face the relations with those similar to us in order to make them more pleasant and mutually beneficial” (Portugal, 1948, pp. 8–9). He also had a clear notion of the PR goals, which he stated as a means “to confer prestige to the organization” (Portugal, 1948, p. 9), differentiated PR from advertising (which he regarded as part of PR), was aware of the existence of different publics (defining them as shareholders, employees, buyers, competitors, public entities, etc), and defended the need for PR to be conducted by a single department, although acknowledging the impact of all departments and employees on the opinion of the public about a company. Finally, Mello Portugal knew PR involved a policy, a program and a plan. The fact that he briefly quoted P. T. Barnum shows he also had some connection with the U.S. PR tradition.

Besides APT, other companies operating in the communications business also invested in PR-like departments or activities, namely Marconi (António da Silva Santos managed a propaganda department in the late 1930s), the Eastern Telegraph Co. (ET), and especially CTT (the national postal company and supplier of telephone services outside Lisbon and Porto). In April 1937 CTT created a department for advertising and propaganda purposes and appointed Francisco José do Vale Guimarães (1913–1986) to its management. Vale Guimarães was a lawyer who became a relevant political figure in the 1950s (Silveira, 2013). This department was renamed in 1947 as cultural services and in 1955 was presented abroad as responsible for the CTT's public relations ([Administration Générale des Postes, Télégraphes et Téléphones, 1955](#)).

In other business sectors, namely in the utilities, CRGE created a propaganda department around 1930, which was headed by the Belgian painter Albert Jourdain (1891–1967). However, its PR-like activities were more commercial than institution-oriented. In this same period, Companhia Colonial de Navegação (a maritime company), Companhia de Moçambique (a royal company that had the concession of the lands in the present provinces of Manica and Sofala in central Mozambique), Sanitas (an important Portuguese pharmaceutical company) and the Portuguese branches of Philips and KLM also had propaganda departments. There is also evidence that the Instituto Pasteur de Lisboa (a pharmaceutical company) had a PR department as early as in the 1940s.

## 6. Conclusion and debate

PR emerged in Portugal between the 1900s and the 1950s, promoted by well-known personalities in the political, cultural and media fields. This period was marked by a set of major and defining political, social, technological and mass communication changes, and also by an overall propaganda environment, an unprecedented development in communication techniques and activities, and the emergence of specialized suppliers of new communication services.

The term and concept of PR and a late and incipient practice were imported from the U.S. in 1915 by Mário de Azevedo Gomes. There is however no evidence suggesting that he has had any impact outside the agricultural system. The term itself, which was first translated as 'Relações com o Público' [Relations with the Public], was seldom used until the 1940s/1950s, when it began to be translated as 'Relações Públicas' [Public Relations]. Instead, public organizations, governmental bodies and companies used the term propaganda, naming their PR-like departments as propaganda departments, press departments or advertising departments.

Most of the organizations that are known to have pioneered PR-like activities in Portugal had a close link with foreign entities, especially the TCP, IPSPRFAC, MFA, SNP, and CTT. Other organizations were themselves foreign entities – like BBPL, the foreign embassies and the legations accredited in Lisbon, APT, Philips and KLM – or had foreign capital, such as Marconi, ET and CRGE. The need to build legitimacy and public acceptance is another common factor binding these entities for there is evidence that some of them used PR-like activities as a means of acquiring moral (BBPL), political (IPSPRFAC and SNP) or economic (APT) legitimacy. Specifically among the companies that pioneered PR, a common factor is their association with public services, especially in communications (APT, CTT, Marconi and ET) and gas and electricity supply (CRGE). It is also important to highlight that some of those companies operated under public (CTT) or private monopolies (APT and CRGE), a market condition which subjected them to state regulation and public scrutiny.

APT was the company that first adopted the term PR and further developed both the theory and practice of PR. It created a propaganda department in the 1920s and in the 1930s appointed Armando Ferreira as 'Executive Secretary for the relations with the public'. In the 1940s, APT played a leading and pivotal role in establishing the theory and concept of modern PR and also in differentiating it from advertising and propaganda. While CTT was still attached to one-sided propaganda principles (Guimarães, 1946) and used them to convince its public about the company's truth (Guimarães, n.d.), APT was already paving the way for PR. It defended mutual beneficial relations and mutual understanding, and also the importance of building an environment of goodwill with its different publics (Portugal, 1948).

Applying to Portugal the stratification model for the evolutionary history of PR proposed by Bentele (2013), a time period can now be assigned to its last two layers, those that acknowledge the existence of Public Relations. Thus, the 4th layer – 'Public relations (PR as an occupational field and as a profession)' – would extend from the 1900s until the 1950s, encompassing the roots of PR in Portugal; the 5th layer – 'Public relations, developing into a social system' – would begin in the 1960s with the foundation of the first professional Portuguese PR association. From this we can deduce that the 1950s do not mark the beginning of PR in Portugal as typically stated in Portuguese textbooks and scientific articles, but the final stage of the first layer of PR.

Besides contributing to place Portugal on the map of modern PR scientific history, this research may also be relevant to the European PR historiography in, at least, three dimensions: the geographical origins of PR, the emergence of PR's institutionalization in Europe and the origins of corporate PR practice in Europe.

Firstly, there is an ongoing debate about the origins of PR. While the U.S. PR historiography claims that "public relations was invented in the United States and crossed the ocean together with Marshall Aid after World War II" (Van Ruler, 2004, p. 265), some European PR historians argue that there was a previous and independent PR tradition in Europe (L'Etang, 2008; Nessmann, 2000; Salcedo, 2011). The Portuguese example confirms the European view, setting the beginning of PR in Portugal long before World War II. In fact, although the PR term and concept were both imported from the U.S. in 1915, PR-like activities – under the term 'propaganda' – had been carried out in Portugal since the 1900s by organizations like TCP. Also before World War II, MFA created a press department, APT appointed Armando Ferreira as its PR manager and CTT created a PR-like department. It is though arguable that APT only showed a thorough PR knowledge since the late 1940s, i.e. after World War II. Nevertheless, there is evidence suggesting that such a knowledge was mainly imported from the UK through a process that began in the late 1920s. However, the U.S. influence can not be discarded as APT was also in contact with the Bell System.

Secondly, this research may shed some light on the time when PR institutionalization (Bentele, 2015) began in the European Union (EU) member countries (Table 1). Regarding the inception of PR-like and PR departments, evidence shows a time convergence between Portugal – especially if we rule out the PR-like department established in 1906 by the Touring Club of Portugal (which was a very specific organization devoted solely to propaganda) and consider instead the press department created in 1919 by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs – and six western European countries which are also part of the EU: Austria, Ireland, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Finland and Italy. If we widen the inception period to the 1940s, covering the first half of the twentieth century, besides Portugal a total of 9 countries are then within range: Austria, Ireland, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Finland, Italy, Belgium, France and Sweden. PR development in Germany seems to be an exception in both scenarios, going back to the early nineteenth century. It is, however, important to note that as in Portugal, German PR departments also evolved from the press departments created in the political sphere (Bentele, 2015). It is also relevant to stress that the institutionalization of PR (in the aspects considered in Table 1) started much later in the Eastern European countries, dating from the 1990s (with the exception of four countries). At a pan-European level, and with some

**Table 1**  
PR Institutionalization in 23 EU Member States.

Countries	Main events/decades				
	Inception of first PR-like and PR departments	Inception of first national PR agencies	Foundation of first PR professional associations	Beginning of PR teaching in universities	Publishing of first national PR books
Austria	1920	1960	1960	1940	1970
Belgium	1940	1950	1950	1950	1950
Bulgaria	1980	1990	1990	1990	1990
Czech Republic	1930	1960	1980	1960	1960
Croatia	1960	1990	1990	2000	2000
Estonia	1990	1990	1990	1990	2000
Finland	1930	1950	1940	1970	1930
France	1940	1950	1950	1960	1950
Germany	1810	1950	1950	1990	1950
Greece	1950	1950	1960	1980	1960
Hungary	1960	1980	1990	1980	1960
Ireland	1920	1950	1950	1970	1990
Italy	1930	1950	1950	1990	1960
Malta	1950	1980	<i>non-existent</i>	<i>non-existent</i>	<i>non-existent</i>
Netherlands	1920	1950	1940	1970	1950
Poland	1990	1990	1990	1980	1990
Portugal	1910	1970	1960	1970	1970
Romania	1990	1990	1990	1990	n.a.
Slovakia	1990	1990	1990	2000	1990
Slovenia	1990	1980	1990	1990	1990
Spain	1950	1960	1960	1960	1950
Sweden	1940	1950	1950	1970	1940
United Kingdom	1920	1920	1940	1980	1940

Source: Arceo Vacas (2006), Barquero Cabrero (1999), Bini, Fasce, and Falconi (2011), F. X. Carty (personal communication, March 3, 2015), B. Chaudet (personal communication, April 28, 2015), Culbertson and Chen (1996), Esparcia (2009), Fonseca (2011), Gutiérrez and Salcedo (2009), D. Hejlová (personal communication, March 16, 2015), Herten, Melgin, and Åberg (2012), L'Etang (1998, 1999, 2004, 2006), Larsson (2006), Lehtonen (2013), Lougovoy and Huisman (1981), E. Melgin (personal communication, May 6, 2015), Montero, Rodriguez, and Verdera (2010), Nessmann (2000), Puchan (2006), Van Ruler and Verčič (2004), Salcedo (2008, 2012), Santos (2003), Sriramesh and Verčič (2009), Theofilou and Watson (2014), Tkalak Verčič (personal communication, February 27, 2015), Watson (2014b, 2015), M. Zlateva (personal communication, March 4, 2015).

**Table 2**  
Pioneering companies in the inception of PR Departments in 11 EU Member States (1920–1960).

	Companies	Business sector	Decades
Austria	Julius Meinl.	Food.	1920
Belgium	Esso; Caisse Nationale Belge d'Assurance/Algemene Verzekeringen.	Petrochemical; insurances.	1940
France	Esso Standard, Caltex, Shell.	Petrochemical.	1940
Greece	Public Power Corporation (DEH); Hellenic Telecommunications Organization (OTE); Shell; Mobil; BP; Siemens; American Express; Commercial Bank; Olympic Airways,	Electricity; communications; petrochemical; energy/electronics; banking; transportation.	1950
Ireland	Electrical Supply Board (ESB).	Electricity.	1920
Italy	Linoleum (Gruppo Pirelli); Esso Standard Italiana.	Construction; petrochemical.	1930/1940
Netherlands	PTT	Communications.	1920
Portugal	Anglo Portuguese Telephone & Co.	Communications.	1920
Spain	Red Nac. de Ferrocarriles Españoles (RENFE).	Transportation.	1960
Sweden	Swedish Rail; Swedish Post.	Transport.; communications.	1940
United Kingdom	Gas, Light and Coke Company; British Overseas Airways Corporation; Rootes Motors; Brooklands Racing Track.	Gas and electricity; transportation; automotive.	1930

Source: Arceo Vacas (2006), Barquero Cabrero (1999), Bini et al. (2011), F. X. Carty (personal communications, March 2, 2015 and April 25, 2015), Culbertson and Chen (1996), Esparcia (2009), Fonseca (2011), Gutiérrez and Salcedo (2009), D. Hejlová (personal communication, March 16, 2015), Herten, et al. (2012), L'Etang (1998, 1999, 2004, 2006), Larsson (2006), Lehtonen (2013), Lougovoy and Huisman (1981), E. Melgin (personal communication, May 6, 2015), Montero et al. (2010), Nessmann (2000), Puchan (2006), B. van Ruler (personal communication, April 26, 2015), Van Ruler & Verčič (2004), Salcedo (2008, 2012), Santos (2003), Sriramesh & Verčič (2009), A. Theofilou (personal communication, April 26, 2015), Theofilou and Watson (2014), Tkalak Verčič (personal communication, February 27, 2015), Watson (2014b, 2015), M. Zlateva (personal communication, March 4, 2015).

exceptions, there is therefore a three-speed process in the institutionalization of PR: the German one (beginning in the 19th century), the western European (ranging from the 1900s to the 1950s) and the Eastern European (beginning mainly in the 1990s). Specifically in the western countries, the inception of PR departments anticipated the foundation of PR agencies, evidencing that the practice of PR was first institutionalized at the departmental level and not as an outside business. The

practice of PR was also developed before the establishment of professional associations, the beginning of academic teaching and the publication of the first books on PR.

Finally, this research may allow a better understanding of common trends in the origins of corporate PR in Europe, namely in Western Europe, by providing information which helps in building a European view of this phenomenon in the twentieth century. The data collected through bibliographic research (Table 2) evidences that PR first emerged in the energy and utilities sectors – comprising gas, electricity and postal and telephone services – and also in the petrochemical and transportation industries. This is however an issue that should be further researched, namely by making sure all the authors use the same criteria to define what they understand as PR-like or modern PR and what is considered a PR-like department or a PR department. It is also important to note and acknowledge that further archival research may change the PR history of some European countries, especially those where research has been mainly bibliographical or based on oral history recordings.

## References

- Acciaiuoli, M. (2013). *António Ferro: A Vertigem da Palavra. Retórica, Política e Propaganda no Estado Novo [Antonio Ferro: the vertigo of the word. Rhetoric, politics and propaganda in the New State]*. Lisbon: Bizâncio.
- Administration Générale des Postes, Télégraphes et Téléphones. (1955). *Relations avec le Public [Relations with the public]*. Lisbon: Services Culturels des PTT.
- Arceo Vacas, J. L. (2006). La investigación de Relaciones Públicas en España [The research on public relations in Spain]. *Análisi*, 34, 111–124.
- Barquero Cabrero, J. D. (1999). *Manual de Relaciones Públicas Empresariales e Institucionales [Textbook of corporate and institutional public relations]* (2nd ed.). Barcelona: Ediciones Gestión 2000.
- Bentele, G. (2013). Public relations historiography: perspectives of a functional-integrative stratification model. In K. Sriramesh, A. Zerfass, & Jeong-Nam Kim (Eds.), *Public relations and communication management: current trends and emerging topics* (pp. 244–259). New York: Routledge.
- Bentele, G. (2015). Germany. In T. Watson (Ed.), *Western European perspectives on the development of public relations* (pp. 44–60). Basingstoke: Palgrave Pivot.
- Bini, E., Fasce, F., & Falconi, T. M. (2011). The origins and early developments of public relations in post-war Italy, 1945–1960. *Journal of Communication Management*, 15(3), 210–222.
- Black, S. (1962). *Practical public relations*. London: Pitman.
- Buchan, J. (n.d.). *The Battle of the Somme – First Phase*. (s.l.). Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd.
- Buchan, J. (191–). *A Batalha do Somme—Primeira Phase [The battle of the Somme—First phase]*. Edinburgh, New York, London: Thomas Nelson & Sons.
- Buitenhuis, P. (1988). *The great war of words: literature as propaganda, 1914–18 and after*. London: Batsford.
- Bureau da Imprensa Britânica em Lisboa. (1917). *A Propaganda dos Belligerantes [The propaganda of the warring parties]*. Lisbon: Typ. do Annuario Commercial.
- CIPR (n.d.). *About PR*. London: CIPR. Retrieved from: <http://www.cipr.co.uk/content/about-us/about-pr> Accessed 10.06.15.
- Culbertson, H. M., & Chen, N. (Eds.). (1996). *International public relations: a comparative analysis*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Cutlip, S. M., Center, A. H., & Broom Glen, M. (2006). *Effective public relations* (9th ed.). Upper Saddle River: Pearson Education.
- Esparcia, A. C. (2009). *Relações Públicas: Teoria e História [Public relations: theory and history]*. Barcelona: Spellmount Editorial UOC.
- Evans, R. (2013). *From the frontline. The extraordinary life of Sir Basil Clarke*. Stroud: Spellmount.
- Ferreira, A. (1967). *The Anglo-Portuguese Telephone Co. Ltd.: Subsídios para a sua história [The Anglo-Portuguese Telephone Co. Ltd.: subsidies for its history]*. Lisbon: The Anglo-Portuguese Telephone Co.
- Fonseca, A. (2001). Elementos para a história das Relações Públicas em Portugal [Elements for the history of Public Relations in Portugal]. In J. D. Barquero Cabrero & M. Barquero Cabrero (Orgs.), *O Livro de Ouro das Relações Públicas [The golden book of Public Relations]* (pp. 200–208). Oporto: Porto Editora.
- Fonseca, A. (2011). *Para uma história das relações públicas [For a history of public relations]*. S. Pedro: Instituto Superior da Maia.
- Garnel, M. R. L. (2004). *A República de Sebastião de Magalhães Lima [The Republic of Sebastião de Magalhães Lima]*. Lisbon: Livros Horizonte.
- Gomes, M. A. (1915). A universidade americana nas suas relações com o público: a obra da extensão universitária e os progressos da agricultura [The American university in its relations with the public: the work of university extension and the progresses in agriculture]. *Revista Agronómica*, 2(17–20), 206–233.
- Gomes, M. A. (1928). A terra portuguesa nos seus aspectos culturais. X—Cultura Cerealífera—O comboio do trigo [The portuguese land in its cultural aspects. X – cereal farming – the wheat train]. *Ilustração*, 67(October), 16.
- Grunig, J. E., & Hunt, T. (1984). *Managing public relations*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Guedes, F. (1997). *António Ferro e a sua Política do Espírito [António Ferro and his politics of the spirit]*. Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História.
- Guimarães, F. V. (1946). *A Propaganda dos CTT: Poderoso Factor de Aglutinação do Império [The CTT's Propaganda: a powerful empire bonding factor]*. (n.p.): Administração Geral dos Correios, Telégrafos e Telefones.
- Guimarães, F. V. (n.d.). *Ligeiras Notas sobre Publicidade e Propaganda [Brief notes about advertising and propaganda]*. (n.p.): Administração Geral dos Correios, Telégrafos e Telefones.
- Gutiérrez, E. G., & Salcedo, N. R. (2009). 50 años de Relaciones Públicas en España. De la propaganda y la publicidad a la gestión de la reputación [50 years of Public Relations in Spain. From propaganda and advertising to reputation management]. *Doxa Comunicación*, 9, 13–33.
- Gyr, U. (2010). *The history of tourism: structures on the path to modernity*. Retrieved from: <http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/europe-on-the-road/the-history-of-tourism> Accessed 10.06.15.
- Hertzen, P., Melgin, E., & Åberg, L. (Eds.). (2012). *Vuosisata Suhdetointimaa – Yhteisöviestinnän Historia Suomessa [A century of relationship communication – organizational communication history in Finland]*. Helsinki: Otava.
- Hoy, P., Raaz, O., & Wehmeier, S. (2007). From facts to stories or from stories to facts? Analyzing public relations history in public relations textbooks. *Public Relations Review*, 33(2), 191–200.
- L'Etang, J. (1998). State propaganda and bureaucratic intelligence: the creation of public relations in 20th century Britain. *Public Relations Review*, 24(4), 413–441.
- L'Etang, J. (1999). Public relations education in Britain: a historical review in the context of professionalisation. *Public Relations Review*, 25(3), 261–289.
- L'Etang, J. (2004). *Public relations in Britain: a history of professional practice in the twentieth century*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- L'Etang, J. (2006). Public relations as theatre: key players in the evolution of British public relations. In J. L'Etang, & M. Pieczka (Eds.), *Public relations: critical debates and contemporary practice* (pp. 143–166). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- L'Etang, J. (2008). Writing PR history: issues, methods and politics. *Journal of Communication Management*, 12(4), 319–335.
- Lampreia, J. M. (1988). *Técnicas de Comunicação: Publicidade, propaganda, relações públicas [Communication skills: advertising, propaganda, public relations]*. Mem Martins: Europa-América.
- Larsson, L. (2006). Public Relations and Democracy: A Swedish Perspective. In J. L'Etang & M. Pieczka, (orgs.), *Public Relations. Critical Debates and Contemporary Practice* (pp. 123–141). Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Lehtonen, J. (2013). PR under the northern lights. *Communication Director*, 4, 48–51.



- Loraine, A. G. (1918). *Portugal and the allies: a message to Great Britain*. London: Hazell, Watson & Viney.
- Lougovoy, C., & Huisman, D. (1981). *Traité de Relations Publiques [Public relations treaty]*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Mayer, R. (1915). A universidade americana: o seu espírito; os seus métodos; influência do meio na sua ação educativa [The American University: its spirit; its methods; influence of the environment on its educative action]. *Revista Agronômica*, 2(17–20), 178–206.
- Montero, M., Rodríguez, N., & Verdura, F. (2010). *Historia de la publicidad y de las relaciones públicas en España: De la nada al consumo. Desde los orígenes hasta 1960 [History of advertising and public relations in Spain: from nothing to consumption. From the origins to 1960]*. Barcelona: Comunicación Social Ediciones y Publicaciones.
- Nessmann, K. (2000). The origins and development of public relations in Germany and Austria. In D. Moss, D. Verčič, & G. Warnaby (Eds.), *Perspectives on public relations* (pp. 211–225). London: Routledge.
- Pais, J., Lima, A., Baptista, J., Jesus, M., & Gameiro, M. (1976). Elementos para a história do fascismo nos campos: A “Campanha do Trigo”: 1928–38 (I) [Elements for the history of fascism in the agricultural fields: “The Wheat Campaign”: 1928–38 (I)]. *Análise Social*, XII(46), 400–473.
- Pais, J., Lima, A., Baptista, J., Jesus, M., & Gameiro, M. (1978). Elementos para a história do fascismo nos campos: a “Campanha do Trigo”: 1928–38 (II) [Elements for the history of fascism in the agricultural fields: “The Wheat Campaign”: 1928–38 (II)]. *Análise Social*, XIV(54), 321–389.
- Pearson, R. (1992). Perspectives in public relations history. In E. Toth, & R. Heath (Eds.), *Rhetorical and critical approaches to public relations* (pp. 111–130). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Pereda, I. G. (2011). *Mário de Azevedo Gomes, 1885–1965: Mestre da Silvicultura Portuguesa*. Sintra: Parques de Sintra-Monte da Lua.
- Portugal and the Allies: a Message to Great-Britain (1918, July 27). *The Spectator*, 21.
- Portugal, M. (1948). *Alguns Aspectos das Relações com o Público [Some aspects of the relations with the public]*. Lisbon: Administração Geral dos Correios, Telégrafos e Telefones.
- Puchan, H. (2006). An Intellectual History of German Public Relations. In J. L’Etang & M. Pieczka (orgs.), *Public Relations. Critical Debates and Contemporary Practice* (pp. 111–122). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Raimundo, O. (2015). *António Ferro: O inventor do Salazarismo [Antonio Ferro: the inventor of Salazarism]*. Alfragide: Dom Quixote.
- Salcedo, N. R. (2008). Public relations before ‘public relations’ in Spain: an early history (1881–1960). *Journal of Communication Management*, 12(4), 279–293.
- Salcedo, N. R. (2011). Corrientes Historiográficas de las Relaciones Públicas: La Historia de una Profesión en Entredicho [Historiographical trends in public relations: the story of a profession in question]. *Observatorio (OBS\*) Journal Management*, 5(4), 275–290.
- Salcedo, N. R. (2012). Mapping public relations in Europe: writing national histories against the US paradigm. *Comunicación y Sociedad*, 25(2), 331–374.
- Santos, J. M. (1995). *Imprensa empresarial: da informação à comunicação [Corporate press: from information to communication]*. Oporto: Edições ASA.
- Santos, J. M. (2003). *As primeiras manifestações de relações públicas em Portugal e respectivos modelos: O caso Anglo Portuguese Telephone & Co. Lda [The first manifestations of Public Relations in Portugal and their models: The Anglo Portuguese Telephone & Co. Ltd. case]* [Unpublished Master Thesis]. Lisbon, Portugal: Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa.
- Silva, A. M. (2006). *Sidónio e Sidonismo. Vol. 2. História de um caso político [Sidónio and Sidonismo. Vol. 2. History of a political case]*. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra.
- Silveira, M. (2013). *O Aveirismo de Francisco Vale Guimarães [The Aveirismo of Francisco Vale Guimarães]*. Aveiro: Câmara Municipal de Aveiro.
- Slosson, E. E. (1910). *Great American Universities*. New York: Macmillan.
- Soares, J. V., & Mendes, A. M. (2004). Portugal. In B. Ruler & D. Verčič (orgs.), *Public Relations and Communication Management in Europe. A Nation-by-Nation Introduction to Public Relations Theory and Practice* (pp. 317–329). Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter.
- Soares, J. V. (2011). Apontamentos para uma história das Relações Públicas em Portugal [Notes for a history of Public Relations in Portugal]. *Comunicação Pública*, 6(10), 95–115.
- Sousa, J. P. (2011). *O Fascismo Catedrático de Salazar [The scholarly fascism of Salazar]*. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra.
- Sriramesh, K., & Verčič, D. (Eds.). (2009). *The global public relations handbook: theory, research, and practice (expanded and revised edition)*. New York: Routledge.
- Taylor, P. M. (1999). *British propaganda in the twentieth century: selling democracy*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- The Anglo-Portuguese Telephone Co. Ltd. (1934). *Relações com o Público [Relations with the Public]*. Lisboa: Secção de Instrução.
- The Anglo-Portuguese Telephone Co. Ltd. (1948). *Relações com o Público [Relations with the Public]*. Lisboa: Secção de Publicidade e Propaganda.
- The Anglo-Portuguese Telephone Co.: A Satisfactory Year. Cordial Relations with the Portuguese (1939, April 6). *The Glasgow Herald*, 17.
- The Telephone Development Association (1924, October 10). *The Engineer*, 397.
- Theofilou, A., & Watson, T. (2014). The History of Public Relations in Greece from 1950 to 1980: Professionalization of the “art”. *Public Relations Review*, 40(4), 700–706.
- Tojal, M. (Ed.). (2006). *Relações Públicas: o reconhecimento da profissão em Portugal [Public relations: the recognition of the profession in Portugal]*. Maia: Publismai.
- Van Ruler, B., & Verčič, D. (Eds.). (2004). *Public relations and communication management in Europe. A nation-by-nation introduction to public relations theory and practice*. Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter.
- Van Ruler, B. (2004). The Netherlands. In B. Ruler & D. Verčič, (orgs.), *Public Relations and Communication Management in Europe. A Nation-by-Nation Introduction to Public Relations Theory and Practice* (pp. 261–275). Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter.
- Watson, T. (2013). Keynote paper. In *Keynote presentation to the international history of public relations conference*. Retrieved from: <https://microsites.bournemouth.ac.uk/historyofpr/files/2010/11/Tom-Watson-IHPRC-2013-Keynote-Address4.pdf>. Accessed 05.06.14.
- Watson, T. (2014a). Let’s get dangerous: a review of current scholarship in public relations history. *Public Relations Review*, 40(5), 864–877.
- Watson, T. (Ed.). (2014b). *Eastern European perspectives on the development of public relations*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Pivot.
- Watson, T. (Ed.). (2015). *Western European perspectives on the development of public relations*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Pivot.