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The effect of gender on preference for public relations models

Jeffrey B. Christensen
San Jose State University

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San Jose State University, 1993

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THE EFFECT OF GENDER ON PREFERENCE FOR
PUBLIC RELATIONS MODELS

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the School of Journalism
and Mass Communications
San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science

by

Jeffrey B. Christensen

December 1993

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ABSTRACT

THE EFFECT OF GENDER ON PREFERENCE FOR PUBLIC RELATIONS MODELS

by Jeffrey B. Christensen

This thesis hypothesized that women are more likely than men to prefer J. Grunig's two-way symmetrical model, the most ethical of public relations models, according to theorists. Improving on Wetherell (1989), this research narrowed the population to managers, studying a sample of directors and vice presidents (excluding consultants) from the 1992-1993 register of the Public Relations Society of America. In addition to variables of employment (including salary), the mailed questionnaire measured preference for J. Grunig's (1984) models, using his indices.

Among the 213 randomly-selected respondents, men were more likely than women to prefer the two-way symmetrical model ($p < .05$) and had more public relations training ($p < .05$) and experience ($p < .001$). After separately controlling for training and for practice of two-way models, the researcher found no gender difference, which suggests that neither men nor women are more inclined toward the model and that experience and training are better predictors of such preference than is gender.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

Since the early 1970s, the field of public relations has experienced a tremendous influx of women. As practitioners look at this feminization, many wonder what this will bode for the profession. Some are concerned that increasing numbers of women lower salaries and the field's prestige, the latter of which practitioners seem to be constantly seeking to uphold. On the other side are those who believe that women's contributions can improve the field by "upping the grade" of public relations practice, based on the communication skills and ethical values (Pratt, 1990; Wetherell, 1989) that have been associated with women. Siding with the latter of these opposing notions, this researcher deems it pertinent to pose the question, "Do women have a propensity towards a better 'brand' of public relations practice?"

This question is the focus of this study. Before proceeding with an analysis of the literature, however, the researcher will briefly examine the situation of women in public relations, comments on women's potential contributions to the field, and an earlier study on women in public relations that was the launching point of this research.

Women in Public Relations: Growing Numbers, Lagging Roles
and Salaries

In the past two decades, the proportion of women within public relations has grown substantially. Studies conducted throughout the 1980s by the International Association of Business Communicators (IABC), the Public Relations Society of America (PRSA), the publication pr reporter ("Twenty-third Annual," 1987; "Twenty-fifth Annual," 1989) and other researchers (Morgan, 1984; Scrimger, 1985; Teahan, 1984; Theus, 1985) have clearly documented the increase of women practitioners.

In 1970, for instance, figures from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics showed that women accounted for only 27 percent of those in public relations (as cited by Lukovitz, 1989). By 1977, that figure had grown to represent 38.3 percent of the 120,000 people reported to be in the field that year (U.S. Department of Labor, 1978). By 1985, women had come to represent 48.7 percent of the nation's 143,000 practitioners (U.S. Department of Labor, 1986). The most recent figures from the Bureau of Labor Statistics show that in 1992, 58.5 percent of the 161,000 public relations people in the country were women. This latest statistic documents an increase in the proportion of public relations people accounted for by women of more than 30 percentage points above the 1970 figure (U.S. Department of Labor, 1993).

Statistics provided by professional organizations seem to confirm the increasing proportion of women, with their current statistics nearly paralleling those of the Bureau of Labor. The Public Relations Society of America is one of the two largest associations supporting the public relations profession, and in 1968, women composed 10 percent of the society's membership (Theus, 1985). By 1993, this figure had grown to 56 percent, according to Agatha Wickham of PRSA (personal communication, October 5, 1993). According to Suzanne Earl of IABC, the other of the two largest associations, women represent 60 percent of the membership of that organization (personal communication, October 5, 1993). The IABC figure, however, was based on a 1988 census of the association's membership and may have changed some in the last five years, Earl noted.

While it may be difficult to nail down the exact proportion that women represent among public relations practitioners, "it's safe to conclude that women represent half of the field, and very probably somewhat more than half," according to Lukovitz (p. 16, 1989), who, at the time she wrote this, was editor of Public Relations Journal. It's also safe to say that the influx of women in the last two decades has been substantial, based on the figures above.

The proportion of female students in the public relations sequences of colleges and universities has also increased, and it is possible that an influx of female practitioners at the entry levels has had much to do with the proportional increase of female practitioners in the field itself. In 1970, 25 percent of students majoring in public relations were female. That figure had jumped to approximately 67 percent by 1980. By 1989, the ratio of female-to-male public relations students was estimated to be eight to one (Lukovitz, 1989).

Public Relations Student Society of America (PRSSA), PRSA's student subsidiary, has experienced a slight increase over the last decade. The student society was 77 percent female in 1983 (Teahan, 1984). According to Mynda Mager of PRSSA, women students currently account for 80 percent of the organization's roster (personal communication, October 5, 1993).

Demonstrative of an influx of younger female practitioners, a 1989 survey of public relations practitioners by pr reporter [sic] showed that the younger ranks of the field had more women while, conversely, the older ranks had more men. Measuring in five-year spans, women held the majority in all the younger age brackets, with a peak of 85.9 percent women in the 25-to-29 bracket. Men were not in the majority until the 40-to-49 bracket, but

they held the majority in every group thereafter ("Twenty-fifth annual," 1989). While it may be true that some women leave the field after 10 or 15 years for family responsibilities, this explanation cannot sufficiently account for the overwhelming majority of women among the younger practitioners in the field.

In terms of the roles practitioners fulfill, women generally tend to function in lower-level public relations jobs, as documented by David Dozier, who pioneered research on the roles within a public relations department (Broom & Dozier, 1985; Dozier, 1983). Dozier has identified two main roles, the "public relations manager" (a high-level role) and the "public relations technician" (a low-level role). The fact that women more commonly tend to function as technicians and men more commonly as managers was also confirmed by an IABC-funded study entitled The Velvet Ghetto (Cline, Masel-Walters, Toth, Turk, Smith, & Johnson, 1986), which examined the impact of the increase of women on public relations and communications. This major study, conducted by five women and one man, concluded that there was little overt management bias toward women in public relations, but that a subtle socialization process operates on public relations women causing them to self-select the technician role.

As is the case in so many other fields, women in public relations also make less money than men. The Velvet Ghetto study summarized numerous studies documenting significant earnings differences between the genders from the mid-1970s through the present, as did a study by researchers Childers-Hon, L. Grunig and Dozier (1992). These studies demonstrate that women make less than men even after accounting for educational level, years of experience in public relations, years with an employer, and role.

The last five annual salary surveys conducted by PRSA (1989 through 1993) have likewise demonstrated the existence of a gender gap in salary. In all five of the surveys at each and every level of experience, the median salary of men has been greater than that of women by no less than 12 percent (among practitioners with less than five years experience in 1991) and by as much as 37 percent (among practitioners with 20 or more years of experience in 1993). All five of the surveys also demonstrated the gender gap when controlling for job title. In each year of the survey and in each of the three groupings of practitioners by job title ("account executive," "supervisor" and "senior management"), the median salary of men was substantially higher than that of women (Jacobson & Tortorello, 1990, 1991, 1992; Tortorello & Barnes, 1989; Tortorello & Wilhelm, 1993).

In light of the tendency of women in public relations to fill technician-level jobs and draw lower salaries, there are practitioners, academics and professional societies alike who have voiced concern over the increasing proportion of women in public relations. For instance, the author of a 1983 opinion piece in Public Relations Journal lamented that public relations would become "typecast as 'women's work'" and that the profession would "lose what clout it now has as a management function" (Bates, 1983, p. 6). More recently, the Velvet Ghetto researchers found from their study that when other professions have gone from male-dominated to female-dominated, those professions had diminished in salary and status, leading public relations practitioners to wonder about the future of their own field (Cline et al., 1986).

An Alternative View: Women as a Public Relations Asset

Despite any conjecture over the negative impact of women on public relations, there are voices in the field who view the increase of women practitioners as a benefit. Reporting the findings of a survey he conducted among PRSA members, Joseph (1985) documented practitioner comments that not only asserted the superiority of women practitioners at technical tasks such as writing and interpersonal communication, but also lauded them for possessing certain character traits considered necessary in public relations practice.

Concerns about the increasing proportion of women in public relations and the trend's effect prompted University of Maryland graduate student Barbara L. Wetherell to conduct an exploratory study of the effect of gender, masculinity and femininity on practitioners' practice of and preference for public relations models (Wetherell, 1989).

Her study was based on the premise that the feminization of public relations should be considered beneficial rather than detrimental. With her theoretical foundations based on literature which supports the existence of psychological gender differences, she hypothesized that women and feminine practitioners would "more frequently prefer to practice the two-way symmetrical model of public relations" than men and masculine practitioners (Wetherell, 1989, p. 113). The model, characterized by two-way communication and a concern for the mutual benefit of an organization and its publics, is deemed by leading public relations theorists to be the excellent and most ethical model of public relations. Her hypothesis, if bolstered by significant findings, would have suggested that the increase of women in the field could lead to an improved practice of public relations.

Utilizing questionnaires sent to a random sample of practitioners belonging to the United States' two major public relations associations, PRSA and IABC, Wetherell

found several significant relationships between the two-way symmetrical model of public relations and other variables, such as masculinity and femininity. However, she found no relationship between this model and either men or women in her sample. For reasons that will be explained in the literary review below, Wetherell suggested that a fruitful course for future research might be to examine a sample of public relations managers, male and female, again testing for a relationship between gender and preference for the two-way symmetrical model of public relations. Wetherell's own sample was not limited to managers, but was, instead, a general sample of practitioners.

Wetherell's suggestion "germinated the seed" of the research presented here. Using the same measures as Wetherell on a managerial sample of public relations practitioners, this researcher addressed the question, presented at the beginning of this chapter; that is, "Do women have a propensity toward a better 'brand' of public relations?" For the purposes of this research, the researcher has defined that better "brand" of public relations as the two-way symmetrical model of public relations. Therefore, the researcher suggests the following research question:

- RQ1. For public relations managers, what is the relationship between gender and preference for models of public relations?

Controls for other variables will be applied to the question as hypotheses are established in the following chapter. The exploration of the literature on public relations models and gender will also provide support for the premise that the two-way symmetrical model is the excellent model of public relations. In addition, public relations roles will also be given brief attention to lay a foundation of understanding for the need of a managerial sample.

CHAPTER II

Literature Review

In exploring what the literature reveals about the foundational concepts of this study, the first two sections of this chapter deal exclusively with the pertinent public relations literature on models and roles. The next section examines social science literature regarding gender, with brief attention given to the concepts of masculinity and femininity. The final section reviews literature on gender and business management.

J. Grunig's Models of Public Relations Behavior

Public relations, according to J. Grunig and T. Hunt (1984), is "the management of communication between an organization and its publics" (p. 6). While there have been many communication theories introduced in the twentieth century, until James Grunig began his work in the 1970s, a true theory of public relations did not exist.

Setting out to develop such a theory, J. Grunig studied two dimensions of communication. The first, communication direction, is commonly utilized in communication theories and refers to whether the message flow is one-way or two-way. J. Grunig added a second dimension, communication purpose, which describes whether an organization's communication with its publics is "asymmetrical" or

"symmetrical" (J. Grunig & L. Grunig, 1992, p. 287). These terms refer, respectively, to whether an organization strives for unbalanced or balanced communication effects between itself and its publics. An organization that communicates asymmetrically strives for unbalanced effects in that it simply attempts to persuade its publics to change certain behaviors and has no interest in adjusting its own policies or behaviors. The organization that communicates symmetrically seeks effects that are balanced, being as likely to modify its own actions and policies as are the organization's publics.

J. Grunig (1984) developed a typology of public relations behaviors based on the direction and purpose of communication. His typology yielded four models of public relations (J. Grunig & Hunt, 1984). A model of public relations is a simplified representation of how an organization manages its communication between itself and its publics (J. Grunig & L. Grunig, 1992). J. Grunig's four models are "press agentry/publicity," "public information," "two-way asymmetrical," and "two-way symmetrical."

Table 1 is an updated version of the one originally developed and used by J. Grunig and Hunt (1984) to introduce the models. It describes the characteristics of the models and provides information on their history and practice in public relations today.

Press Agency/Publicity Model

The purpose of the press agency/publicity model is to promote an organization's message with the singular commitment of forwarding the organization's goals. Therefore, the public relations practitioner attempts to obtain publicity for the organization by whatever means possible. Little attention is given to the truth of the information communicated.

J. Grunig and L. Grunig (1992, p. 289) describe communication in the one-way models as a "monologue" in which the organization's public relations practitioners merely direct messages to their publics. Conversely, communication is referred to in the two-way models as a "dialogue."

The use of research in public relations practice is a key indicator of which model fits a practitioner (J. Grunig & Hunt, 1984). In the one-way models, practitioners do not conduct formal research about their publics. It is only in the two-way models that practitioners "listen" to their publics via survey research.

Public Information Model

The practitioner of the public information model functions essentially as a journalist-in-residence within an organization, disseminating organizational information in the form of news releases, pamphlets, magazines, fact sheets

Table 1

Characteristics of Four Models of Public Relations

	Model			
	One-Way		Two-Way	
	Press Agency/ Publicity	Public Informa- tion	Two-Way Asymmetri- cal	Two-Way Symmetri- cal
<u>Purpose</u>	Propaganda	Dissemina- tion of informa- tion	Scientific persuasion	Mutual under- standing
<u>Contri- bution to Orga- nization</u>	Advocacy	Dissemina- tion of informa- tion	Advocacy	Mediation
<u>Nature of Communi- cation</u>	One-way; complete truth not essential	One-way; truth important	Two-way; imbalanced effects	Two-way; balanced effects
<u>Communi- cation Model</u>	Source ↓ Receiver	Source ↓ Receiver	Source ↓ ↑ Receiver (feedback)	Group ↓ ↑ Group
<u>Nature of Research</u>	Little; "counting house"	Little; reada- bility, readership	Formative; evaluative of attitudes	Formative; evaluative of under- standing

Note. Adapted from J. Grunig (1984, p. 9). Copied with permission.

and videotapes. Characteristic of a one-way practitioner, the practitioner of this model has limited knowledge of the publics at whom communications are aimed. (It is important to note that a public relations practitioner with the job title of "public information officer" may or may not necessarily practice this model. "Public information" is simply how J. Grunig chose to label this model.)

Unlike the press agent, the public information practitioner is committed to distributing information that is truthful and accurate. This practitioner, however, does not volunteer unfavorable information about his or her organization (J. Grunig & L. Grunig, 1992).

Two-Way Asymmetrical Model

While practitioners of each of the two-way models use formal research about their publics, they do so with different purposes in mind. The practitioner of two-way asymmetrical public relations uses formal research methods to persuade publics that what the practitioner's organization wants is in the best interest of not only the organization but also of those publics. Although the communication model depicting this public relations model is a two-way model, the effects of the communication are unbalanced or "asymmetrical," in favor of the organization only.

The fact that the communicating entities in the two-way asymmetrical model are referred to in Table 1 as "source" and "receiver" is significant. These terms suggest that, similar to the one-way models, the source is initiating most of the communication, even though the communication model still shows feedback, delineating this as a two-way model. J. Grunig and Hunt (1984) explained that feedback is defined in cybernetic theory as "communication that helps a source control a receiver's behavior" (p. 23).

The asymmetrical nature of this two-way model is clarified by the fact that its practitioner uses formal research only to discover the opinions of the organization's publics, as well as those practices of the organization which the publics will or will not accept. The two-way asymmetrical practitioner has no intention of using formal research to see how the organization can modify its own behavior. In post-campaign or evaluative research, this practitioner measures to see what effect a campaign has had on the attitudes and behaviors of the organization's publics (J. Grunig & Hunt, 1984).

Two-Way Symmetrical Model

The practitioner of the two-way symmetrical model uses two-way communication not for persuasion but as a tool of mediation to resolve conflict and promote mutual understanding between the organization and its publics

(J. Grunig, 1989). While persuasion is not the goal, it may occur in the practice of this model. However, if it occurs, it is just as likely to affect the policies or behaviors of the organization as it is those of the publics. Therefore, as explained at the outset of this chapter, the effects of two-way communication in this model are balanced or "symmetrical."

Unlike those in the other models, the communicating entities in the two-way symmetrical model are both referred to in Table 1 as "groups," rather than "source" and "receiver." This suggests that either entity, organization or public, is as likely as the other to initiate or respond to communication. (Examples of the two-way symmetrical model in practice and of the effectiveness of the model will be listed later in this chapter.)

In the formative research of the two-way symmetrical model, the practitioner learns how publics perceive the organization and, in turn, how well management understands its publics. Evaluative research in this model measures whether a public relations effort has improved the publics' understanding of the organization's management and vice versa (J. Grunig & Hunt, 1984).

Four Models Collapsed to Two Worldviews

According to J. Grunig (1989), the presuppositions of the models function not only as the public relations

strategies of an organization but also as part of the organization's ideology or "worldview." That worldview is reflected in the organization's public relations purpose, mentioned above as one of the two dimensions identifying each of the models. Therefore, the organization's worldview (which is reflected in the public relations models it practices) is either asymmetrical or symmetrical.

J. Grunig (1989) asserts that the asymmetrical worldview, espoused by the press agency/publicity, public information and two-way asymmetrical models, is the dominant worldview in public relations today. According to Wetherell (1989), the asymmetrical worldview is an "egocentric perspective" while the symmetrical worldview is an "others-oriented perspective" (p. 38). The symmetrical worldview is manifested only in the two-way symmetrical model, which is seldom the dominant public relations model used by an organization, according to J. Grunig (1989).

This concept of two worldviews was central to Wetherell's (1989) thesis regarding the possible relationship between the feminine orientation and the two-way symmetrical model:

The two worldviews are parallel to the two interpersonal orientations demonstrated by psychology, sociology, and anthropology to be typical of men and women: namely male agency/instrumentality (a self-centered orientation concerned with achieving one's ends) and female communion/expressiveness (an others-centered orientation that seeks the good of all and is characterized by cooperation). (pp. 38-39)

J. Grunig (1989) points out that organizations and public relations practitioners espousing an asymmetrical worldview believe "that the organization knows best" (p. 32). They also assume that publics will benefit by cooperating with the organization, and would be willing to do so if they had all the "facts" and truly understood the organization. J. Grunig (1989) also notes that while this premise may sound reasonable, it is subject to serious doubts in light of some of the "strange things" organizations ask publics to accept:

pollution, toxic waste, drinking, smoking, guns, overthrow of governments, dangerous products, lowered salary and benefits, discrimination against women and minorities, job layoffs, dangerous manufacturing plants, risky transportation of products, higher prices, monopoly power, poor product quality, political favoritism, insider trading, use of poisonous chemicals, exposure to carcinogens, nuclear weapons, and even warfare. The list could go on and on.
(p. 32)

J. Grunig (1989) further maintained that despite any good intentions of an organization or public relations practitioner, the long-term effects of the asymmetrical models render them as unethical and socially irresponsible approaches to public relations. In a list of the presuppositions underlying the asymmetrical worldview, J. Grunig suggested that organizations possessing an asymmetrical worldview are internally oriented, closed to information which comes from outside the management of the organization, fixated on efficiency and cost controls,

elitist, conservative and traditional in the face of change, and, finally, managed as autocracies.

In contrast, J. Grunig (1989) also listed the presuppositions of the symmetrical worldview. He suggested that organizations characterized by this orientation believe that communication exists to facilitate understanding and that an organization's relationships with various publics must be characterized by openness and interdependence. Such organizations are also committed to values including the equality and autonomy of individuals, innovation, decentralization of management, personal and organizational responsibility, and conflict resolution. J. Grunig and L. Grunig (1992) maintain that only in the two-way symmetrical model is the "dialogue" between the organization and its publics "structured according to ethical rules," and that, therefore, the model is the only ethical model of the four (p. 308).

Effectiveness of the Models

J. Grunig and L. Grunig (1992) maintain that the two-way symmetrical model of public relations is not only the most ethical model but also the "most effective in meeting organizational goals" (p. 308). In other words, the model is useful for actual public relations practice.

Examples of the symmetrical model in use were documented by Turk (1985), who studied 12 state government

agencies in Louisiana. Of the 12, she found that four practiced the public information model, two practiced the two-way asymmetrical model, and one practiced the press agency/publicity model. The other five agencies practiced the two-way symmetrical model, and included the Governor's Office as well as the departments of Justice, Labor, Wildlife and Fisheries, and Education.

In conducting case studies of a bank and a telecommunications company, Nelson (1986) found that the bank used the two-way symmetrical model for communications in its community relations efforts. Finally, in testing J. Grunig and Hunt's (1984) suggestion that government-regulated businesses would be the most likely to practice the symmetrical model, Gaudino, Fritch and Haynes' (1989) study of 27 utilities found that the utilities did indeed practice public relations in a way similar to the two-way symmetrical model.

In addition to studies which simply document the "real-world" use of the symmetrical model, studies to date have also shown the effectiveness of symmetrical communication and the ineffectiveness of asymmetrical communication, according to J. Grunig and L. Grunig (1992). For instance, Turk (1986) found that state public information officers who used the public information model (asymmetrical) in their communications had little effect in influencing how their

agencies were depicted by the news media. From the media perspective, Habbersett (1983) found that science reporters were strongly in favor of the use of symmetrical methods in an organization's media relations efforts. Theus (1988) studied a sample of organizations, measuring the extent to which news accounts about each organization differed from the way in which the organization thought the pieces should have been reported. Theus found that the more open and symmetrical an organization was in its communications, the less likely there was to be a discrepancy between the actual stories and the organization's opinion of how the stories should have been reported.

Determination of the Model Practiced: The Role of the Dominant Coalition

As mentioned above, the worldview demonstrated by the public relations model(s) an organization practices is often a reflection of the ideology of that organization's power structure. Currently, a dominant theory in organizational sociology is the "power-control" theory, which maintains that an organization's policies are determined by a group of the most powerful people in the organization. That group is referred to as the "dominant coalition," and its conceptualization of public relations "essentially dictates how an organization practices" public relations (J. Grunig & L. Grunig, 1992, p. 301). In other words, the dominant

coalition usually has the most influence on which public relations model(s) the organization practices.

Working with this knowledge in her study of gender and J. Grunig's public relations models, Wetherell (1989) measured not only the models practiced by practitioners but also the models preferred. In this way she was able to find out which model(s) practitioners would practice if they had the autonomy to make that decision.

Research on the Models

Besides use of the models in his own studies, J. Grunig's models have been used in ten master's degree studies and five doctoral studies since their introduction in 1984 (J. Grunig & L. Grunig, 1992). Statistical analyses (Cronbach's alpha, factor analysis, and Pearson's correlation coefficients) of the indices which J. Grunig developed to measure the models have shown the indices to be reliable, accurate and valid. (For specific results, see J. Grunig & L. Grunig, [1989, pp. 32-42].) Wetherell (1989) stated that based on these results, J. Grunig maintains that his models describe "the variation in public relations practice better than any other conceptualization to date" (pp. 42-43).

Use of the models in research, however, has revealed a limitation; they have not been found to be as mutually exclusive in practice as in theory. J. Grunig attributes

this to the situational use of the models (J. Grunig & L. Grunig, 1989, 1992).

Along the lines of the models' situational use, this researcher would argue that consultants from public relations firms are more likely than internal organizational practitioners to flip-flop between models, depending on client preferences. J. Grunig and Hunt (1984) confirmed that public relations firms do offer both asymmetrical and symmetrical services. As a parallel, Dozier's (1992) research on public relations roles (mentioned below) found six public relations roles among consultants as opposed to the four found among internal practitioners. He maintained that consultants were more likely to shift roles depending on client needs. This researcher would suggest, similarly, that the internal practitioner is more likely than the consultant to consistently follow a specific public relations model or models due to freedom from a multiplicity of client demands. An internal practitioner is also more likely to have a say in the determination of the organization's public relations policy. The relevance of the differentiation between external consultants and internal practitioners will emerge as this study develops.

Public Relations Roles

Wetherell (1989), whose work paved the way for this study, used Dozier's public relations roles to identify

managers in her sample. From his extensive research on roles, Dozier (1984) found that two major and two minor roles had emerged among public relations practitioners. The "public relations manager," the first of the major roles, is a practitioner who makes policy decisions, is held accountable for public relations results and is viewed by the organization as a public relations expert. The "public relations technician," the second of the major roles, is not a managerial decision maker, but instead produces the communication materials that implement the policies developed by others. The "media relations specialist," a minor role, is similar to the technician in salary and status, but focuses on external media relations. The other minor role, the "communication liaison," is similar to the manager in salary and status, but is excluded from management decisions.

Dozier's (1983) factor analysis of three data sets, which were all surveys of PRSA or IABC members, resulted in the reduction of his typology to the two major roles. In a 30-page overview of roles research to date, Dozier (1992) maintained that "variance in practitioner role activities can be parsimoniously accounted for through two basic organizational roles: managers and technicians" (p. 335).

Dozier's (1992) discussion of his roles and J. Grunig's models explains the two public relations theories as

conceptually distinct. J. Grunig and L. Grunig's (1989) summary of four practitioner studies conducted by University of Maryland researchers provided strong evidence that, between Dozier's two major roles, managers tended to practice the two-way models while technicians tended to practice the one-way models.

Gender Differences

Bem (1976) and Spence and Helmreich (1978), the foremost researchers on psychological gender differences, agree that the term "gender" refers, in its strictest sense, to a biological/physiological variable with the discrete values of male and female. Being as straightforward as possible, Bem (1976) explained:

Being a female typically means that you have a female body build; that you have female genitalia; that you have breasts; that you menstruate; that you can become pregnant and give birth; and that you can nurse a child. Similarly, being a male typically means that you have a male body build; that you have male genitalia; that you have beard growth; that you have erections; that you ejaculate; and that you can impregnate a woman and thereby father a child . . . you typically "inherit" one or the other of these two sets of biological givens, and you do not get to choose which of the two sets you would prefer. (pp. 222-223)

For the purposes of this research, gender will be defined along the same lines. But beyond these obvious biological/physiological gender differences which define an individual as male or female, the notion that psychological gender differences between men and women do exist is an idea to which some gender researchers pay heed. One of the

proponents of this idea wrote that, beyond the physiological differences, "there is a validity to the dichotomy which we must accept. And there is a certain truth associated with the male and female principles, present in both men and women, which we cannot ignore" (Bakan, 1966, pp. 107-08).

Psychological Gender Differences

Most researchers of psychological gender differences focus on the presence or absence of certain characteristics or personality traits. Wetherell's (1989) own gender research relied heavily on traits, utilizing the Bem Sex Role Inventory, which many researchers "now describe . . . as a trait measure rather than a role measure" (p. 69). The Bem inventory labels specific personality traits as "masculine," "feminine" or "neutral."

Research subjects in various studies have offered several psychological traits to describe men and women (Berryman-Fink, 1985; Brown, 1979; Deaux, 1976; D. Haccoun, R. Haccoun, & Sallay, 1978; Hughey & Gelman, 1986). Traits that have been associated with men include rationality, independence, objectivity, activeness, aggressiveness, dominance, competitiveness, adventurousness, self-confidence and ambition. Traits subjects have used to describe women, many of which are the opposites of those used for men, include emotionality, dependence, subjectivity,

intuitiveness, passivity, acquiescence, timidity, sympathy, sensitivity, empathy, compassion and helpfulness.

Gender researchers have clustered these trait sets into dimensions of personality. One such dimension, having to do with an individual's interpersonal orientation, is most frequently described in the literature as either Parsons and Bales' (1955) concepts of "instrumentality" and "expressiveness" or Bakan's (1966) concepts of "agency" and "communion." Wetherell (1989) noted that, in the literature, "masculinity" is used interchangeably with the terms instrumentality and agency, as is "femininity" with the terms expressiveness and communion. Masculinity and femininity are consistently defined, in the words of Spence and Helmreich (1980), as "attributes and behaviors that distinguish normatively between the sexes in a given society" (p. 147).

To support her central premise, Wetherell (1989) cited several studies in which research subjects perceived women to be more expressive/communal and men to be more instrumental/agentive, respectively (Balswick & Avertt, 1977; Bardwick & Douvan, 1971; Bem, 1974; Biller, 1971; Block, 1973; I. Broverman, Vogel, D. Broverman, Clarkson, & Rosenkrantz, 1972; Rosenkrantz, Vogel, Bee, I. Broverman, & D. Broverman, 1968; Spence & Helmreich, 1978). The notion that women are linked to these expressive/communal traits

formed the basis of Wetherell's primary hypothesis, which maintained that because these traits linked to women also parallel J. Grunig's (1989) symmetrical presuppositions mentioned above, women would be more likely than men to prefer the two-way symmetrical model.

There are, however, social scientists who are either skeptical or outright deny the existence of psychological gender differences. Maccoby and Jacklin's (1974) exhaustive review of literature on gender differences provides evidence that acceptance of an interpersonal gender differentiation is not a given. Their review revealed findings for male instrumentality/agency and female expressiveness/communion, and also included a five-page discussion on the difficulty of drawing definitive conclusions about gender differences.

Even the developer of the Bem Sex Role Inventory (the instrument Wetherell used to measure psychological gender differences) cast doubt on the practice of prefacing psychological traits with a gender linkage. Reevaluating her earlier and renowned work on androgyny (which was identified as strong levels of both masculinity and femininity in the same individual), Bem (1983) questioned the androgyny concept because it is based on the presupposition "that 'femininity' and 'masculinity' have an independent and palpable reality" (p. 245). The implication was that they do not.

Bem (1983) revealed the faulty method by which personality traits receive gender-connected labels:

Gender-schematic processing . . . involves spontaneously sorting attributes and behaviors into masculine and feminine categories . . . , regardless of their differences on a variety of dimensions unrelated to gender, for example, spontaneously placing items like "tender" and "nightingale" into a feminine category and items like "assertive" and "eagle" into a masculine category. (p. 232).

Bem continued that American society is raising "gender-schematic" children, children who type most things in their world according to gender. Recommending the rearing of "gender-aschematic" children and questioning the "gender dichotomy's" usefulness to society, Bem concluded, "In short, human behaviors and personality attributes should no longer be linked with gender [underlining added], and society should stop projecting gender into situations irrelevant to genitalia" (p. 245).

After reviewing the mass of research on psychological gender differences, Wetherell herself concluded that it is possible to "take, and defend, almost any position regarding sex differences, and the absolute truth of the matter is still open to interpretation and debate" (p. 60).

Despite Wetherell's use of the Bem inventory, this researcher questions the usefulness of the inventory as well as its prefacing of individuals with gender-linked labels such as "masculine" or "feminine," labels which are based merely on artificial groupings of personality traits.

Nevertheless, a reasonable (and better) case can still be made for linking women with the symmetrical model. Such support is found in the literature of business management and public relations.

Gender Differences in Business Management & Public Relations

While Wetherell (1989) based her hypothesis (i.e. linking women to a preference for the symmetrical model of public relations) on the notion of gender-linked psychological trait differences, a clearer basis for such a hypothesis is presented by the proponents of gender-based management styles. This connection is logical since J. Grunig's public relations models are actually "styles" of managing communication in a public relations department.

Gendered Management Styles. Just as there is literary support for both conclusions as to whether or not psychological gender differences exist, so there are studies which both affirm and deny the existence of differences in the way men and women manage within organizations. The point relevant to this study is not that studies exist to support both positions. (Sources supporting management as being gender neutral include Bartol [1973], Dobbins & Platz [1986], Feild & Caldwell [1979], Jacobson & Effertz [1974], and Sanders & Schmidt [1980]. As this researcher's thinking adheres to the opposing view, sources supporting gender-based management can be found in the text.) Rather, the

point is that those sources which suggest that management styles can differ by gender have described the ideas of male and female management models in ways that closely parallel, if not mimic, the presuppositions of J. Grunig's (1989) two worldviews. That is, descriptions of female management styles resemble the notions of the symmetrical worldview, and, likewise, male management styles are described in ways which parallel the asymmetrical worldview.

Marilyn Loden (1986) is the best-known of the proponents of a female or what she calls "feminine" model of management. She defined it in contrast to a male management model:

Exactly what is the feminine leadership of which I speak? I see feminine leadership as different from male-oriented management but equally effective. It favors cooperation over competition. Feminine leaders prefer to work in team structures where power and influence are shared more across the group, as opposed to a hierarchy where power is concentrated at the top.
 . . .

Feminine leaders rely heavily on intuition as well as rational thinking in solving problems. They focus more on long-term goals which are good for the entire organization, as opposed to short-term. And they generally prefer a "win-win" approach to conflict resolution instead of the traditional "win-lose" approach.

Naturally these qualities aren't the ones that we observe equally in all women--nor are they totally absent in men. The key distinction is that, as a group, women tend to exhibit these particular leadership qualities to a far greater degree than men. (p. 473)

Studies that found gender differences in management style seem to support similar ideas. These differences have

generally dealt with interpersonal skills such as conflict management or employee morale and productivity. Yelsma and Brown's (1985) review of the literature found women to be more compromising and men to be more competitive in situations of conflict management. In a study of men and women police officers in a Midwest city, women were found to be less confrontational and more capable of diffusing potentially dangerous situations involving conflict, whereas the men were twice as likely to escalate tensions (as cited in Loden, 1986). In three other studies, women managers were found to inspire higher employee morale and productivity than men managers (Baird & Bradley, 1979; Camden & Witt, 1983; Camden & Kennedy, 1986).

While the literature of business management provides evidence of gender differences, the suggestion that women might be linked with the symmetrical model of public relations finds its most logical support in the findings of a recent study which directly surveyed public relations practitioners.

Ethical Public Relations Women: The Pratt Study.

Because at the date of his study, there was a "paucity of empirical evidence" on the subject, Pratt (1990, p. 4) decided to examine the self-reported ethical beliefs and behaviors of public relations practitioners. His study of 307 members of the mid-Atlantic district of PRSA was based

on a survey he conducted during the fall of 1989. Along with a number of statistically significant findings on other variables related to practitioner ethics, Pratt reported findings on gender in which he revealed that "female practitioners' beliefs were significantly more ethical than those of their male counterparts" and that "women also reported that they practiced unethical behaviors less often than men" (p. 14). It is important to note that Pratt did not control for age or public relations experience in measuring ethical beliefs and behaviors by gender. Therefore, the notion that the women in his study were generally younger and more ethically idealistic than the men of his study is merely speculative.

If, as Pratt's findings suggest, female public relations practitioners are indeed more ethical in their beliefs and practices, and the two-way symmetrical model is the most ethical of the four public relations models, as J. Grunig (1989) suggests, then it remains reasonable to maintain Wetherell's primary hypothesis, that women practitioners are more likely to prefer the two-way symmetrical model of public relations. However, based on Wetherell's findings, there are some refinements of the population which must be explained before the researcher proposes this primary hypothesis.

In Need of a Managerial Sample

As explained earlier, Wetherell (1989) found no relationship between either men or women and preference for the two-way symmetrical model of public relations. She did reveal some interesting findings, however.

Women, in Wetherell's sample, were more likely to prefer the one-way models, neither of which include formal research techniques for studying an organization's publics. She also found that men correlated significantly with managerial roles, while women correlated with the technician roles. Another interesting finding is that while public relations technicians and managers alike were linked to preference for the model in a Pearson correlation, managers had a stronger preference for the model. Also, men were significantly linked to having more public relations experience, education and public relations training than women.

Analyzing these results, which were based on data from a general sample of practitioners, Wetherell suggested that women preferred the one-way models (and not the two-way models) possibly because they were more familiar with the one-way models, having worked primarily as public relations technicians. In addition, technicians in Wetherell's sample did not correlate with the practice of the two-way models. (Wetherell's results support the logic of J. Grunig and

L. Grunig [1989], who provided substantial statistical evidence that practitioners in the technician role practice the one-way models but not the two-way models. Managers, however, did practice the two-way models. J. Grunig and L. Grunig reasoned that the practice of the two-way models requires research and management skills, which technicians normally do not possess.)

Based on her findings, Wetherell (1989) reasoned that since women were more likely to be technicians and less likely to be trained and experienced in public relations than men, they would therefore be less likely to have learned and to know about the two-way, research-based models than would men. She added that it is difficult to prefer that with which one is not familiar.

In essence then, the men and women of Wetherell's general sample did not have a "level playing field" upon which their preference for the two-way symmetrical model could be fairly measured. Therefore, Wetherell (1989) suggested the creation of a sample composed of only public relations managers, both men and women, thus making it possible to test more fairly for a possible relationship between women and the two-way symmetrical model (p. 191).

Therefore, in this study, the researcher proceeded to construct a managerial sample to answer the original research question, restated here:

RQ1. For public relations managers, what is the relationship between gender and preference for models of public relations?

In light of the theoretical foundations laid and the assumption of the task of creating a managerial sample, it is logical to test the first hypothesis under this research question, the primary hypothesis of this study:

H1.a. Among public relations managers, women will be more likely to most prefer the two-way symmetrical model of public relations than will men.

Even in a managerial sample, there will still be practitioners who prefer a one-way model because they are unfamiliar with the research orientation required to practice a two-way model. Three of the four models are asymmetrical, including both of the one-way models. Therefore, a practitioner who prefers a one-way model because of unfamiliarity with research methods would automatically be relegated to preferring an asymmetrical model. Therefore, to test more purely for the preferred communication purpose (asymmetrical/symmetrical) without "noise" from a practitioner's preferred communication direction (one-way/two-way), the researcher posits a controlled variation of the initial hypothesis:

H1.b. Among public relations managers whose most-preferred model is one of the two-way models, women will be more likely to most prefer the two-way symmetrical model of public relations than will men.

Along lines of logic similar to those supporting Hypothesis 1.b, it is fair to suggest that those who know the two-way models the best are those who indicate that their most-practiced model is one of the two-way models. Therefore, controlling for practitioners of the two-way models would test the original hypothesis among a group whose members, from experience, know better than other practitioners which of the models they truly prefer. This logic renders the second controlled variation of the original hypothesis:

- H1.c. Among public relations managers whose most-practiced model is one of the two-way models, women will be more likely to most prefer the two-way symmetrical model of public relations than will men.

Most practitioners who have undertaken the formal study of public relations have, in all likelihood, been exposed to public relations models, and may well know which model(s) they prefer, regardless of whether or not they have the power to practice their preference in a working setting. Practitioners without formal public relations training are less likely to have heard of such models. It is, therefore, logical to explore a third controlled variation of the primary hypothesis:

- H1.d. Among public relations managers who have been formally trained in public relations at least at the level of college courses, women will be more likely to most prefer the two-way symmetrical model of public relations than will men.

In addition to the primary research question and its subordinate hypotheses, the researcher will explore three other research questions, one explanatory in purpose and the other two descriptive.

In past studies of J. Grunig's models, researchers have usually tested which models a practitioner practices. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Wetherell (1989) supplemented this approach by also asking subjects which model they prefer to practice. She then proceeded to test practice of and preference for the models separately as dependent variables of other independent variables in her study. She did not, however, use them together to try to measure the disparity between the model(s) practitioners said they practiced and the models they said they preferred to practice.

It is logical that if there is little disparity between how a practitioner practices and what that practitioner prefers, it is because the practitioner has the power to actually practice the model he or she prefers. Greater disparity would suggest less power to dictate the model(s) one practices. Furthermore, gender is certainly a variable which may have an effect on this power. Therefore, the following research question (supported by seven additional hypotheses) will be explored:

- RQ2. For public relations managers, what is the relationship between gender and practicing public relations in the ways one prefers?

Wetherell (1989) found that male respondents in her sample were significantly more experienced in public relations, more educated and more trained in public relations than were the females in the sample. (While "experience" refers to the number of years in public relations and "education" refers to achieved levels of college and graduate study, "public relations training" refers to achieved levels of coursework and degrees which focus specifically on the study of public relations. See Part III of the questionnaire, Appendix A.) Therefore, the following hypotheses will be tested as a part of the hypothetical logic under Research Question 2:

- H2. Among public relations managers, men are likely to be more experienced in public relations than are women.
- H3. Among public relations managers, men are likely to be more educated than are women.
- H4. Among public relations managers, men are likely to be more trained in public relations than are women.

Higher levels of experience, education and training are logical predictors of higher positions of authority in organizations. Therefore, the following hypothesis will also be tested:

- H5. Among public relations managers, men are likely to have higher-level job titles than women.

Higher levels of experience, education and training are also logical predictors of higher annual salary levels. In general, public relations salary surveys confirm that men make more than women. However, in suggestions for further research, Wetherell (1989) recommended collecting salary information since most salary surveys are not conducted among randomly selected samples of practitioners.

While salary may not be a direct contributor to organizational power, it seems to go hand-in-hand with power. Therefore, the following will be tested as a "sidelight" hypothesis to add depth to the study:

- H6. Among public relations managers, men are likely to earn more money than are women.

While some may question the true meaning of job titles from one organization to the next, it is reasonable to suggest that people with higher levels of job title will have more power in an organization. It was suggested above that a low level of disparity between how a practitioner practices public relations and how that individual prefers to practice public relations would indicate a higher level of power to practice as they prefer. Therefore, the researcher will test the following hypotheses in the course of exploring the second research question:

- H7. Public relations managers in lower-level jobs are likely to experience more disparity between the way they prefer to practice and the way they actually practice public relations than are managers in higher-level jobs.

Because it is hypothesized above that men will have higher level job titles than women, as a corollary to the previous hypothesis, a final hypothesis will be tested in the attempt to answer the second research question:

- H8. Among public relations managers, women are likely to experience more disparity between the way they prefer to practice and the way they actually practice public relations than are men.

As the independent variable of this study is gender, it would be interesting to reveal if there are any individual traits (among the narrowly-defined population of public relation managers) which are significantly linked to gender. The researcher rejects the formal use of the Bem Sex Role Inventory, because it classifies individuals by artificially-generated sets of traits that are pre-supposed to be linked to one gender or the other. Nevertheless, the individual traits themselves are still intriguing in the consideration of gender.

Therefore, the following research question will also be explored:

- RQ3. For public relations managers, what personality traits are linked to gender?

Also of interest to the researcher are traits which may be linked to gender specifically within the group of practitioners whose most commonly practiced model is the "excellent" model of public relations, that is, the two-way symmetrical model. Therefore, as a narrowed variation of

the previous research question, the researcher will explore this final question:

RQ4. For public relations managers whose most practiced model is the two-way symmetrical model, what personality traits are linked to gender?

As mentioned above, the final two research questions are descriptive in purpose. The researcher has no preconceived notion of which traits will link with gender. Therefore, there are no hypotheses presented with these questions. They will be explored simply to see what significant relationships emerge.

CHAPTER III

Methodology

Respondents

According to the results of the organization's 1993 salary survey, the Public Relations Society of America (PRSA) boasts a large pool of public relations managers. More than 80% of the survey's randomly-selected respondents reported a managerial job title (Tortorello & Wilhelm, 1993). For this reason, PRSA's 1992-93 membership directory was used to construct the sample frame. The researcher examined each of more than 13,000 names in the directory, selecting for the sample frame only those who met all of four criteria:

- 1) To render a managerial sample, the researcher chose only those individuals with at least the title of "director," because it is at this level that the practitioner is usually able to affect public relations policy, according to Public Relations Society of America (1988). He excluded "managers" and "assistant directors," because the same PRSA source lists these titles as being below the level of "director." While including any level of "vice president," the researcher excluded "presidents" and "executive directors" from the sample frame, because such titles normally indicate the head of a public relations firm or an individual in an organization who only oversees public relations and is not directly responsible for the daily management of the function.
- 2) The researcher included only internal practitioners in the sample frame. ("Internal" practitioners are those public relations practitioners who work within an organization as a part of the organization's public relations department. An "external"

practitioner or "consultant" works outside of the organization[s] he or she serves, providing public relations services to those organizations on a contract basis. Many external practitioners work as employees of public relations or advertising agencies, while others work as independent contractors.) The researcher chose internal practitioners because they service only one organization and are more likely than consultants to follow the models with greater consistency, as explained in the literary review. Using public relations and business directories as guides, the researcher excluded external consultants and public relations firms. Nevertheless, some consultants, unrecognizable as such, "slipped through the cracks" and made it into the sample frame. The researcher identified and eliminated consultants from the sample by means of a statement on the questionnaire which reads, "I work in the following type of organization: . . ." Among the twelve choices provided to complete this statement is "public relations and/or advertising firm," a selection which automatically identified consultants. Another answer to this statement which helped to eliminate consultants was "other," which was provided as an answer for those respondents working for a type of organization not listed. This latter selection included a space to specify the respondent's organizational type, and some respondents eliminated themselves by filling the blank with "consultant."

- 3) Because this is a study of practitioners, the researcher included in the sample frame only individuals who were practicing public relations full-time at the time of the survey. Retirees were excluded.
- 4) Finally, the researcher required that members of the sample frame have mailing addresses in the United States to avoid problems posed by foreign mailing costs, procedures and time frames.

A list of 3,484 names emerged through applying the four-criteria screening process.

To generate a random sample of 400 names, the researcher divided the number of names in the sample frame (3,484) by 400, arriving at the number eight. Next, the

researcher used a random number table to select a starting point in the sample frame, pulling every eighth name until obtaining a sample of 400 potential subjects. Random sample in hand, the researcher referred back to the PRSA membership directory for mailing addresses and proceeded to generate three sets of mailing labels on his personal computer, one set for each of the three waves of the survey.

The researcher mailed a copy of the three-page questionnaire to each person in the sample, enclosing with the questionnaire an explanatory cover letter and a stamped business reply envelope, addressed to the researcher's home. Prior to the first mailing, the researcher assigned to each subject in the sample a code number, which was placed in the top right corner the subject's questionnaire. The code numbers helped the researcher identify non-respondents for the purpose of conducting the second and third mailings of the questionnaire. (To see a copy of the questionnaire and cover letter, refer to Appendix A.)

To achieve the minimal acceptable response of 51 percent of the sample, the researcher conducted three mailings of the questionnaire. The 1993 mailing dates were April 19, May 17 and June 7. The researcher received the last of the returned questionnaires on July 14 of the same year.

Survey Instrument

The questionnaire mailed to members of the sample included three sections. (See Appendix A.) The first measured for J. Grunig's models of public relations, the second measured personality traits of the respondents and the third measured demographic variables, including biological gender, the independent variable of the study.

The first section used a seven-point Likert-type scale to measure for J. Grunig's four models of public relations. At least eleven other studies, cited by J. Grunig and L. Grunig (1992), have used a Likert-type scale to measure for the models. Those studies, however, used a five-point scale. In this study, the scale was expanded to seven points to capitalize on variance and because a point-by-point comparison was not being attempted.

The first section of the questionnaire included 16 statements describing different ways in which public relations can be practiced. Each statement represented an item in one of the four-item indexes used to measure for J. Grunig's public relations models.

For each statement, the questionnaire instructed subjects to give two values. The first value rated the extent to which the statement was true of how public relations was practiced in a subject's own organization. The second value indicated the extent to which the

practitioner preferred to practice public relations in the manner described by the statement.

These answers resulted in a total of eight indexes, four measuring the practice of each of the models and four measuring the preference for each of the models. J. Grunig developed the four indexes and the 16 statements of which the indexes are composed. According to J. Grunig & L. Grunig (1989), eight studies that have used the indexes have demonstrated that the statements included in the indexes are the most consistently reliable indices that J. Grunig has used to measure for the models. Using a different scaling method, an open-ended fractionation scale, Wetherell (1989) also used the same indexes to measure the practice and preference of J. Grunig's public relations models among her general sample of practitioners.

The second section of the questionnaire measured self-reported personality traits for the purpose of noting any relationships between individual traits and gender. The 60 items chosen for this section were personality traits on which respondents rated themselves on a five-point, Likert-type scale, with values ranging from "never or almost never true" to "always or almost always true." The items were drawn from the Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem, 1977).

The third and final section of the questionnaire measured demographic variables. The questionnaire measured

gender, the central variable of the study, by simply asking respondents to place a check in one of the blanks provided for the two values, female and male.

The questionnaire measured certain demographic variables related to public relations employment to test for gender's relationship to them. The researcher did this to reveal any possible mediating influences on practice of or preference for the models. The questionnaire first measured "years of experience" by requesting respondents to write the number pertinent to themselves in the blank provided.

Next, the instrument measured "level of education" by asking respondents to check the highest level they had completed on an ascending 1-to-5 scale, with "no college" as the lowest value and "a doctoral degree" as the highest value. The questionnaire utilized a similar 1-to-7 ascending scale to measure "level of training in public relations," with "no training" listed as the lowest value and "a doctoral degree" (in public relations) as the highest value.

The questionnaire measured the variable of "job title" by asking respondents to write their actual job title in the blank provided. Since the sample was composed of directors and vice presidents, these were the nominal values used in coding the data. Subjects in the study who answered

something other than one of these two values were coded as having a "missing" answer on this question.

The questionnaire measured "annual salary" with a 16-point ascending scale, with each value representing a \$5,000 pay range. Based on the figures found by other public relations salary surveys, the lowest value was set at "less than \$30,000," ascending from there in the \$5,000-range increments up to the highest value of "\$100,000 or more."

Before mailing the questionnaire to the 400 members of the sample, the researcher sent a draft version of it to five internal public relations practitioners who were at the level of "director" or higher in their organizations. All five were members of the San Francisco chapter of International Association of Business Communicators and had agreed to critique the survey. Four of the five responded, as promised, and seemed to have no problem understanding and completing the questionnaire. They did have some suggestions, however, and as a result, the researcher rewrote the introductory instructions on the questionnaire, clarified the meaning of the values of the seven-point scale on the first page, and added a note of thanks at the end.

Procedure

The first and central research question of the study ponders the relationship between gender and a practitioner's

preference for J. Grunig's models of public relations. The researcher proposes four hypotheses to explore the question.

The first hypothesis, Hypothesis 1.a., states:

Among public relations managers, women will be more likely to most prefer the two-way symmetrical model of public relations than will men.

This hypothesis was also the core of Hypotheses 1.b through 1.d, which apply various controls.

To operationalize Hypotheses 1.a through 1.d, the researcher had to establish each subject's most-preferred public relations model and then determine which of the subjects most preferred the two-way symmetrical model.

To determine a subject's most-preferred model, the researcher first computed the total of a subject's "preference" scores on the four specific statements describing each of the four models. Each sum was then divided by four to render a mean score for the subject's preference of each model. The most-preferred model for the subject was deemed to be the model with the highest computed mean.

Next, a subject was considered to most prefer the two-way symmetrical model only if his or her mean score for the model was greater than the means for preference on all of the other three models. The value of "yes" was applied to these subjects. The value of "no" was applied to those subjects who most preferred one of the three other models or

who scored a tie for highest mean score on preference between the two-way symmetrical model and another model. Subjects in this "tied" situation were assigned a "no" value on preference for the two-way symmetrical model because the researcher was testing for a clear preference of the model.

On Hypotheses 1.a through 1.d, then, the values for the dependent variable of preference for the two-way symmetrical model were "yes" and "no," as described, and the values for the independent variable of gender were, obviously, "female" and "male." In the testing of each of these four hypotheses, the researcher used a chi square. The chi square testing Hypothesis 1.a was applied to the entire sample, as is implied by the hypothesis above.

Hypothesis 1.b states:

Among public relations managers whose most-preferred model is one of the two-way models, women will be more likely to most prefer the two-way symmetrical model of public relations than will men.

As in the test of 1.a, the same variables of gender and preference for the two-way symmetrical model were included in the test of Hypothesis 1.b, but the subjects in this test included only those who most preferred one of the two-way models or whose most-preferred model was a tie between both of the two-way models. Subjects with this tie between the two-way models were included in this test because the object of the control was to look at those subjects preferring the two-way models over the one-way models.

Hypothesis 1.c states:

Among public relations managers whose most-practiced model is one of the two-way models, women will be more likely to most prefer the two-way symmetrical model of public relations than will men.

The same variables of gender and preference for the two-way symmetrical model were used in the chi square testing Hypothesis 1.c, but this test was applied only to subjects whose most-practiced model was one of the two-way models. Those with a tie between the two-way models for their most-practiced model were included in this test because the object was to look at those subjects favoring, in actual practice, the two-way models over the one-way models. The researcher scored the models for their practice using the same method as was used for scoring their preference. The scores for the practice of a model's four indices were totaled and divided by four to render a mean score. The model with the highest mean score was deemed the subject's most-practiced model.

Hypothesis 1.d states:

Among public relations managers who have been formally trained in public relations at least at the level of college courses, women will be more likely to most prefer the two-way symmetrical model of public relations than will men.

As in the tests of the first three hypotheses, the variables of gender and preference for the two-way symmetrical model were used in the chi square for Hypothesis 1.d. This test, however, was applied only to those subjects

having at least a set level of formal training in public relations. The researcher developed this group of subjects by splitting the data on public relations training above the value of "continuing-education courses" in public relations. (See the Part III of the questionnaire in Appendix A for the question and its corresponding values.) Only those who indicated they had taken "college-level courses" in public relations or those who marked a higher value on the training question were included in the operationalization of this particular hypothesis.

The second research question of the study pondered the relationship between gender and practicing public relations in the way one prefers. The researcher explored this question with a logical flow of seven separate hypotheses, Hypothesis 2 through Hypothesis 8, the last of which directly addressed the question.

To operationalize Hypotheses 2, 3, 4 and 6, the researcher used a t-test on each to test the hypotheses' different dependent variables all by the common independent variable of gender. These four hypotheses are restated here:

- H2. Among public relations managers, men are likely to be more experienced in public relations than are women.
- H3. Among public relations managers, men are likely to be more educated than are women.

- H4. Among public relations managers, men are likely to be more trained in public relations than are women.
- H6. Among public relations managers, men are likely to earn more money than are women.

These hypotheses' dependent variables included, respectively, the number of years a subject had worked in public relations (experience), the subject's educational level, the subject's level of formal public relations training, and the subject's level of salary range. The values on experience in public relations were provided by the respondents, who filled in the number of years in the blank provided. The values provided for the questions on educational level, training level and salary level are listed in Part III of the questionnaire (Appendix A).

Hypothesis 5 states:

Among public relations managers, men are likely to have higher-level job titles than women.

To operationalize Hypothesis 5, the researcher tested for the dependent variable of job title, indicated by either of two values, "director" or "vice president." Since all subjects were chosen because they were directors or vice presidents, a question providing a space for their individual job titles was included on the questionnaire. Those indicating no job title or a title other than these two were not included in the testing of this hypothesis. The independent variable in this hypothesis was gender, and the researcher used a chi square to test the hypothesis.

Hypotheses 7 and 8 are as follows:

- H7. Public relations managers in lower-level jobs are likely to experience more disparity between the way they prefer to practice and the way they actually practice public relations than are managers in higher-level jobs.
- H8. Among public relations managers, women are likely to experience more disparity between the way they prefer to practice and the way they actually practice public relations than are men.

To operationalize Hypothesis 7 and Hypothesis 8, a "disparity rating" had to be computed for each subject. This has to do with the disparity between how a subject indicated he or she actually practiced public relations and how he or she preferred to practice public relations, suggesting that some practitioners have more power to determine how they will practice public relations within their organization.

Each subject's "disparity rating" was computed in the following manner. For each of the 16 statements listed in Part I of the questionnaire (J. Grunig's measures for the four models), an absolute value was computed for the difference between the subject's ratings for: 1) the extent to which they practiced public relations in the manner indicated and; 2) the extent to which they preferred to practice public relations in the manner indicated. Next, the researcher computed the sum total of these 16 absolute values. This function rendered a "disparity rating" for each subject. The higher the rating, the greater the

disparity between the subject's actual practice of public relations and the subject's preferred manner of public relations practice.

To test Hypothesis 7 and 8, respectively, the researcher used t-tests to compare levels of disparity by job title and by gender.

The researcher asked the third and fourth research questions of this study for descriptive rather than explanatory purposes. Research Question 3 asks:

For public relations managers, what personality traits are linked to gender?

Research Question 4 is the same as Research Question 3 but narrows the group of subjects under question:

For public relations managers whose most practiced model is the two-way symmetrical model, what personality traits are linked to gender?

To operationalize Research Question 3, the researcher tested, by gender, the values given for each of the 60 personality traits listed in Part II of the questionnaire, performing one t-test for each of the traits. For Research Question 4, the researcher performed the same 60 t-tests, but only on those subjects whose most-practiced model was the two-way symmetrical model. The researcher did not include in this group those subjects whose highest mean score for the most-practiced model was a tie between the two-way symmetrical model and some other model. These subjects were excluded because they did not clearly practice

the two-way symmetrical model the most out of the four models.

After the statistical tests were performed, statistics describing the sample were compiled, including the subjects' most-preferred models, most-practiced models and disparity ratings.

CHAPTER IV

Results

Response to Survey

In response to the three mailings, 227 members of the random sample completed and returned the questionnaire for a response rate of 56.8 percent. Fourteen respondents were dropped from the study, 10 because they had indicated they were external public relations consultants and four because they were not in management.

For a respondent to be deleted due to non-managerial status, he or she had to meet all of the three following criteria: First, the respondent listed no job title or indicated a job title other than "director" or "vice president"; second, the respondent listed fewer than five years experience in public relations; third, the respondent listed a salary under \$30,000. A respondent meeting all three criteria is closer to being an entry-level practitioner than a management-level practitioner. One respondent who was eliminated proved this to be the case by listing the job title of "Public Relations Assistant," a job title clearly at the entry level.

Description of Sample

Of the 213 respondents included in the study, 122 (57.3%) were female and 91 (42.7%) were male. The sample

frame was approximately 55 percent female and 45 percent male, an estimate based on those in the sample frame with gender-typed first names.

Table 2 reveals that nearly four out of five respondents indicated a job title of director or vice president, one of the criteria for being included in the constructed sample frame. The remaining respondents, referred to in Table 2 as "missing cases," either left this question blank or indicated a different job title.

Table 2

Description of Respondents by Job Title

Job title	<u>N</u>	% of total ^a (<u>n</u> = 213)	Valid % ^b (<u>n</u> = 168)
Director	126	59.2	75.0
Vice president	42	19.7	25.0
Missing cases ^c	45	21.1	--

^a"% of total" refers to that proportion of the entire study group.

^b"Valid %" refers to that proportion of only those subjects who had indicated a job title of either "director" or "vice president."

^cThe classification of "missing cases" refers to subjects who either listed no job title or a job title other than "director" or "vice president." The possibility of consulting the directory from which the sample frame was created to assign values to these missing cases was precluded by the likelihood that a person other than the original addressee completed the questionnaire.

Because of the criteria-based elimination of "non-managers" mentioned above, it is fair to recognize the entire study group of 213, including the missing cases in Table 2, as essentially representative of the "managerial" population the researcher originally set out to study.

Table 3 describes the respondents by which of J. Grunig's public relations models they reported as their most-preferred and most-practiced models. The data in the first column of the table represent respondents' reports of their most-preferred model, an especially important variable because it was the focus of this study's primary hypothesis (Hypothesis 1.a) and its three controlled variations (Hypotheses 1.b through 1.d). The data on the most-practiced model is pertinent because it deals directly with the control applied in Hypothesis 1.c.

Table 3

Description of Respondents by Most-Preferred and Most-Practiced Public Relations Models

Model	% indicating model as most-preferred (<u>n</u> = 176)	% indicating model as most-practiced (<u>n</u> = 174)
Two-way symmetrical	62.5	22.4
Two-way asymmetrical	28.4	10.4
Public information	2.3	22.4
Press agency/publicity	6.8	44.8

The data in Table 3 show that nearly two thirds of the respondents had the two-way symmetrical model as their most-preferred model. Also, more than 90 percent indicated one of the two-way models (two-way symmetrical or two-way asymmetrical) as their most-preferred model. Respondents' reports of their most-practiced model, on the other hand, were quite the opposite of those for their most-preferred model. More than two thirds of the respondents reported one of the one-way models (public information or press agency/publicity) as their most-practiced model. The model most indicated as the most-practiced model among respondents was the press agency/publicity model.

Every respondent in the sample reported having at least some amount of college-level education (Table 4). Fewer

Table 4

Description of Respondents by Educational Level

Educational level	<u>N</u>	% of total (<u>n</u> = 213)
No college	--	--
Some college	4	1.9
Bachelor's degree	133	62.4
Master's degree	73	34.3
Doctoral degree	3	1.4

than two percent had stopped short of a bachelor's degree, and an even smaller percentage had earned a doctoral degree. The overwhelming majority (96.7%) had either a bachelor's or master's degree, and of those, the ratio of respondents with bachelor's degrees to those with master's degrees was roughly two to one.

Respondents' reports of their levels of public relations training were well-distributed across the spectrum, ranging from no training to a master's degree (Table 5). No respondent reported having a doctoral degree in public relations. At least 1 in 10 respondents reported having no public relations training at all.

Table 5

Description of Respondents by Level of Training in Public Relations

Level of public relations training	% of total (<u>n</u> = 206)
No training	11.2
Some continuing-education courses	19.4
Some college-level courses	18.4
Bachelor's degree	24.3
Some graduate courses	15.0
Master's degree	11.7
Doctoral degree	--

While respondents reported working in all of the types of organizations listed, as well as in "other" types of organizations which were unlisted, one specific type of organization clearly had more respondents than did any other type (Table 6). More than one fourth of the respondents

Table 6

Description of Respondents by Type of Organization

Type of organization	% of total (<u>n</u> = 213)
Insurance/financial (includes accounting)	7.5
Other service firm (i.e. law, architecture, etc.)	2.8
Product firm (industrial or consumer)	11.3
Health care (i.e. hospital, HMO, etc.)	16.0
Association/foundation	12.7
Other nonprofit (i.e. social, cultural, education, etc.)	25.3
Government	3.3
Leisure industries (travel, hotel, entertainment, sports, etc.)	7.0
Transportation	1.4
Utilities	7.5
Other	5.2

reported working for a miscellaneous nonprofit organization, a category that included social, cultural and educational organizations, as well as any nonprofits not covered by the other categories listed on the questionnaire. The organizational categories with the second and third largest proportions of respondents were health care (16.0%) and associations/foundations (12.7%).

Table 7 lists respondents' reports of their annual salary ranges. Slightly fewer than half (47.8%) of the respondents reported a salary less than \$50,000. A look at the upper end of the salary scale shows that only one in five respondents made more than \$80,000.

Results of Inferential Statistics

The primary hypotheses of this study (Hypotheses 1.a through 1.d) dealt with the relationship between gender and preference for J. Grunig's public relations models. Results for the tests of this series of four hypotheses are presented in Table 8.

Hypothesis 1.a stated that, in this managerial sample, women would be more likely to most prefer the two-way symmetrical model than would men. Hypothesis 1.a did not find support. In fact the antithesis was true: Men were significantly more likely to prefer the two-way symmetrical model than were women ($p < .05$).

Table 7

Description of Respondents by Salary Range

Annual salary range	% of total (<u>n</u> = 207)	Cumulative % of total
Less than \$30,000	5.8	5.8
\$30,000 to \$34,999	10.1	15.9
\$35,000 to \$39,999	11.1	27.1
\$40,000 to \$44,999	12.6	39.6
\$45,000 to \$49,999	8.2	47.8
\$50,000 to \$54,999	9.2	57.0
\$55,000 to \$59,999	3.4	60.4
\$60,000 to \$64,999	6.8	67.1
\$65,000 to \$69,999	4.8	72.0
\$70,000 to \$74,999	6.3	78.3
\$75,000 to \$79,999	1.4	79.7
\$80,000 to \$84,999	5.8	85.5
\$85,000 to \$89,999	1.9	87.4
\$90,000 to \$94,999	2.4	89.9
\$95,000 to \$99,999	1.4	91.3
\$100,000 or more	8.7	100.0

Table 8

Chi Squares for Respondents' Preference of the Two-way
Symmetrical Model by Gender, Including Controlled Variations

(Hypotheses 1.a through 1.d)

Group (hypothesis no.)	<u>n</u>	% most preferring two-way symmetrical model		df	χ^2	p
		of females	of males			
Total sample (1.a)	213	44.3	61.5	1	6.23	<.05
Subjects who most preferred a two-way model (1.b)	177	55.1	70.9	1	4.63	<.05
Subjects who practiced a two-way model most (1.c)	64	68.6	65.5	1	0.07	n.s.
Subjects who had college p.r. ^a courses or higher level of training (1.d)	143	45.3	58.8	1	2.60	n.s.

^ap.r. = public relations

Hypothesis 1.b, like Hypothesis 1.a, stated that women would be more likely to most prefer the two-way symmetrical model, but it controlled the test by limiting it to those subjects whose most-preferred model was one of the two-way models. Hypothesis 1.b did not find support. Again, the antithesis was true: Men in this group were significantly more likely to prefer the two-way symmetrical model than were women in this group ($p < .05$).

Hypothesis 1.c, also a control of Hypothesis 1.a, limited the test to those subjects whose most-practiced model was one of the two-way models. Hypothesis 1.c did not find support, and in fact, there was not even a direction toward which the test leaned: The expected and observed values of the chi square for this hypothesis were exactly the same.

Hypothesis 1.d, a control of Hypothesis 1.a, limited the test to those subjects who reported having been trained in public relations at least at the level of having taken college courses in the field. The direction of the test on this hypothesis again leaned in the direction of the antithesis: That is, from the looks of the chi square, men appeared to be more likely to prefer the two-way symmetrical model than women. However, Hypothesis 1.d did not find support at a significant level.

Hypotheses 2 through 6 made assertions about gender's likely relationship to some of the demographic variables related to employment in public relations, including experience in public relations, level of education, level of public relations training, job title, and salary level. Table 9 presents the results from these five tests.

Hypothesis 2 stated that, among public relations managers, men are likely to be more experienced in public relations than are women. As predicted, male respondents had significantly more years of experience in public relations ($\bar{M} = 18.5$) than did female respondents ($\bar{M} = 11.9$), and the hypothesis found strong support in the data ($p < .001$).

Hypothesis 3 stated that, among public relations managers, men are likely to be more educated than are women. While the average level of education of male subjects was slightly higher than that of female subjects, the difference was not statistically significant. Therefore, the hypothesis did not find support in the data.

Hypothesis 4 stated that, among public relations managers, men are likely to be more trained in public relations than are women. Indeed, men did have a significantly higher level of training in public relations than did women, a finding which supports the hypothesis ($p < .05$).

Table 9

Chi Square and t-Values for Variables of Public Relations
Employment by Gender

(Hypotheses 2 through 6)

Variable (hypothesis no.)	<u>M</u>		df	<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>	
	females	males				
No. of years in p.r. (2)	11.9 ^a	18.5	196	6.42	<.001	
Level of education (3)	3.3 ^b	3.4	211	1.52	n.s.	
Level of p.r. training (4)	3.2 ^c	3.8	204	2.49	<.05	
Level of salary range (6)	5.6 ^d	8.9	205	5.54	<.001	
	% of females	% of males	<u>n</u>	df	χ^2	<u>p</u>
Job title of "v.p." instead of "director" (5)	20.0	32.4	168	1	3.29	n.s.

Note. p.r. = public relations; v.p. = vice president.

^aRange for p.r. experience was one year to 42 years.

^bRange for educational level was from 1 through 5, where 1 = no college, 2 = some college, 3 = a bachelor's degree, 4 = a master's degree, and 5 = a doctoral degree.

^cRange for public relations training level was from 1 through 7, where 1 = no training, 2 = some continuing-education courses, 3 = some college-level courses, 4 = a bachelor's degree, 5 = some graduate courses, 6 = a master's degree, and 7 = a doctoral degree.

^dRange for salary level was from 1 through 16, where 1 = less than \$30,000, 16 = \$100,000 or more, and the intermediate values (2 through 15) represented ascending \$5,000 ranges. For a list of all 16 values, see Table 7.

Hypothesis 5 stated that, among public relations managers, men are likely to have higher-level job titles than women. From examining the matrix of the chi square for this hypothesis, it appeared that males in the sample were more likely to have a higher-level job titles, as predicted. However, the hypothesis did not find support at a significant level.

Finally, Hypothesis 6 stated that, among public relations managers, men are likely to earn more money than are women. As foretold, men did have a significantly higher level of salary than did women, and the difference was strongly significant ($p < .001$). If the mean salary levels for females (5.6) and males (8.9) are rounded to whole numbers and those values are translated to their corresponding salary ranges, the mean annual salary for women would be in the \$50,000-to-\$54,999 range while the mean for men would fall in the \$65,000-to-\$69,999 range.

Hypotheses 7 and 8, the last two of this study, suggested specific relationships between different independent variables (job title and gender) and the dependent variable of "disparity." Disparity, here, refers to the gap between how a subject actually practices public relations and how the subject prefers to practice public relations. A "disparity rating" was computed for each subject, and the researcher suggested that the greater the

computed rating, the greater the disparity between a subject's actual practice and personal preference. (For a detailed description on how ratings were computed for subjects, see the note in Table 10 or "Procedure," which is the final subheading in the methodology chapter of this thesis.) Results for the testing of Hypotheses 7 and 8 are presented in Table 10.

Hypothesis 7 predicted that directors would have a higher degree of disparity between how they preferred to practice public relations and how they actually practiced than would vice presidents. Hypothesis 7 did not find support in the data. Actually, in opposition to what was predicted, directors had a slightly lower mean disparity rating than did vice presidents, but at nowhere near any significant level.

Hypothesis 8 predicted that women would have a higher degree of disparity between how they preferred to practice public relations and how they actually practiced than would men. Hypothesis 8 did not find support in the data. In opposition to what was predicted, women had a slightly lower mean disparity rating than did men, but at nowhere near any significant level.

Research Questions 3 and 4 were asked with descriptive purposes in mind. Research Question 3 asked which personality traits are linked to gender. Looking at the

Table 10

t-Values for Respondents' Practice/Preference Disparity
Ratings by Job Title and Gender

(Hypotheses 7 and 8)

	Mean disparity ratings ^a		df	t	p
	dir.'s	v.p.'s ^b			
Disparity by job title (Hypothesis 7)	24.1	25.1	151	0.41	n.s.
	females	males			
Disparity by gender (Hypothesis 8)	24.0	24.2	195	0.09	n.s.

Note. A subject's disparity rating was based on the gap between a subject's actual practice in public relations and the subject's preferred manner of practice. Specifically, a subject's disparity rating is the sum of 16 absolute values, each of which was based on the difference between the subject's practice of and preference for one of the 16 statements developed by J. Grunig as indices of his public relations models. (To see the 16 statements, refer to Part I of the questionnaire in Appendix A.)

^aThe potential range on disparity ratings is from zero to 96 points. The actual range of the ratings computed for the respondents of this study ($n = 197$) ran from zero to 77 points.

^bdir. = director; v.p. = vice president.

total sample, the researcher ran 60 t-tests by gender, one for each of the 60 personality traits measured on the questionnaire. The items were drawn from the Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem, 1977). (This researcher did not combine and average each subject's self-ratings on the traits to compute scores of femininity and masculinity. Measuring for these two artificial concepts is the typical use of the BSRI. Instead, the researcher conducted a t-test on each individual trait to reveal any direct relationships between specific traits and gender.)

The t-tests for Research Question 3 which showed a significance level of .05 or better are listed in Table 11. The t-tests listed in the table show that women in the sample rated themselves significantly higher than did men on the following traits (in descending level of significance): feminine, self-sufficient, independent, warm and self-reliant. Men in the sample rated themselves significantly higher than women on the following traits: masculine, soft-spoken, athletic, competitive and secretive.

Research Question 4 was a variation of Research Question 3, asking the same question but only among those whose most-practiced model was the two-way symmetrical model. Table 12 shows the results of those tests which found a significance level of .05 or better. The t-tests listed in the table show that women in the sample rated

Table 11

Self-perceptions of Feminine/Masculine/Neutral Traits as
Linked to Gender: All Respondents

(Research question 3)

		<u>M</u>		df	<u>t</u>
BSRI trait label ^a		females	males		
Traits linked to females					
Feminine	(fem.)	4.0	1.4	197	25.20***
Self- sufficient	(masc.)	4.4	4.2	209	2.69**
Independent	(masc.)	4.4	4.2	209	2.29*
Warm	(fem.)	4.0	3.8	209	2.19*
Self- reliant	(masc.)	4.5	4.3	209	2.13*
Traits linked to males					
Masculine	(masc.)	1.7	4.1	206	21.29***
Soft-spoken	(fem.)	2.5	3.0	209	4.45***
Athletic	(masc.)	2.8	3.4	209	4.17***
Competitive	(masc.)	3.6	3.9	209	2.90**
Secretive	(neut.)	2.0	2.2	209	2.05*

Note. Individual subjects ranked themselves on personality traits as to how true specific traits were in describing them. They used a 1-to-5 scale, where 1 = never or almost never true, 2 = rarely true, 3 = sometimes true, 4 = usually true, and 5 = always or almost always true.

^aBSRI = Bem Sex Role Inventory. This column lists the labels (feminine/masculine/neutral) given to each trait by the BSRI. Under this heading, fem. = feminine; masc. = masculine; neut. = neutral.

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

Table 12

Self-perceptions of Feminine/Masculine/Neutral Traits as
Linked to Gender: Respondents Whose Most-practiced Model is
Two-way Symmetrical

(Research question 4)

	BSRI trait label ^a	<u>M</u>		df	<u>t</u>
		females	males		
Traits linked to females					
Feminine	(fem.)	3.8	1.2	34	14.71***
Traits linked to males					
Masculine	(masc.)	1.6	4.1	36	8.76***
Athletic	(masc.)	2.6	3.6	37	3.05**
Competitive	(masc.)	3.6	4.2	37	2.28*
Gentle	(fem.)	3.1	3.6	37	2.07*

Note. Individual subjects ranked themselves on personality traits as to how true specific traits were in describing them. They used a 1-to-5 scale, where 1 = never or almost never true, 2 = rarely true, 3 = sometimes true, 4 = usually true, and 5 = always or almost always true.

^aBSRI = Bem Sex Role Inventory. This column lists the labels (feminine/masculine/neutral) given to each trait by the BSRI. Under this heading, fem. = feminine; masc. = masculine; neut. = neutral.

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

themselves significantly higher than men on only one trait, "feminine." Men in the sample rated themselves significantly higher than women on the following traits: masculine, athletic, competitive and gentle.

CHAPTER V

Discussion

Primary Significant Findings

The original hypothesis of this research did not find support: Women public relations managers were not more likely to prefer the two-way symmetrical model of public relations than men public relations managers. In fact, in the total sample of public relations managers (i.e. directors and vice presidents), men were more likely than women to prefer the two-way symmetrical model. The same was true among those subjects who preferred one of the two-way models. However, neither men nor women were more likely than the other to prefer the two-way symmetrical model in two other groups: those who most practice one of the two-way models and those who have received public relations training at least at the level of having taken college courses in the field. Men in the sample were significantly more experienced and more trained in public relations than were women in the sample. Men also had significantly higher annual salaries than did women. In terms of self-perceptions of personality traits, women in the entire sample described themselves as feminine, self-sufficient, independent, warm and self-reliant at a significantly higher level than did men. Men in the entire sample described

themselves as masculine, soft-spoken, athletic, competitive and secretive at a significantly higher level than did women. Among those whose most-practiced model was the two-way symmetrical model of public relations, women described themselves as feminine at a significantly higher level than did men. Also among those whose most-practiced model was the two-way symmetrical model, men described themselves as masculine, athletic, competitive and gentle at a significantly higher level than did women.

Implications

As for the relationship of this study to the Wetherell (1989) study, it seemed on the surface that the central finding of this study was different from Wetherell's finding on gender (Table 8). Even though the primary hypothesis (which suggests women's greater likelihood to prefer the symmetrical model) was refuted in both studies, Wetherell found no significant relationship of the model with either men or women, while this researcher found that men were more likely to prefer the model, albeit at a low level of significance (Hypothesis 1.a, $p < .05$). However, when this researcher limited the study group to those who most practice one of the two-way models and then to those with a minimal level of training in public relations, the significant relationship between males and the symmetrical model faded away, in both cases. This suggests, then, that

there is not a strong relationship between gender and the two-way symmetrical model, which confirms the finding of the Wetherell study.

In addition to confirming Wetherell's finding, these findings on Hypotheses 1.a through 1.d suggest that training in public relations and, especially, experience with the two-way models in actual practice are the more likely drivers of preference for the symmetrical model than is gender. This suggestion is given additional support by the findings that men in the sample had a higher level of training in public relations and were more experienced in public relations (Table 9). People with greater experience and more public relations training may be more likely to have been exposed to all the public relations models than those with less experience and training. People who are exposed to the models and are, thereby, more familiar with them may be more likely to recognize and prefer the "excellent" model than those not familiar with all the models. The researcher suggests, therefore, that the reason men in the total sample were more likely than women in the total sample to prefer the symmetrical model is not because of their "maleness," but because of their greater levels of experience and training in public relations, which gave them more exposure to the entire spectrum of public relations models.

Beyond the central findings on gender and preference for public relations models, the results of this study provide other insights as well. A second implication of this study, for instance, is that the ways in which public relations managers actually practice public relations and how they prefer to practice public relations are two entirely different things. Respondents' most-preferred model, for example, was the two-way symmetrical model, which J. Grunig and L. Grunig (1992) consider to be the excellent model among the four. While nearly two thirds of the respondents in this study most preferred to practice this model, fewer than one in four indicated that it was their most-practiced model (Table 3). On the other hand, less than 10 percent most preferred the most primitive model, the press agentry/publicity model, yet this was the model which respondents indicated was the most-practiced.

Even more significant is the fact that 9 out of 10 subjects in the sample most preferred one of the two-way models, while in actual practice, two out of three indicated that they practice a one-way model the most. This does not suggest that these one-way practitioners never practice a two-way model, for they may use different models in differing situations, as suggested by J. Grunig and L. Grunig (1989, 1992). What it does suggest, however, is that a large proportion of public relations managers don't spend

the bulk of their professional time practicing public relations in the way which they prefer. If, for illustration's sake, the researcher assumed that all of those subjects most practicing a two-way model (32.8 percent of respondents) were also among the 90.9 percent who most prefer a two-way model, there would still remain 58.1 percent of the study's respondents who most prefer a two-way model while most practicing a one-way model.

The reasons for this gap between practice and preference may be any number of things. Maybe practitioners don't have the research skills necessary to practice a two-way model. Or maybe most organizations do not have the budget for conducting such research. Whatever the reasons, attempting to pinpoint them would be speculative at this point and is beyond the scope of this research.

What the researcher can conclude, however, is that the majority of public relations managers prefers to practice a more strategic research-based (two-way) type of public relations, while in reality, most of them practice a more primitive (one-way) brand of public relations, most of the time. This is especially interesting in light of the fact that this was a study of public relations managers and not public relations technicians, the practitioners who would be expected to most practice the one-way models.

Before leaving this discussion of the most-preferred and -practiced models and proceeding to the next observation, it may be enlightening to mention the actual statements or indicators of the models which received the highest ratings from respondents. The most popular among those statements reflecting respondents' public relations preference was an indicator of the two-way symmetrical model which reads, "The purpose of public relations is to develop mutual understanding between the management of the organization and the publics the organization affects." Interestingly enough, this statement also received the second highest rating among statements reflecting actual public relations practice. The second highest-rated statement of preference was a measure of the two-way asymmetrical model, and reads, "After completing a public relations program, we do research to determine how effective the program has been in changing people's attitudes." The third-ranked statement reflecting preference was, like the first-ranked statement, an indicator of the two-way symmetrical model. It reads, "Before starting a public relations program, we do surveys or informal research to find out how much management and our publics understand each other."

The most popular statement of public relations practice was an indicator of the press agentry/publicity model. The

statement reads, "In public relations, we mostly attempt to get favorable publicity into the media and to keep the unfavorable publicity out." The second-ranked statement of public relations practice was the same as the most-preferred statement, as mentioned above. The third-ranked statement reflecting public relations practice was an indicator of the public information model, and reads, "In public relations we disseminate accurate information but do not volunteer unfavorable information."

A third point suggested by the findings of this research is that public relations managers are an essentially a well-educated lot (Table 4). This is important because academic ability and the capability to think conceptually are necessary if practitioners are to conduct strategic, two-way public relations. More than 98 percent of the respondents in this study indicated that they possessed at least a baccalaureate degree, and more than one in three possessed some level of graduate degree.

The fourth point suggested by the findings of this study is that while men in this sample may have, on average, a significantly higher salary than women in the sample, this gender/salary finding may be somewhat mediated by experience. Men not only made significantly more money, but they also had significantly more years of experience in public relations (Table 9). Therefore, while this study

suggests that men public relations managers make more money than women public relations managers, the finding is not conclusive. To better establish such a conclusion, controls for experience, and possibly industry and job title, should be applied before testing salary differences by gender.

The significant differences in self-perceptions of character traits between men and women respondents warrant a fifth point of discussion, especially with regard to what these differences may suggest about women managers (Table 11). Female respondents in the study rated themselves as "self-sufficient," "independent" and "self-reliant" at a significantly higher level than did male respondents. That women would be linked with these particular traits more than men is interesting for two reasons. First, these three traits have all been labeled by the Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem, 1977) as masculine traits. Second, all three of these traits seem to be related (besides being labeled "masculine") in that they each suggest an individual's ability to function alone, free from the need for the validation of others in their work. One explanation for these traits' linkage to women may be that women public relations managers are indeed significantly more self-sufficient, independent and self-reliant than men public relations managers. However, since the findings are based on self-perceptions of these traits, there may be another

explanation. It is possible, for instance, that these "stand-on-your-own" types of traits are more at the forefront of the minds of women managers than of men managers. The reason for this would be that in the realm of organizational management (which has been dominated by males in the past), women managers may be under greater scrutiny than men managers to demonstrate such traits, especially if they work for bosses who are male chauvinists. Therefore, such women may feel an exaggerated need, and even an expectation, to prove that they are capable of handling the job of management without having to depend on others.

In addition to these masculine-labeled traits, women in the sample also rated themselves significantly higher than did men for the feminine-labeled traits of being "feminine" and "warm." It would be expected that the trait connected to women for which there would be the strongest difference between men and women would be that of being feminine, since this word implies the "epitome" of what it is to be a woman, however that may be defined. A look at the results in Table 11 confirms this expectation, with "feminine" showing a t-value high above that of "self-sufficient," the second most significant trait linked to females in the table. Table 11 also confirms the converse expectation, that of men's relationship to the trait "masculine."

The finding that men in the sample rated themselves as "soft-spoken" (a trait considered feminine by the BSRI) at a significantly higher level ($p < .001$) than did women seems to be an unexpected finding, as do the findings mentioned above that link women with traits labeled "masculine" by the BSRI. However, it is interesting that the mean rating for men on this trait of soft-spokenness was only 3.0, a mid-range score for a 1-to-5 scale. Women on the other hand had a mean of 2.5 for soft-spokenness. The point to note here is not so much that men scored higher than women on this trait, but rather that the average score for women was significantly lower than the mid-level score of men. This may suggest a corollary to the findings of women being linked with the three "stand-on-your-own" traits, mentioned above. Just as women managers may consider the traits of self-sufficiency or independence as vital to their effectiveness as managers, likewise, they may consider being soft-spoken as a trait which is counter-productive in the fulfillment of their managerial responsibilities.

Another result of this study, found in Table 12, leads to a sixth point of discussion, a point which is closely related to the previous point. Table 12, like Table 11, depicts the resulting significant gender differences of self-perceived traits, but the tests in this table were only applied to subjects whose most-practiced model was the two-

way symmetrical model. The important point here is not the control applied, but rather the fact that men in this group reported being more gentle than did the women in this group. The BSRI considers gentleness to be a feminine trait. However, this time, unlike the finding which linked men with soft-spokenness, males' mean was well above the middle of the 1-to-5 range. Women's mean for being gentle was 3.1, while the mean for men was 3.6. To summarize, men did indeed rank themselves highly, and significantly higher than did women, on a trait labeled as "feminine."

This finding, along with masculine-labeled traits linked to women, seems unexpected, but only if one truly embraces the trait labels applied by the BSRI. Fully embracing these labels is exactly what this researcher has shunned by refusing to run the BSRI in its normal manner, a process which results in grouping individuals into feminine, masculine and androgynous categories. Bem's own re-analysis (1983) of her earlier work maintained that gender should not be projected upon personality traits. This researcher agrees with that suggestion.

This study's finding, therefore, that links women public relations managers with self-sufficiency (Table 11), for example, does not necessarily imply that these women are more "like men" simply because an inventory labeled the trait as "masculine." Nor does the finding that men rate

themselves as significantly more gentle (Table 12) suggest that these men, as a result, are more "like women." But these conclusions are what would be implied if the notion of identifying traits by gender is accepted. This researcher instead would argue that personality traits are independent of gender and stand on their own. If a sample such as this finds that women rate themselves more highly as being self-sufficient, then all that should be concluded about such women is that these are women who happen to be self-sufficient, not women who happen to be "more like men than women." There is no useful function for the gender prefacing of personality traits.

The seventh implication of this study is based on the finding of a strongly significant relationship between men and greater experience in public relations (Table 9). This relationship was significant at the .001 level, with the mean number of years of work in public relations for men at approximately 18.5 years. For women, the mean was 12 years. This seems to lend support to the idea that there has been a great influx of women in public relations in recent years, as was suggested in the introductory chapter of this research. The result is a new generation of women directors and vice presidents who, comparatively, have fewer years of experience than their male counterparts.

Finally, this study's finding that male public relations managers' have a higher level of public relations training may be related to their greater level of experience in public relations. Since there is a strong relationship between men and greater experience, it is possible that the men in this sample may have had more opportunities than the women to receive public relations training over their years of work in the field. It may also be that employers are more willing to invest in the training of more-experienced employees because such employees are viewed as being more likely to stay with the company for a longer period of time. If this were the case, the men in this sample, who were more experienced than the women, may have been the more likely beneficiaries of public relations training due to their greater experience.

In reviewing the initial question of this research, it seems that while women do not have any greater propensity (i.e. preference) toward "excellent" public relations practice than do men, neither do they have less of a propensity for it than do men. Having confirmed the finding of Wetherell (1989), that gender has little effect if any on preference for the two-way symmetrical model, it seems that the source of upping the grade of preference for excellent public relations is not gender but rather the experience of actual public relations practice as well as formal training

in the field. By practicing and studying the various methods or "models" of public relations, practitioners are better able to formulate benchmarks of public relations excellence in their own preferences and, ideally, in their professional work.

Limitations of the Study

One of the difficulties in conducting this type of study is finding a sample frame that is usable, workable and affordable. The easiest route to resolving this problem is to use the membership roster of a professional organization. However, professional organizations often present opportunities to practitioners for continuing education, opportunities which may not be available to practitioners who are not members of professional organizations. Therefore, the use of a professional organization's roster as a sample frame may present slight validity problems. In this study, for instance, the use of PRSA's roster may have rendered a sample of public relations practitioners which is generally more familiar with two-way or symmetrical communication than the universe of public relations practitioners.

A second limitation of this study, also a problem of validity, is the use of self-reports. This may be especially true in respondents' reports of experience and annual salary, about which respondents could well have been

dishonest or have rounded off figures. Also, while useful for asking a practitioner his or her preferred model, self-reports may not be the most valid means of determining to what extent certain models are actually practiced by an organization. It may be best to use outside observers to determine the models actually practiced by an organization. In addition, the researcher raises the same questions of validity regarding the use of self-reports on rating an individual's personality traits.

The use of a mailed questionnaire and the development of a sample frame based on job title may present a third limitation of this study: There was little control over who completed the questionnaire. While the overwhelming majority of respondents indicated that they were a director or vice president, nevertheless, 21 percent either left the question on job title incomplete or indicated some other job title. This may have made for a less homogenous study group for testing the effect of gender on preference for public relations models. If the missing cases on job title, for instance, were mostly lower level managers, it is possible that they may have had less experience and public relations training. This, in turn, may have affected familiarity with and, thereby, preference for public relations models.

A fourth potential limitation of the study was the researcher's decision to include vice presidents of public

relations, in addition to directors. It is possible that vice presidents may have skewed the data on salary, experience and public relations training. This is significant in light of the fact that men tended to be slightly more likely to be vice presidents than women (at the .10 level of significance). Future studies looking at public relations managers would be wiser to narrow the scope to directors only, which would create a more homogenous study group. If this were done and a larger random sample were surveyed, it would be possible to more-effectively control for experience, a variable for which there was a strongly significant difference between men and women. Narrowing the sample to only directors and controlling for experience would allow for a more meaningful test of the relationship between gender and salary, and maybe even between gender and preference for the two-way symmetrical model, the primary dependent variable of this study. Despite not controlling for experience, this study at least controlled for organizational roles by narrowing the sample to managers only, which Wetherell's study (1989) did not do.

A fifth and final suggestion for improving upon a study such as this would be to redesign the format on the first part of the questionnaire, the section measuring practice of and preference for the models. (See Part I of the questionnaire in Appendix A.) Because a two-column format

was used in rating J. Grunig's 16 indices, it is very possible that respondents worked their way down the columns, ranking first their practice of the indices in column one and then their preference in column two. This was the order of the instructions on the questionnaire, and the researcher suggests that respondents tend to work their way through forms by column, especially when the forms follow a columnar format. A better format might have given cause for respondents to consider more seriously the disparity between their practice of a statement and their preference for it. Placing the answer space for "practice" directly above the space for "preference" might have been a better format than the side-by-side, columnar format that was used. In this way, a subject's attention would have been drawn immediately to possible differences between practice and preference for each statement, rather than allowing subjects to first rate all the statements for practice and then all of them for preference.

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APPENDIX A: COVER LETTER AND QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear Public Relations Practitioner:

I need your help in conducting a study on how public relations is practiced. (On the enclosed questionnaire, "public relations" will be used to refer to all of the following: public relations, corporate communications, communications, public information, public affairs, external affairs, and community relations.)

You are one of only 400 practitioners chosen from nearly 3,500 of your colleagues in the United States to represent them in this study. I would appreciate it if you would complete the enclosed questionnaire and return it in the envelope provided as soon as possible. Each person's response is important so that the conclusions of the study will be accurate. (If the original addressee of this packet is no longer with your organization, please direct the packet to the attention of that person's replacement. It would still contribute greatly to this study if the new person, and only that person, would fill out the questionnaire.)

While the general results of this study may be published, I guarantee you and your organization complete confidentiality. Your identity will in no way be connected with your answers. I am only concerned that you be represented in the study as an anonymous practitioner. Also, in accordance with the requirements of San Jose State University, I want to assure you that you should anticipate no risks by participating in this study, that your participation is voluntary, and that choosing not to participate will in no way affect your relations with San Jose State University.

If you have questions about this study, please contact me at (408) 395-0462 or Dr. Dennis Wilcox, my advisor, at (408) 924-3268. If you have questions or complaints about your rights as a research subject, please contact Dr. Serena Stanford, Associate Academic Vice President for Graduate Studies and Research, at (408) 924-2480. Thank you for adding to the body of knowledge about your field. I look forward to receiving your questionnaire.

Sincerely,

Jeff Christensen
Graduate Student

Questionnaire

[The first part of the questionnaire includes the 16 indices developed by J. Grunig to measure respondents for their practice and preference of the models. Each statement has been coded to show the model of which it is an indicator. The key to the codes is as follows: PA = press agency/publicity model; PI = public information model; 2A = two-way asymmetrical model; 2S = two-way symmetrical model.]

Part I--The first part of this questionnaire contains a series of statements describing different ways in which public relations could be conducted. Note that each statement requires two answers, one per blank.

On the 1-to-7 scale below, a rating of "1" for a statement means the statement is not true of the way your organization practices public relations; a rating of "4" means it is true for your organization (Note: "4" is the average for public relations practitioners in general.); a rating of "7" means the statement is always or almost always true for your organization. In the first blank before each statement, write the number between 1 and 7 that best represents how true a statement is of the way your organization practices public relations.

Using the same 7-point scale, choose a second number to describe how true each statement would be of your public relations work if you were free to practice as you preferred. Write that number in the second blank before each statement.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Never true True or average Always true

Actual Personal
Practice Preference

PA _____	_____	The purpose of public relations is, quite simply, to get publicity for my organization.
2A _____	_____	After completing a public relations program, we do research to determine how effective the program has been in changing people's attitudes.
PI _____	_____	In public relations, nearly everyone is so busy writing news stories or producing publications that there is no time to research.

- 2A In public relations, our broad goal is to persuade publics to behave as the organization wants them to behave.
- 2S The purpose of public relations is to develop mutual understanding between the management of the organization and the publics the organization affects.
- 2A Before starting a public relations program, we look at attitude surveys to make sure we describe the organization and its policies in ways our publics would be most likely to accept.
- PI In public relations, we disseminate accurate information but do not volunteer unfavorable information.
- 2S Before starting a public relations program, we do surveys or informal research to find out how much management and our publics understand each other.
- PA In public relations, we mostly attempt to get favorable publicity into the media and to keep the unfavorable publicity out.
- 2A Before beginning a public relations program, we do research to determine public attitudes toward the organization and how they might be changed.
- PA We determine how successful a public relations program is from the number of people who attend an event or who use our products or services.
- PA For my organization, public relations and publicity mean essentially the same thing.
- 2S The purpose of public relations is to change the attitudes and behavior of management as much as it is to change the attitudes and behaviors of publics.
- PI Keeping a clipping file is about the only way we have to determine the success of a program.

2S _____ My organization believes public relations should provide mediation for the organization, to help management and publics negotiate conflicts.

PI _____ In my organization, public relations is more of a neutral disseminator of information than an advocate for the organization or a mediator between management and publics.

[The second part of the questionnaire includes character traits drawn from the Bem Sex Role Inventory. Each trait has been coded to show the gender-related label given the trait by the BSRI. The key to the codes is as follows: M = masculine; F = feminine; N = neutral.]

Part II--This section lists several personality traits which we would like you to use to describe yourself. Please choose the number between 1 and 5, inclusive, that best describes how true of you each trait is. Write that number in the blank beside each trait. Please do not leave any trait unmarked.

- 1 = Never or almost never true
 2 = Rarely true
 3 = Sometimes true
 4 = Usually true
 5 = Always or almost always true

M Defend my own beliefs
F Affectionate
N Conscientious
M Independent
F Sympathetic
N Moody
M Assertive
F Sensitive to the needs of others
N Reliable
M Strong personality
F Under-standing
N Jealous
M Forceful

F Compassionate
N Truthful
M Have leadership abilities
F Eager to soothe hurt feelings
N Secretive
M Willing to take risks
F Warm
N Adaptable
M Dominant
F Tender
N Conceited

M Willing to take a stand
F Love children
N Tactful
M Aggressive
F Gentle
N Conventional
M Self-reliant
F Yielding
N Helpful
M Athletic
F Cheerful
N Unsystematic
M Analytical
F Shy
N Inefficient

<u>M</u> Make decisions easily	<u>M</u> Individualistic	<u>N</u> Likable
<u>F</u> Flatterable	<u>F</u> Soft-spoken	<u>M</u> Ambitious
<u>N</u> Theatrical	<u>N</u> Unpredictable	<u>F</u> Do not use harsh language
<u>M</u> Self-sufficient	<u>M</u> Masculine	<u>N</u> Sincere
<u>F</u> Loyal	<u>N</u> Gullible	<u>M</u> Act as a leader
<u>N</u> Happy	<u>M</u> Solemn	<u>F</u> Feminine
	<u>M</u> Competitive	<u>N</u> Friendly
	<u>F</u> Childlike	

[The third part of the questionnaire includes measures of demographic variables which are related to public relations employment.]

Part III--The final section contains questions regarding demographic information. Please place a check on the blank before the correct answer or, where indicated, fill in the correct answer on the blank provided.

I am:

- 1 female
 2 male

I have worked in public relations _____ years.

My highest level of education in any field is:

<u> </u> 1 no college	<u> </u> 4 a master's degree
<u> </u> 2 some college	<u> </u> 5 a doctoral degree
<u> </u> 3 a bachelor's degree	

The highest level of training I have completed in public relations is:

<u> </u> 1 no training	<u> </u> 4 a bachelor's degree
<u> </u> 2 some continuing-education courses	<u> </u> 5 some graduate courses
<u> </u> 3 some college-level courses	<u> </u> 6 a master's degree
	<u> </u> 7 a doctoral degree

My job title is _____ .

I work in the following type of organization: (Please choose only one.)

☐ 00 public relations
and/or advertising
firm	☐ 05 association/
foundation
☐ 01 insurance/financial
(includes
accounting)	☐ 06 other nonprofit
(i.e. social,
cultural,
education, etc.)
☐ 02 other service firm
(i.e. law,
architecture, etc.)	☐ 07 government
☐ 03 product firm
(industrial or
consumer)	☐ 08 leisure industries
(travel, hotel,
entertainment,
sports, etc.)
☐ 04 health care (i.e.
hospital, HMO, etc.)	☐ 09 transportation
	☐ 10 utilities
	☐ 11 other (please
specify) _____

My annual salary is:

☐ 01 Less than \$30,000	☐ 09 \$65,000 to \$69,999
☐ 02 \$30,000 to \$34,999	☐ 10 \$70,000 to \$74,999
☐ 03 \$35,000 to \$39,999	☐ 11 \$75,000 to \$79,999
☐ 04 \$40,000 to \$44,999	☐ 12 \$80,000 to \$84,999
☐ 05 \$45,000 to \$49,999	☐ 13 \$85,000 to \$89,999
☐ 06 \$50,000 to \$54,999	☐ 14 \$90,000 to \$94,999
☐ 07 \$55,000 to \$59,999	☐ 15 \$95,000 to \$99,999
☐ 08 \$60,000 to \$64,999	☐ 16 \$100,000 or more

Thank you very much for your time.

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND AT COLLEGE PARK

COLLEGE OF JOURNALISM

December 9, 1993

Mr. Jeff Christensen
135 Riviera Drive #433
Los Gatos, CA 95030

Dear Jeff:

You have my permission to use in your master's thesis the table entitled "Characteristics of Four Models of Public Relations" which appeared in my article "Organizations, Environments, and Models of Public Relations." The 1984 article was published in Public Relations Research and Education. I understand that your thesis is being published by University Microfilms, Incorporated (UMI) and that UMI may supply single copies on demand. In addition, I will not hold UMI responsible for any damages that may arise from copyright violations.

Sincerely,

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James E. Grunig