

News Factory PR Agencies in the media system – a self-legitimizing function of normative theories on the example of Media Relations type of actions in Central-Eastern Europe

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ABSTRACT

The present paper aims at confronting the mechanisms of criteria and selection described by Luhmann with the operating practice of public relations agencies in the area of the offered service of conducting relations with the media. Particular case of Poland, as a transitional mass media system gives a unique opportunity to investigate the moment of system differentiation-appearing the agencies specialised in media content supporting. Comparing the press realises content with the messages published by mass media we investigate the input of information in media system. In conclusion, we discuss the idea of reflection and reflexivity paradigms.

Key words: the mass media, PR, Luhmann, normative theories, media relations

1. Introduction

Literature of the subject usually reflects on the PR activity in its normative aspect – determining its functions and tasks in contemporary society, or in the pragmatic one- taking the form of guidebooks and handbooks designed to improve specific abilities of planning and effective realization of PR activities. Attempts of putting these types of reflection into theoretic context offered by social sciences are taken relatively seldom (Theaker 2001) and papers confronting theory with operating principles from this area of communication generally do not exist. This article fills this gap, undertaking a question about a real role of academic PR theories for their sanctioning in the media system. Starting from the theoretical concept, we present an analysis of the empirical evidence in form of actual press articles prepared by PR agencies and thematically corresponding reports in the media. The aim is to answer the question about the role of public relations actions in shaping social dynamism. Comparing the mechanisms operating on the basis of efficiency and efficiency criteria seems contradictory to postulates formulated by normative PR theories reproduced in the public discourse not only by academic experts, but also PR practitioners themselves. We put forward a question if, in this situation, theories formulating those normative postulates remain coherent with the semantics of actual operation of the media system. If not- what is the function of reproduced normative theories which do not adhere to the reality of mass media? Don't they unintentionally serve the self-legitimization of agencies' actions proceeding in a completely different way? The actions, which are rooted in another type of rationality, are determined by different aims and ways of realization. In other words – isn't it the case that in the situation of lack of connector between the domain of theory and the area of actual operations, the reproduced public relations theories play the role of a facade legitimizing the operations which take place within the systemic „black boxes“. We refer to the idea of reflexivity and reflective paradigms of Susanne Holmstroem to characterize the specific situation possible in transitional systems, when the processes of arising and developing public relations field were running too fast and in consequence, new

rules importing from western societies on self-legitimation level belongs to new paradigm while the operational rules constituting system semantic on the level of 1st observer are rather typical for the old one.

2. The place of Public Relations agencies in the media system

The starting point of this article is taking an assumption about systemic character of mass media according to the media theory by Luhmann (2000). The media system in his understanding includes all institutions which use copying technologies in order to propagate communication (Luhmann 2000). This narrowing, excluding all kinds of lectures, readings etc, can, as said by Luhmann, seem to be arbitrary – but the basic idea here is the function of spreading which leads to differentiation within the media subsystem, so as money serves differentiation in the economic subsystem. Here emerges a constituted medium, which makes it possible to create forms, establishing communicative actions and operational closing of a system.

Also, a thesis by Luhmann about a lack of coexisting interaction between the senders and the receivers in media communication is of importance here. Interaction is possible thanks to technological mediation. This key assumption in the concept of the media allows for exceptions. However, they never relate to all users in an interaction (such an exception can be a situation of a programme with participation of audience, but even then a part of receivers is not able to communicate directly). This has its weighty consequences: breaking direct contact causes that communication undergoes the rules of systemic self-organization and belongs to the reality construed by the system (Luhmann 2000).

In the media system there is an ongoing need for information. The constant need for replacing old news with fresh data is, according to Luhmann (2000), the second element of contemporary social dynamism next to money circulation. Taking into consideration the code of the system information/non-information based on the temporal dimension - old/new – the media retain the

constant expectation for surprise, for reports about new phenomena and events. Luhmann calls this keeping the society in the position “on its toes”¹; he believes that the media, generating the expectation for the new, stimulate the auto dynamism of other subsystems, e.g. the economic or the political ones.

A process which is characteristic for the developing system is inner functional differentiation. Luhmann refers it to the creation of different programmes and thematic bands. It seems, however, that we can refer the process of differentiation also to the institutional level and consider in what way the system secures the mechanism of generating information by creating agendas specialized in delivering them. But for this aim, it is necessary to place an abstract idea of the media system in a material model of such a system. Taking into consideration an analysis of Polish reality, we suggest using a model by Dobek-Ostrowska (1998, p. 78-90) presented in a paper analysing the transformations of the Polish media system after the year 1989 which was the very important and symbolic year in the history of Central Europe. Political transformation caused serious transformation in other social systems also in culture system.

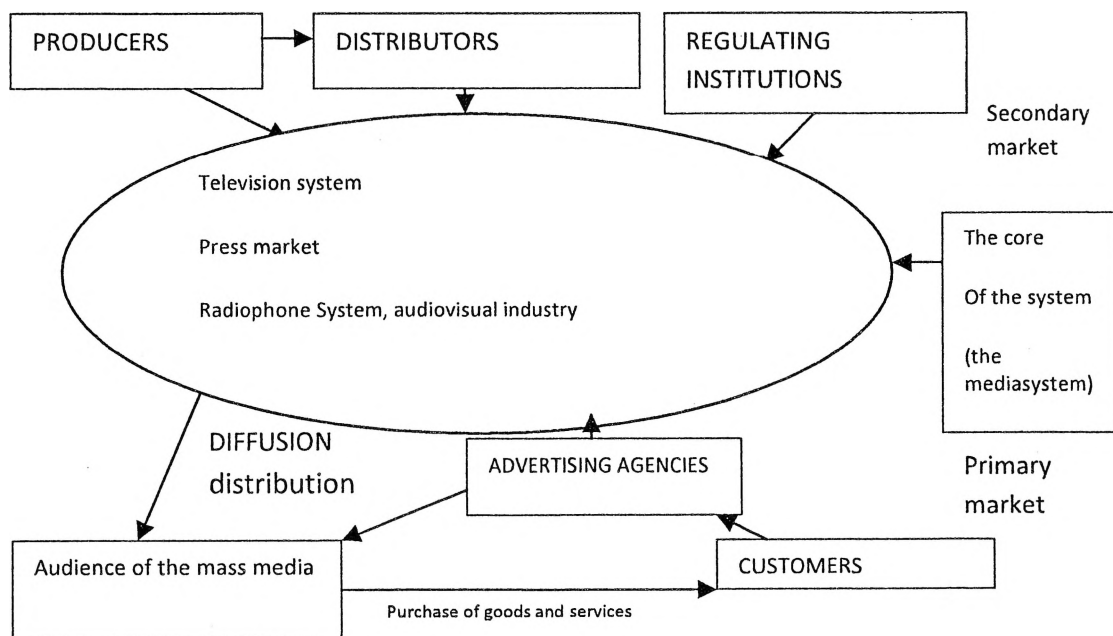


Figure 1. The System of mass communication (Dobek –Ostrowska 1998)

To what Luhmann, due to analytical reason, narrows the understanding of the system, corresponds to the core in the model by Dobek-Ostrowska. The rest constitutes the surrounding of the system; the elements specified in the model belong to other functional subsystems – of law, economy. Also people as individuals, psycho-cognitive systems belong to the surrounding of the system. According to Luhmann's theory, the subsystem of mass media is able to independently secure the process of generating information. For this aim, it uses a systemic code – here: information/ non-information, and the decision about what is information and what is not is taken within its boundaries on the basis of adequate selection criteria. The criteria of information selection depend on the inner structure of the system and result from the logic of its operation. The basic code information/non-information, which refers to the dimension old/new, gives in their effect the first selection criterion, namely surprise. Further criteria enumerated by Luhmann serve gaining the attention and being understood by the largest possible group of receivers. Next to surprise, selection criteria include: conflicts, numbers, local references, disturbance of norms (particularly in relation to moral norms), ascribing the given event to the given actor. There are also criteria of institutional character, which relate to mutual adaptation of a subject to the given column or edition. They take into account space conditions (spare pages, place in the programme scheme) and time. The selection process is of complex character and it includes the processes of condensation, confirmation, generalization and schematization.

This phenomenon can be easily observed in the trend of news programmes. This trend is connected with expectation that the process of informing will be repeated regularly. Taking into consideration the constant pressure of the system on selection of new events (thus, news), the consequence is such a presentation of news so that what belongs to the past is considered possibly closest to the present. It is realized by dramatizing the style of news transmission and building their sensational character. As a result, we obtain the phenomenon of simultaneous process of observation of the events and events themselves. Formation of a specialized programmatic trend serves increasing

the credibility of transmission. People are more prone to believe the information presented in the news band.

The next consequence of differentiation is the emergence of the journalist profession. According to Luhmann, reputation of a journalist, positive perception of his work depends on the kind of background of the presented information. That is why journalists secure their trustworthiness by referring to external sources and they choose sources in such a way so that they constitute the confirmation of news' "truthfulness". The notion of truthfulness is put into inverted commas as, according to the constructivist assumption of the theory the system has no possibility to refer to what is not it – the media thus have no access to what we could define as physical external reality. Each piece of news is therefore a construction, so each is real until it is considered unreal in another act of communication.

What remains here is the question of content which, according to the assumed criteria could be transformed into news. Operations of observation and selection must take place here as fast as possible so that the produced information was able to stay up-to-date in the moment of its appearance.

Constant need for information and progressing mediatization of the public sphere result in establishing specialized institutions, whose target is to put given messages in the media transmission. Taking into account the above assumptions on self-determining by the media what is information, the process comes down transforming a message into the code of the media system, so that could be recognized and adopted by this system. This function is fulfilled by different kinds of press agencies, press offices, institutions of press spokespeople and professional public relations agencies. We wish to reflect upon the operation of the latter in the context of the functional theory of the media, all the same extending Luhmann's analytical area by the elements surrounding the „systemic core“ – in particular public relations agencies which belong to primary market as a parallel type to press agencies in the model by Dobek-Ostrowska. However, we are interested in the communicative aspect of activity of these agencies, so they are considered as an element of the communicative, not an economic subsystem. The proposed perspective differs also from the

attitude towards Public Relations proposed in the literature of the subject, where it is treated as a functional subsystem of social communication including relations between the society and organizations, oriented on reducing distance and increasing public trust (Holmstroem 2009, p. 187-212).

In the literature of the subject there are many definitions of activity determined as public relations. American definitions describe PR as effective management of relations, whereas in the European definitions emphasis is put rather on the social dimension taking into account the concept of public sphere (Vercic, et all, 2001, p. 373-387).

One of the most famous synthetic definitions of Public Relations says: "Public Relations is a distinctive management function which helps establish and maintain mutual lines of communication, understanding, acceptance and cooperation between an organization and its public (Wilcox, et all, 2003). As Johanna Fawkes says, referring to unpublished research conducted for Public Relations Institute in the UK, an understanding of PR activity rather in the context of media and journalism (*than business and organization management*) is becoming more and more significant nowadays (Fawkes 2001).

The practice of operation in case of PR agencies in Poland shows that still media relations type of activity is often the core business for them (this related above all to smaller agencies, although for the bigger ones media relations type of activity is also significant) and customers often expect the company or products to be present in media transmissions in an advantageous context. „Currently, relations with the media are still considered **the most important part** [authors' emphasis], but it only is a part of PR" (Ociepka, 2002, p. 15).

Academic theories relating to PR emphasise these deep bonds with ethics and functionality for the society through facilitating social dialogue and honestly informing citizens and customers (Wilcox, et all, 2003). As it is a two-way communication (agency/institution – the media), trust and mutual respect are important here (Ociepka, 2002, p.15). However, although most PR specialists asked for characteristics refer to this kind of definition, it seems to be a wishful thinking, as in practice over 86 % representatives of the group admit that they

are paid primarily for efficiency of the conducted media campaigns (Olędzki, Tworzydło, 2007).

Identifying media relations with PR activity is considered characteristic for the early stage of development of PR, and together with the progress of this discipline comes functional differentiation in its area (Theaker, 2001). However, it is worth asking the question if such a statement is supported by actual practice of PR activity or rather the developing PR theory gets a normative value with time. Then, such a constation would be rather a postulate than the description of actual practice.

We argue that there exists real danger of taking normative PR theories down to the self-legitimizing function, whereas operational principles of action come down to developing a workshop of effective translation of a message, desired from the point of view of sender's interest, into the code of the media system, and by doing so ensuring this message a proper representation on the level of reality constructed by the mass media. Economic or political aspects lose their causative power in the area of mass communication – here communicative functionality of information counts more than anything else – how it will contribute to the duration of the system, so to what extent it will catch the attention of receivers, become a subject quoted by other media, enable for connections with other subjects (on differentiating function and subject (Luhmann2000)), retrospections or future references. Referring to the conditions of operations of PR agencies in Poland, we are aware of their specificity, like for instance, much shorter tradition of this kind of institutions than in case of Western democracies. Though, an analysis of this particular area may become a contribution to a discussion on universal principles of operation of PR agencies as a part of the mass media system.

3. Case study

An illustration of the described process of a certain translation can be the way of publicizing „the 10th Christmas meeting for people in need on the

market square in Cracow". The event has become a part of Christmas celebration in Poland and has an important place in the calendar of public events in Cracow. Reflection on this subject will make it possible to answer the question how press articles are constructed and how journalists use them. In other words, how "news is produced". Analyzing¹ this event from the point of view of content of press reports through numerous relations and information in the press, radio and television, as well as in the Internet, we wish to picture the meaning of selection criteria for information pointed out by Luhmann for operational activity of PR agencies. For this aim we analyzed: two pieces of press news prepared for journalists by PR specialists, and relations from the event in the media. All materials were taken from the webpage devoted for the event: www.wigilianarynku.pl. Usually effective media relations is perceived as something more than just a developing messages and materials that meet the media's definition of what news is, and then directing those materials to the right reporter or news producer and following up appropriately. But what is important in choosing a theoretical perspective is focusing on systemic mechanisms of transforming PR messages into news. That is why we underline the selection criteria used by media system and try to investigate how they function in analyzing field.

3.1 Seducing journalists

It is difficult to estimate precisely to what extent workers of PR agencies are aware of what information has a chance to exist in the media. It seems that using systemic theories in this respect is not common practice; they rather refer to their experience and intuition and construct their materials in such a way so that possibly largest amount of information enters public opinion. Communication situation is here characterized by certain duality.

¹ All newspapers, radio, TV, Internet material about the event were analyzed.

Firstly, specialized workers of agencies have to attract the interest of a given editorial staff and a given journalist with their message. A press report submitted by them will be probably quickly scanned through and evaluated from the point of view of its usefulness for the staff. A text has merely several seconds to gain the attention of a journalist and convince him or her that the carried content is suitable for publication.

Secondly, positively evaluated press information will probably become a leaven for further media relation and sometimes its only source. Thus, what is important here is the end receiver and information which he will receive. So, press information has to translate the message which is intended for readers/viewers/listeners, to the code of the system. In other words, it has to present observation as an act of selection, according to the system criteria. Only then it is possible for it to "seduce a journalist" and become absorbed by the system.

Christmas Eve supper for the poor organized in Poland is a specific event, closely related to celebrating Christmas. On Poland, where over 90% of citizens declare themselves as Catholics, a religious aspect of Christmas is manifested in the public domain. The Christmas supper for the poor is organized yearly in the central point of Cracow – on the market square, which is the most important public space in the country. The place is strongly connected with national symbols: one of the most important Polish churches dominating over the market square, monuments being symbol of heroic history and patriotism. That makes the event very special not only for Cracow but for all country. Organizers prepare traditional meals (dumplings with cabbage and mushrooms, red beetroot soup, cabbage with mushrooms) and give them to people for free. Additionally, dwellers of Cracow bring gifts in form of food which is given to people in need. The organizer of Christmas Eve supper is one of the most famous restaurant owners in Cracow. So far, however, the sound of the event has been insignificant in the media – usually limited to a few reports in local media. But in the year 2007 the charity Christmas Eve meal became the subject of all important media, both national and local. In that year the service of media relations was commissioned to a professional public relations agency. This

created a situation of a natural quasi- experiment, the analysis of which will let us underline the mechanisms of selection and generating information in the media system.

3.2 Communication activities of PR agencies

In relation with the organized event, two pieces of information were prepared for the media. The first one, from 12th December 2007 was distributed during and after the press conference preceding the event. The second one related to the transmission of the event from 16th December 2007.

Press information no 1 is opened by the following headline:

Jan Kościuszko: / appeal to all the media – help us get to people in need

This type of opening settles semantic framework for communicating the event. It directs our attention to the main character of the organizer and initiator and the selection criterion connected with moral norms: help for people in need gets special meaning in the period before Christmas. Christmas Eve meal on the market square may be treated as a „key event”- an event thanks to which we can report about the problem of poverty and loneliness.

The materials also signal to the media a possibility of using the event of image needs. The media are here asked for help in a so called „right matter”. The main character of press articles is Jan Kościuszko, the initiator and main organizer of the Christmas meal, repeatedly mentioned in both press reports. This unit criterion takes here a form of creating a legend, which ensures communicative continuity:

Jan Kościuszko has organized Christmas meals for those, who cannot have rich Christmas for many years. On this day the door was wide open and everyone who knocked at it could count on a hot, free meal – say the restaurant keeper. The fame of this Christmas table of Jan Kościuszko has been spreading gradually and soon the guests were not able to pack themselves inside the restaurant. Then the idea of organizing the event on the main market square in Cracow appeared. It was in 1997.

- I will never forget the first Christmas Eve dinner on the market square - says Kościuszko - it was white and freezing. People were carrying plates in their hands with steaming dumplings; everyone was smiling at one another. We served several thousand helpings. Later, it was more each time.

Also the collective character- people in need, the poor and lonely, is presented primarily as an object of moral obligation, obtains an individual, personal face. In the text of press information this group is represented by Kazimierz:

I'm from Poznań - says Kazimierz -I come here every year, because it is tradition. This year the best was mushroom soup. But Mr Kościuszko's dumplings are the best too - he adds with a smile.

The next criterion distinctly present in agency materials relates to numbers - in the relation form the press conference:

„In 1997- five thousand meals were served, in 1998 over 7seven thousand meals, in 1999 about ten thousand, and in the year 2000 there were over 27 thousand helpings. In 2001- 30 thousand hot meals were served. The year 2002 saw 32 thousand meals. 2003- 30 thousand portions, 2004 - 40 thousand, 2005 - about 50 thousand platefuls of Christmas food. In 2006 there were more than 55 thousand meals. People in need come to Cracow form all over the country, there are more of them each year”; and in the report from the event: “Hundred and fifty thousand dumplings, six thousand litres of soup, six thousand litres of cabbage with mushrooms and a vast amount of bread was prepared. There are more than a hundred people involved in the preparations, 60 of them were busy taking care of efficient course of action only on Sunday”.

Numbers give an image of measurability; they are concrete, they can be counted in helpings and people, who were not left hungry. They also have a sensational character; we can feel a climate of “breaking records”.

According to Luhmann, the next significant selection criterion for media information is local reference. Agency materials stress the fact that the described event takes place in Cracow: *“each year for one December day the market square in Cracow changes thanks to people of goodwill, such as Jan Kościuszko”*. An important role is also played by citizens: *„Cracowians, be*

generous!" this appeal relates to the action of collecting food with long expiry date. The Christmas meal is organized by Jan Kościuszko and the group Polskie Jadło SA, but everyone can take part in the work of helping the poor by putting pasta or canned food into special containers. Emphasising this information is important, as we should help people in need and Christmas time particularly favours such actions. Emphasizing this in the materials from the media has a certain background – a conflict between the rich and the poor and references to moral norms which were implicitly disturbed and crowds of people in need become larger and larger each year. All the same, the event earns a social character, is not only an internal matter between a company and the poor. Locality becomes universality.

Additionally, a universal character of the event in the texts is obtained by collective symbolism of a festive table, Christmas and Christian help.

The criterion of timeliness is set by Christmas and the participation of mentioned prominent guests from political and cultural life.

Also special guests have arrived: Vice President of Cracow Kazimierz Bujakowski, Governor of the Małopolska region Jerzy Miller and a representative of Cracow Metropolitan Curia Rev. Mitrata Bronisław Fidelus. Also local celebrities did not let down and, like each year, came today and expressed support for the idea of Christmas meal for the poor and solidarity with the participants.

Both agency texts include additional extensive information, which underlines the message directed more to the end receiver than to media editorial staff.

Jan Kościuszko and the Kościuszko „Polskie Jadło” Company are organizers and sole sponsors of Christmas meal for People in Need on the market Square in Cracow, which has been prepared for 10 years. Currently, Grupa Kościuszko is preparing for the IPO process (the first noting on the Stock Exchange Market in Warsaw).

This information placed under the main text as additional information connects the main character with specific economic context. The image of a

generous donors and legendary person in Cracow may serve his economic interests.

3.3 Information from the news factory

PR agencies send materials to the media, care about effective distribution – so that information comes to the right person (e.g. issue editor); journalists begin their research, the system machine starts and there we have news. A radio or television presenter or a press journalist describes an event. The second part of the analysis treats “Christmas Eve on the market square” a media event. Key issues here are communication strategies which determine in what way and in what media something was shown and which information submitted by a PR agency was used by journalists.

Reports of the event on the market square appeared in 15 radio stations, seven newspapers and eight television channels. All news has the same elements: the main organizer, the 10th anniversary meal, numbers (of dumplings, helpings) and honourable sponsorship.

What strikes the most is the primacy of numbers. Reference to specific numbers as a selection is reflected in headlines in newspapers, information of this type open radio and television relations. For instance:

It is the 10th, anniversary meeting on the square in Cracow (radio Kraków).

Fifty thousand people ate on the market square. Dumplings were made for 50 thousand guests (*Super Express*),

Christmas meal for 40 thousand (*Fakt Kraków*)

Each media relation takes into account this “numerical dimension” of the event, although broadcasters differ in using specific numbers, their values seem secondary. What is more important is concrete, immensity, record. This numerical dimension of the event is illustrated by press photos which present either a crowd of people waiting in a queue or steaming, enormous pots.

3.4 Personal dimension of the event

Among press titles, only Dziennik Polski (daily newspaper) decided to fully present the main character. However, Jan Kościuszko, the initiator and main organizer of the event is surely the face of the meeting, *the most famous local restaurant owner* (radio Wawa). He appears in television snapshots and on the Internet.

It is interesting that the media do not use the figure of Kazimierz, present in press materials. However, the media follow the indicated trail and find their own individuals. In „Gazeta Krakowska” daily press there are three men (Andrzej from around Cracow, Janusz from Żywiec and Robert Piwowar). „Fakt” tabloid presents a 75-year-old woman from Cracow, a regular participant in this event. She is mentioned by name and surname and presented on a photo. Also „Super Express” tabloid offers visualisation, this time it is Janusz described as homeless.

Individual characters are also present in the relations of Internet websites and online editions of newspapers. The situations is different in case of radio, where it is impossible to show faces and where the sensual character is created by sounds of feasting and comments on a wonderful taste of dishes and people’s gratitude. The process of individualization, certain labelling news with faces is best visible on television. This function is played by close-ups on faces, pictures of people eating or escaping with their „haul” (mushroom soup in a jar). The task of this procedure is to evoke the impression of objectivity of information understood as adequacy between the transmission and reality, its concretization which facilitates sensual and emotional perception.

In direct relations from the Christmas meal there is no information on preparations of the company Polskie Jadło SA to its appearance on the stock market. This information may, however, be expected to bring effects in a longer perspective. Creating public recognition for the person, who uses his name to brand his undertakings, will surely contribute to future interest of the media. The planned information about entering stock exchange does not appear in the

vacuum in this situation – the media will have something to relate to, the subject will receive reference and context.

3.5 „The largest Christmas table of the world“

Although press articles prepared by PR agencies were cited literally only in few cases (mainly on the Internet), they seemed to have fulfilled a significant function of setting semantic frameworks for the constructed information. Key elements of this semantics relate to the criteria of systemic information selection enumerated by Luhmann: „numerical dimension“ of the event, connection with moral norms, locality related with certain universalism and the element of being up-to-date and new.

The journalists got a suggestion of certain metaphors (e.g. repeated in most media “the largest Christmas table of the world”) and symbolism of Christian tradition of Christmas. Narration presenting the story of the meal on the market square laid the foundations for creating the image of the organizer and building his legend by the media.

From the point of view of PR agencies, the way of performing media relations was very effective: information about a local event was put into all national and most local media from different regions. The basic success was to arouse interest of the media in the subject and making news about it, making an effective translation into the systemic code. The text of press articles fulfilled its function; there is a far reaching similarity between its content and the content of the emitted information.

The question is to what extent the agency action was an aware operation of its specialists, who based on the knowledge of the media system code and criteria for information selection. Within the systemic approach this question is, however, unimportant. The mechanism of operation of a subject specialised in „producing“ news worked effectively. The media received “news” and gave it dynamism.

4. Operational level contra normative theories

Theory, understood as semantics of the system, determined the core of identity of this system. It answers the question of what are and is the function of its elements. It makes it possible to stand out from the surrounding. Thus, Public Relations theory forms definitions which let us separate this area from Journalism or marketing. It shows desired directions of development. It is clear that, forming aims and showing desired ways of realization of the aims on the normative level, it does not take into account the level of description of the current situation. In social reality it happens very seldom that the level of normative regulations corresponds with actual activity of people. Though, we assume that norms show us the desired real state, the direction of operation, the point of orientation in our actions if we want gain recognition or other type of prize. Meanwhile, in the area of Media Relations we find maybe not a clash between the normative and operational spheres, but rather their complete incoherence, qualitative distinction which consists in different aims and means of realizing them.

Stress on efficiency understood as skilful translation of sender's message into the media code, which should ensure its presence in the desired context in media communication is connected with manipulation, creating information, persuasion techniques and speed of action. The effect must be instantaneous; the long term perspective relates to the potential of development of a given plot, so self-reproduction of communication. Social dialogue, subjective treatment of communication partners, deep connections with ethics mentioned by theoreticians of Public Relations are detected by journalists and practitioners preparing information and later used in the process of PR labelling, building its normative representation. It does not have significant transposition to operations taken in the media system on the verge of mass senders and agencies preparing news. However, they play an important function of generating trust to the agencies (and also to the media). All the same, instead of serving the change of practices, normative theories become their effective cover.

Last, but not least, a postulate formed from the point of view of sociologists interested in communicating: Public Relations needs nowadays a critical theory, critical description and critical reflection from the outside. It needs an observer, whose functions can be taken by researchers and theoreticians of PR. Educating students in the spirit of normative theories is a right, but not very effective solution. The initial years of work, striving for promotion and prizes in the form of remuneration will convince them to adopt operational criteria.

The subject for discussion is: how can we use critical reflection coming from academic circles to influence operation reality of the media system?

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¹ Luhmann writes: "It might be said then, that the mass media keep society on its toes". Luhmann explains here that such perception of the media functions is of polemical character against Parsons's theory, according to which the media are given the integrating function - the principal question is thus the influence of the media on active individualities/units. By excluding units as socio-cognitive systems from the scope the analysis, Luhmann eliminates the motif of the influence of the media on those systems (Luhmann, 2000, p.130).