COAST GUARD PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM HISTORY:

THE SEARCH FOR SYMMETRY

_____

A Thesis

Presented to the

Faculty of

San Diego State University

_____

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

in

Communication

_____

by

Matthew M. Kroll

Spring 2017

SAN DIEGO STATE UNIVERSITY

The Undersigned Faculty Committee Approves the

Thesis of Matthew M. Kroll:

Coast Guard Public Affairs Program History:

The Search for Symmetry

Noah Arceneaux, Chair
School of Journalism & Media Studies

Kaye Sweetser
School of Journalism & Media Studies

Paula DeVos
Department of History

April 6, 2017
Approval Date

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis to the men and women of the United States Coast Guard and their families. Specifically, those who continue to educate the public on the service's value to our nation by documenting and sharing the heroic efforts of its members. Without these men and women, the accomplishments of the United States Coast Guard would be lost. The origins of this thesis come from the desire to tell the story of these storytellers. Thank you for sharing the United States Coast Guard with the world and for inspiring current and future service members

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Coast Guard Public Affairs Program History:
The Search for Symmetry
by
Matthew M. Kroll
Master of Arts in Communication
San Diego State University, 2017

The origins and history of the United States Coast Guard public affairs program remain generally unknown in both the military and civilian public relations communities. This gap in the historical record contributes to the misunderstanding of what the Coast Guard public affairs program is and what it should provide for the service. Moreover, the combination of military and law enforcement missions complicates how the service implements its public affairs program. This research used qualitative methods to analyze past public affairs policy and organization to discover and construct the history of the Coast Guard public affairs program. Service public affairs objectives in conjunction with the responsibilities of public affairs personnel provided the overall purpose of public affairs at any given time in the programs history.

This study categorized the results using Grunig and Hunt's four models of public relations to show the evolution of the Coast Guard's external communication practices. The four models include press agentry/publicity, public information, two-way asymmetrical, and two-way symmetrical. Each model represents a progression in public relations practices and a movement toward an ideal process of creating mutually beneficial relationships. Academic literature presumed the military services primarily use the public information model for their public affairs programs. This study identified evidence of two-way symmetric public relations practices and ideas as early as the 1940s. Additionally, this study identified the influences and factors that shaped the Coast Guard's public affairs program.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the faculty of the San Diego State University School of Journalism and Media Studies for allowing me the freedom to research the history of Coast Guard public affairs. Specifically, Dr. Noah Arceneaux for his support and guidance through this eye-opening process. Dr. Arceneaux trusted my research from the beginning, which kept me motivated when the task seemed too daunting to complete. I would like to thank Dr. Kaye Sweetser for her mentorship during the past two years and for keeping me connected with the Navy and Marine Corps program. I would like to thank Dr. Paula DeVos of the History Department for her willingness to work with an untrained, but enthusiastic, amateur historian. I would like to thank the Coast Guard for this opportunity and for investing in the higher education of its members. I'm proud to be a part of such a noble and honorable service. I would like to thank a group of retired Public Information Warrant Officers for holding on to their old paperwork. Jerry Syner, Paul Scotti, Dan Dewell, and Ed Swift, you all added priceless information to this research. My father, Dr. Doug Kroll showed me the importance of history at a young age and inspired me to complete this research. I could not have put this project together without his council. Lastly, and most importantly, I would like to thank my family for their support and encouragement. My wife, Amber, went out of her way to ensure that I had plenty of quiet and uninterrupted time to complete this research. She also had to listen to all of my discoveries along the way. My son Preston and daughter Savannah both reminded me to take occasional breaks and spend time with my family. Thank you from the bottom of my heart. You are all my heroes.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Coast Guard public affairs program remains a vital part of daily operations within the organization. As a public service, every command shares the responsibility to communicate its activities to the public in order to "build understanding, credibility, trust, and mutually beneficial relationships" (U.S. Coast Guard [USCG], 2014, p. 1-1). However, very few service members understand the purpose and capabilities of public affairs, which causes confusion within the service as to why the Coast Guard spends time and money communicating with its publics in the first place.

To compound the problem, the continuous shift in the service's role in national defense and a variety of law enforcement and environmental protection missions creates the need for constant explanation of the Coast Guard's primary function. With status as an armed force, Coast Guard members have the same rights, privileges, and responsibilities as the service members within the Department of Defense. However, with origins in federal law enforcement, the Coast Guard operates as the only military service with legal arrest authority. The Posse Comitatus Act prohibits federal military from the enforcement of domestic policy, but Title 14 USC 89 allows the Coast Guard to act as police on navigable waters. This split personality classifies the Coast Guard as an anomaly, neither fitting perfectly into the traditional definitions of a military service or a law enforcement agency.

Although interaction with external publics takes place organically during the normal activities of public service organizations, the Coast Guard dedicated full-time personnel to perform this function within the last 100 years. Presently, all five of the United States armed forces offer public affairs as a primary or secondary specialty, which means military members have the opportunity to spend their entire careers working in public affairs. Most law enforcement agencies use public information officers for the same purpose, but the nature of the position varies from fulltime to part-time and officer to civilian. Military public

affairs personnel represent a more unified approach in both staffing and training than their law enforcement counterparts. To save resources, Coast Guard public affairs personnel receive their primary and secondary training from the Defense Information School (DINFOS), which the federal government designed for members of the Department of Defense (DoD). This causes the Coast Guard to operate its public affairs program solely with combat-oriented public affairs training and forces the service to adapt military public affairs tactics to public safety missions and objectives. Using DoD training centers remains a common practice of the Coast Guard due to the cost associated with the establishment of their own institutions. Coast Guard aviation, for example, uses Navy and Air Force training centers for both officers and enlisted members. However, the Coast Guard established an Aviation Training Center (ATC) in Mobile, AL and an Aviation Technical Training Center (ATTC) in Elizabeth City, NC to bridge the gap between DoD training and Coast Guard operations. Additionally, ATC and ATTC provide central hubs for the aviation pilot and maintenance communities to collaborate on policy, techniques, and procedures to better the service.

Within the military, members who share common training and job-types are grouped into "communities." These communities include both officers and enlisted members and normally form around their primary duty, such as the surface or boating community, aviators, small-boat crewman, and administrative support. Although the public affairs program maintains an enlisted job specialty, called a rating, Public Affairs Specialist (PA) comprises one of the smallest active duty ratings in the Coast Guard. Approximately 70 enlisted PAs handle external communication for a service of more than 40,000 members. Moreover, fewer than 30 commissioned officers hold a position where their primary duty entails public affairs and the Coast Guard prohibits officers from making public affairs their primary career track. This means officers rarely serve consecutive public affairs tours, which translates to the majority of public affairs officers having only two to four years in the public affairs community. This constant turnover at the management level hinders the progress of the public affairs function by creating a lack of continuity.

Another hindrance to the public affairs community arguably comes from a lack of heritage and a minimal connection to a larger history. The major military communities surround themselves in their rich history by naming ships or aircraft hangars after past

heroes. The public affairs community owns one such name, Alex Haley, but few examples of what he did while serving as a Coast Guard Journalist exist. Alex Haley became more famous for the writings he completed after he retired than from his work in Coast Guard public affairs, so he provides an insufficient example for current members to follow. This study sought to identify more public affairs role models and allows the Coast Guard to learn from former policy decisions and build on previous accomplishments.

The researcher uses the term "public affairs" to refer to the program throughout its history. However, the Coast Guard used a variety of titles such as "public relations," "public information," and "external affairs" for personnel and offices over an 80 year period. The terms are interchangeable for the purposes of this study and refer to the same office or position.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF COAST GUARD ORGANIZATION

Five federal government organizations comprise the current identity of the Coast Guard, which explains why it straddles the lines between a military service, federal law enforcement department, and public safety agency. Originally formed August 4, 1790 as way to enforce federal tariffs on ships bound for American harbors, the Revenue Cutter Service employed a fleet of small to medium-sized ships known as "cutters" (USCG, 2017d). Alexander Hamilton, then the Secretary of the Treasury, strategically distributed his cutters along the coastline under the direction of the Treasury Department. The Revenue Cutter Service, intentionally structured as military service, followed a naval ranking system and even established its own service academy to train its officers.

By the early 20th century, the service faced a serious threat of the Navy absorbing its ships and personnel, which would abolish the Revenue Cutter Service forever. However, in 1915, an alternative plan combined the Revenue Cutter Service and the United States Lifesaving Service to form a new organization called the USCG (Kroll, 2002). The Lifesaving Service, a civilian organization established in 1878 and also under the Treasury Department, brought a network of lifesaving stations and maritime rescue responsibilities to the newly formed Coast Guard (USCG, 2017d). Part of the agreement for keeping the Revenue Cutter Service out the Navy involved a stipulation, which allowed the president of the United States to place the Coast Guard under control of the Navy during times of war. Not long after this agreement, the United States entered World War I (WWI) and in 1917 the Navy assumed control of the Coast Guard (USCG, 2017d). By 1919, the service reverted back to the Treasury Department, but the integration with the Navy for nearly two years hampered the Coast Guard's argument to remain its own organization. However, the small service found a way to distinguish itself as a law enforcement agency.

With a background in federal law enforcement at sea and a fleet of small and maneuverable ships, the Coast Guard provided a perfect fit for the federal government to interdict alcohol smugglers along the coast during the Prohibition period. Many Americans first heard of the Coast Guard in news of government boats intercepting "rumrunners." A few years after Prohibition ended in 1933, the United States entered World War II and once again the Coast Guard found itself operating as a part of the Navy (USCG, 2017d). President Roosevelt transferred the service in 1941 and along with the transfer came another identity shift away from a federal law enforcement agency and back to a military service. Around this same period, the Coast Guard began to absorb a number of agencies whose responsibilities involved federal waters. The Lighthouse Service, responsible for the operation and administration duties of lighthouses and other maritime navigational aids, joined the Coast Guard in 1939 (Johnson, 1987). In 1946, the Coast Guard also absorbed the Bureau of Marine Inspection, which formed in 1936 after the Steamboat Inspection Service and Bureau of Navigation merged (USCG, 2017d). After the end of WWII, the president returned the Coast Guard to the Treasury Department where it needed to develop a permanent identity and present a primary purpose to the American public.

Being an amalgam of five distinct services presented enough challenges in creating a single identity for the Coast Guard. Matters compounded with the formation of the Department of Transportation in 1967. Since the Coast Guard now managed a number of waterways, maritime aids to navigation, and oversaw safety inspections for water vessels, placement under this new department seemed logical. However, the transfer buried the service's military roots further under the additional duties and identities of the adjoining agencies.

When the United States entered the Vietnam War, the Coast Guard sent multiple medium-sized cutters and patrol boats to operate in the less maneuverable bodies of water too small for the Navy's larger ships. Although participation in Vietnam re-enforced the Coast Guard's status as a military service to some, only a handful of units deployed overseas (Scotti, 2000). The majority of the service remained in United States waters in order to continue its peacetime duties, which caused a portion of the nation to believe the service stayed out of the conflict all together.

Another identity shift arrived a few decades later when the Coast Guard joined federal law enforcement agencies, such as Customs and Border Protection (CBP), Immigrations and Customs Enforcement (ICE), and the Transportations Security Agency (TSA) during the formation of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) in 2003 (USCG, 2017d). Although this move aligned the service closer to the original intentions of the Revenue Cutter Service, it provided yet another identity for the service to create. Currently, the service's roles include port security in the middle east, preventing illegal immigrants and narcotics from entering the United States, maintaining federal waterways for safety and navigational purposes, enforcing environmental regulations, and the protection of life at sea to name a few.

This complex history and fragmented construction presents a public affairs challenge unlike any other military or law enforcement service. The wide range of missions leads to a variety of definitions of the Coast Guard. The traditional purpose of the four other services may seem obvious to the American public, but the Coast Guard's primary purpose requires an abundance of explanation and depends on the current needs of the nation. As those needs change, so does the service, and each time the Coast Guard's public affairs program must adapt to reinvent the service's public identity.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

MODELS OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Grunig and Hunt (1984) developed the four models of public relations to describe how the practice evolved throughout its history. The four models are press agentry/publicity, public information, two-way asymmetric, and two-way symmetric. Although each model represents a period within public relations history, characteristics of each model still exist in present day public relations practices. Press agency and public information include one-way communications, meaning practitioners conduct little to no research on their publics when developing messages, nor do they collect feedback after the campaign. In one-way communications, organizations use public relations techniques to disseminate information through a myriad of media. Two-way communications require organizations to listen to their publics in addition to disseminating information. Two-way asymmetric and two-way symmetric models both conduct research and use communications theories prior creating the messages, which makes the practice of public relations more scientific.

The press agentry/publicity model, prominent during the late 1800s to early 1900s, comes with a stigma of dishonesty and half-truth information (Grunig & Hunt, 1984). Common examples of this model include promoters of circuses and carnivals during the late 1800s that made outrageous claims about their acts. However, in modern practices, organizations using the press agentry model primarily concern themselves with "getting attention in the media" (p. 25). Professional sporting events, blockbuster movie premieres, and advertising agencies use press agentry techniques to create pseudo-events in order to attract public attention. Boorstin (1961) defined a pseudo-event as having "synthetic novelty" (p. 9), which means no news value exists other than the entertainment the event provides. These events attract attention, but the information presented fails to affect the daily life of the audience. Anniversaries and milestones, such as celebrating the one-millionth

customer, provide examples of common pseudo-events in today's public relations climate. These events are usually planned for a specific date and time, as opposed to a natural disaster or industrial accident. Organizations design them for the media, providing photographic opportunities and interviews to supplement the story. They also involve high levels of ambiguity and are vague in their importance, which provide a level of wonder and interest to the audience (Boorstin, 1961).

Public information, which grew in popularity during the early 1900s, provided a more ethical model of distributing material to the media. Although still conducting one-way communications, organizations that embrace this model provide "accurate, yet generally favorable information about their organization" (Moorlag, 2007, p. 12). Common staffing practices during this era involved the hiring of former newspapermen as public relations practitioners, which caused the public information model to earn the title of the "journalist-in-residence" model. Practices include active media-relations efforts and the distribution of products created specifically for the media, also known as information subsidies, such as news releases, videos, magazines, and fact sheets (Grunig & Hunt, 1984). In the current public relations environment, government agencies, nonprofits, and educational organizations mostly use the public information model due to the objective and moral perception of the practice. Law enforcement agencies and the incident command system (ICS) even use the title "public information officer" to associate their external communications with the ethical practices of this model.

During the 1920s, the asymmetric model began to use scientific research to persuade the public, which negatively impacted public relations by diminishing the objective intentions of the public information model. When an organization receives feedback or information from its publics, communication becomes a two-way process. The asymmetric, or unbalanced effects, model uses "research to identify the messages most likely to produce the support of publics without having to change the behavior of the organization" (Grunig, Grunig, Sriramesh, Huang, & Lyra, 1995, p. 169). Instead of changing the practices within the organization, the two-way asymmetrical model constructs a message it believes the audience wants to hear. Not inherently unethical, Grunig (2000) argued, "the asymmetrical communicator generally does not lie, but he or she chooses to keep certain information secret from the public" (p. 36).

The two-way symmetric model focuses on creating a mutual understanding with publics rather than persuading them. Gaining popularity during the 1960s and 1970s, the symmetric approach uses "bargaining, negotiating, and strategies of conflict resolution to bring about symbiotic changes in the ideas, attitudes, and behaviors of both the organization and its publics" (Grunig et al., 1995, p. 169). This model suggests that public relations be viewed more as a process and less as an outcome of actions. Even though the goal of a mutually beneficial solution remains, organizations following this model still argue or attempt to persuade their publics (Grunig, 2000). The main difference from the prior three models involves listening to external publics and considering their opinions when making organizational decisions. This model requires the practitioner "to be the public's advocate when communicating with the dominant coalition (e.g., top management) of the organization that employs them" (Dozier, 2010, p. 10).

Grunig and Hunt (1984) never intended to perfectly describe an organization's public relations program in its entirety. They simply tried to "make some sense out of the many diverse communication activities that we call public relations" (Grunig & Hunt, 1984, p. 21). A contingency view of the models suggests that, "no one approach is appropriate all of the time and for all conditions" (p. 43) and an organization can incorporate techniques from each model (Grunig & Hunt, 1984). Murphy (1991) argued the impracticality of pure symmetry and suggested an ideal model involved a "mixed-motive" (p. 125) approach. This theory presented a symmetry spectrum ranging from pure symmetry on one end to pure conflict on the other. Most public relations activities operated in the middle of this spectrum where both asymmetric and symmetric public relations contributed to the conflict resolution. Dozier, Grunig, and Grunig (1995) expanded the concept of the mixed-motive spectrum to create a new model of symmetry where the public's interests represent one side of the spectrum and the organization's interests represent the other. Using this model "negotiating and compromise permit organizations and publics to find a common ground, the win-win zone" (p. 48). Although multiple scholars interpret symmetry in their own way, they all require the organization to change its behavior based on input from the public.

Even though traces of all four models may be present at any point in time, the purpose behind an organization's communication generally reveals which model it favors (Grunig & Hunt, 1984). Seeking attention with little news value implies the press

agentry/publicity model. Providing one-way products with the intent to ethically inform the public describes the public information model. The two-way asymmetrical model includes the attempt to change behaviors and attitudes without altering the organization. Symmetric practices embrace two-way communications, but also respond to concerns of the public by making organizational changes based on scientific research.

Since the concept of symmetry defines public relations as a process instead of an outcome, the historical method provides the most accurate view of the Coast Guard's public affairs model. A single snapshot of the current program lacks the long-term information needed to determine the presence of symmetry. Grunig and Hunt's (1984) four models of public relations provided adequate classification tools for the researcher during this study. Using the definitions in the previous literature, the primary function and purpose of Coast Guard public affairs throughout its history reveals the evolution of the program.

MILITARY PUBLIC RELATIONS MODELS

Few published studies attempted to compare military public affairs programs with academic public relations models, which highlighted the importance of this study. In general, scholars assumed government agencies such as the military follow the public information model (Castelli, 2007; Grunig & Hunt, 1984). Most academic comparisons of military public affairs and civilian public relations include the roles and duties of practitioners within their own organizations rather than the models of the programs (Mock & Larson, 1941; Moorlag, 2007; Stephens, 1978). However, using the descriptions of Grunig and Hunt's (1984) public relations models, the roles and duties of practitioners provided enough information to connect an organization with the appropriate public relations model.

Mock and Larson (1941) analyzed the public relations policy, organization, and practices of the Department of War Bureau of Public Relations shortly after its creation in order to assess the efficiency of the program. The bureau consisted of eight branches: Administration, Press Information, Pictorial and Radio, Special Assignments, Planning, Intelligence, Field Liaison, and Procurement. Activities of the bureau aimed to gain "public confidence in the military establishment, and an enlightened opinion which can act decisively in an emergency" (p.282). Out of all eight branches, "the Press Branch has by far the most potent impact on public opinion" (p. 278). The Press Information Branch, run similar to a

newspaper office, exemplified the public information model. Messaging consisted of mostly one-way communications in response to inquiries from the newspapers or radio stations seeking to create a story. Civilian journalists telephoned the office requesting information and a public relations officer provided the material in the form of press releases or pamphlets created specifically for the press, which also remains consistent with the public information model. Although looking to change the attitudes of the general public, Mock and Larson (1941) failed to mention the branch conducting research or gathering information from the public. Moreover, they concluded that the Bureau of Public Relations believed "the public must not be deluded with false information, and the press must print the truth even when it is unpleasant" (p. 282). This ethical standpoint, coupled with one-way communications, solidifies that Army public relations during the early 1940s followed the public information model.

As the profession of public relations began to transition into a more symmetric process during the 1960s and 1970s, Stephens (1978) compared results from civilian and Army public relations surveys that measured the work routine of practitioners to determine if the Army kept pace with the advances in the civilian profession. Although daily activities of Army practitioners mainly involved public information subsidies and media relations, Stephens pointed out several organizational changes within the Army that suggested a shift towards two-way communications. The academic training of public affairs officers, for example, now extended beyond DINFOS to include advanced degree courses on communication theory and research at the University of Wisconsin. This meant the skill set of PAOs started to transition away from that of a technician and toward a manager and researcher. Stephens concluded that the new role of the PAO shifted to "an applied behavioral scientist, and not just a spokesman or publicist" (p. 22). Stephens' definition moved the military public affairs program closer to the two-way symmetric model, which demonstrated an organized effort to evolve military public affairs. However, identifying the model based on the daily technician activities of the position, military public affairs remained entrenched to the public information model.

Fletcher and Soucy (1983) supported Stephens' (1978) assessment about the increased symmetry in military public affairs. They defined the PAO as a boundary spanner who straddled the line between the military's closed society and the public (Fletcher &

Soucy, 1983, p. 93). Now employing effective PAOs who served the interests of both sides, symmetry in military public affairs appeared to be present. However, once Fletcher and Soucy (1983) described the interests of both sides, the relationship with the public resembled an exchange of information only with little organizational change within the military. The public "is provided with needed information about an expensive and important government function… [and] the military becomes less a stranger to the public" (p. 93). By this definition, military public affairs may involve two-way communication, but the program remained closer to asymmetrical than symmetrical. Without organizational change, classifying military public affairs as primarily two-way symmetrical remained amiss. However, acknowledgement of the boundary-spanning role of the PAO continued the evolutionary progress away from the public information model.

Focusing on the addition of digital and online communications, Levenshus (2016) targeted the Coast Guard's social media program to evaluate how government agencies handled the new medium. The platform of social media provided a two-way channel, but due to limited personnel the Coast Guard served "as an engaging host… unable to maintain conversations" (p. 190). Whether intentional or not, hosting a conversation versus actively participating qualified the approach an asymmetrical since the original content (blog, social media post) remained unchanged. Although not full symmetry, engaging with publics in an online conversation represented the closest the military practice to a symmetric model since the services created their public relations programs.

LAW ENFORCEMENT PUBLIC RELATIONS MODELS

The Coast Guard interacts with the public and the media in a law enforcement capacity on a regular basis. Whether spreading information on a new boating regulation or responding to reporters concerning a boating accident, to some publics, members of the Coast Guard resemble police officers more than they resemble members of the military. For this reason, the public relations models of police departments may offer insights to this research. Not all law enforcement departments engage in public relations, and those that do, vary in their methods, organization, and views of the function (Chermak & Weiss, 2005). The responsibilities most associated with media and community relations belong to the police department's public information officer (PIO).

Origins of the law enforcement PIO trace back to the civil riots of the 1960s when the media portrayed aggressive tactics by police officers, which brought an increase of public criticism to the profession (Motschall & Cao, 2002; Surette, 2001). This negative exposure changed the public image of a police officer "from an acceptable law enforcement presence to an armed occupational intruder" (Surette, 2001, p. 108). In response to this image change, the 1967 President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice and the 1973 National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals recommended police departments form stronger community relations and promote more positive news (Motschall & Cao, 2002). By the 1980s, public information units integrated into many law enforcement agencies and the position began to formalize.

Many studies assumed the law enforcement public information officer followed a public information model (Motschall & Cao, 2002; Simmons, 1999; Surette & Richard, 1995). However, White (2012) argued the government PIO position differs from the public relations practitioner and deserves its own definitions, theories, and models. Even those who accept the PIO within the public information model differ in their definitions of the PIO's primary function. Surette and Richard (1995) described the position as an "organizational smoke detector" (p. 329), used to warn senior leadership of potential threats, which implied researching and reporting the public's opinion. At the same time, they verified the top two tasks of the PIO as (1) responding to media inquiries and (2) writing press releases. Simmons (1999) claimed the mere presence of a public information unit reflects an organization's desire to remain transparent, but positioned the PIO as a buffer between the department and the public filtering bad news from one another. Chermak and Weiss (2005) agreed with the buffer status and stated the PIO position involved "maximizing the positive and minimizing the negative images depicted about police organizations in the news" (p. 504). Technician tasks and omitting unfavorable information confirm the use of public information model by some law enforcement agencies, but similar to the military, police departments expanded the roles and training of their practitioners.

Motschall and Cao (2002) examined the PIO function to enrich "our understanding of its history, organization, and theoretical bases for public information in law enforcement" (p. 153). Their study found PIOs separated from the one-way public information model by conducting research and counseling the dominant coalition. Moreover, some law

enforcement agencies involved community members with police activities and policy development, which aligned the public safety goals of both groups. Although this collaboration with the community suggested symmetrical practices, Motschall and Cao (2002) argued it merely expanded "the traditional view of public information as strictly media-focused" (p. 168). PIOs still saw their function as being reactive, rather than proactive, and this remained consistent with the public information model of public relations. However, based on Grunig and Hunt's (1984) definition, changing organizational policy based on input from the public reveals symmetry within some police departments.

Law enforcement literature provided a unique view of the public information model since police departments shape their programs to fit the specific needs of their community environment. Some seek to provide an information hub, while others engage with their community on a personal level. Local law enforcement departments operate on a smaller scale than the Coast Guard, both geographically and operationally, so a comparison to determine which aspects translate to the military requires its own study. However, since public support remains essential to effective police work (Surette & Richard, 1995), the Coast Guard could potentially improve its public affairs program by examining successful local law enforcement agencies.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Based on the available literature, minimal information exists about the history and purpose of Coast Guard public affairs. This study created a master narrative of the Coast Guard public affairs program by examining official policies and practices in order to assess whether the program evolved in sync with the advancements in the professional field of public relations. The findings contribute to the overall context for prior studies on military public affairs and encourage future studies of Coast Guard communication practices. Moreover, advancements in the understanding of Coast Guard public affairs affect both military and law enforcement public relations practitioners by providing a potential bridge between the two fields.

The following research questions provided the purpose and direction of this research:

> **RQ1**. How have Coast Guard public affairs goals and objectives evolved to include symmetry and other advancements of the civilian public relations profession?

The professional practice of public relations practitioners arguably evolved from the initial publicity methods of early 1900s to the more ethical and scientific process of today. Previous literature confirms the assumptions by scholars that government agencies primarily use the public information model to communicate with their publics. However, since evidence of symmetrical practices exists in law enforcement agencies (Motschall & Cao, 2002), the researcher expected to identify similar findings in the Coast Guard.

> **RQ2**. What factors and influences affected the Coast Guard's public affairs program?

This research sought to identify the origins of the current public affairs program of the Coast Guard. Two sub-questions of RQ2 aim to discover the intentions of the first years of the public affairs program and determine what influenced organizational and staffing changes as the program evolved into its current status.

> **RQ2a**. What communication needs led to the creation of the first public relations officer position and formed the initial organization of the program?

The literature also showed the majority of the public's interest in military information occurs during times of war. Since the wartime duties of the Coast Guard usually fall under DoD operations, the Coast Guard could depend on DoD public affairs without expending unnecessary resources. Prior to World War II, the Coast Guard Personnel Department worked with limited resources so any non-operational position required specific justification. Based on the law enforcement PIO literature, negative publicity during the Prohibition era could have provided a need for the Coast Guard to communicate with its publics.

> **RQ2b**. What factors shaped the organization and role of the public affairs program throughout its history?

The possible influences on the Coast Guard public affairs program include other government agencies, a wartime environment, current media practices, and civilian public relations. Searching for the original factors may provide an explanation of the service's current public affairs organization. If outdated, the factors and answers to RQ2b could provide the Coast Guard with justification to update the organization or purpose of the program.

CHAPTER 4

METHOD

HISTORICAL AND ARCHIVAL

This research used historical and archival methods to construct a chronological narrative using characteristics of political and cultural history. Primary and secondary sources provided the researcher with information required to identify changes in policy, staffing decisions, and the professional practices of Coast Guard public affairs personnel. This research defined Coast Guard policy as officially published public affairs definitions, objectives, ethical guidelines, and official instructions pertaining to communication with persons or organizations external to the Coast Guard. Changes in staffing included the addition, deletion, or reorganization of public affairs personnel within the Coast Guard. Public affairs personnel consist of active duty, reserve, or civilian Coast Guard members whose primary or collateral duties directly relate to achieving the communication goals of the service. However, due to differences in policy, command structure, and governing laws, the researcher considered the Coast Guard Auxiliary public affairs program a separate function. Although Coast Guard Auxiliary members work in conjunction with active duty members, the auxiliary program requires its own study.

Primary and secondary sources provided information, which the researcher categorized by topic and positioned in chronological order in order to form a timeline of events and policy implementations. This timeline (Appendix) provided the researcher with an outline around which to construct the historical narrative needed for this study. After adequate information provided an accurate chronology, the resulting historical narrative provided a reference to answer the research questions. It must be noted, however, that no archive claims to be complete and physical space limitations prevent the archival of every historic detail. Archives of today depend on the decisions of the archival "gatekeepers" of

the past and the prior value assigned to official documents. This subjective value determined the status of each document and its ultimate fate of either preservation or abandonment.

PRIMARY SOURCES

The historic archives at Coast Guard Headquarters in Washington, D. C., the library and museum at the Coast Guard Academy in New London, CT, Coast Guard Museum Northwest in Seattle, WA, and various online and private archival collections, contributed to the collection of original and official documents for this research. Official Coast Guard documents included public affairs manuals, organization manuals, training material, memorandums, and other official written communications pertaining to the public affairs program. Other official documents included the Official Register of the United States, DoD manuals, and various printed government materials.

A select amount of primary sources exist online though the official website of the Coast Guard Historian's office. However, the historians only digitize and upload official documents used for prior research to the website. Since this study represented the first research project attempting to construct a history of the entire public affairs program, sources directly related to the topic remained unavailable though this channel. The Coast Guard online archives mainly provided contextual documents that supported the findings related to the organization and operations of the service.

The Coast Guard Academy library in New London, CT. maintains an extensive collection of archival material including previous public affairs manuals and back issues of *Coast Guard Magazine*. However, the online catalogue of archival material remained a "work in progress" and only provided limited resources. Moreover, library policy prohibits physical documents to leave the archive cage, which prevented interlibrary loans of material. The Coast Guard research assistants handled all requests for information and academy cadets maintain priority over the resources within the library. When an external researcher located an item of interest, the library staff digitally scans the document one page at time and emailed the file as a portable document format (PDF). Although inefficient, the Coast Guard Academy library provided invaluable research material for this study.

A large cache of historic Coast Guard artifacts exists in the storage areas of the Coast Guard Museum Northwest in Seattle, WA. Organized without an accessible online

catalogue, researchers must trust the knowledge of the museum curators to find supporting material. Without online capability, museum staff must photocopy the desired documents and mail them via the U.S. Postal Service. Although behind the technology curve, the Coast Guard Museum Northwest houses a multitude of rare and forgotten informational sources that provided indispensable details to the historical researcher.

This documentation provided a view of how the service defined public affairs to its members and how the program fit into the organization's command structure. Internal and external publications produced by the Coast Guard, including *Coast Guard Magazine, Commandant's Bulletin, Public Relations Newsletter, Proceedings Magazine*, and official recruiting material revealed how public affairs personnel practiced the intentions of the policy. News products from archival newspaper, magazine, and periodical databases provided supplemental information on the Coast Guard public affairs program including the public's perception and the effectiveness of the program.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Academic journal articles and public relations books exploring public relations models established the theoretical framework and definitions for this research. Previously published historical works conveyed the current level of knowledge on the subject and allowed this research to build upon the existing historiography. Books on military-media relations, combat photography, and wartime communications provided the known origins of the programs and revealed the interests and focus of prior historians. In addition, books and publications on Coast Guard history supplied the organizational context of the service, which related to public affairs staffing and organizational decisions. Scholarly research concerning military or law enforcement relations with the public or media explained the current academic opinions on the topic and identified the previously established connections between government public information and civilian public relations.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS: HISTORY OF THE COAST GUARD PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

THE BEGINNING

The ebb and flow of military public affairs advancements historically coincides with America's participation in armed conflicts. In response to the public's interest in military activities during times of war, the armed forces established channels and platforms to improve their external communications. Prior to formalizing their public affairs programs, the United States military services used the press to garner public support and control information. The Union and Confederate Armies both limited access to civilian newspaper correspondents to manage the news of their Civil War battles (Knightley, 1974). Moreover, the Union Army suppressed as many as 20 northern newspapers in order to censor information that could have been valuable to Confederate Army commanders. During the Spanish-American War, to communicate more directly reporters, "daily releases were posted for the press on a bulletin board outside the office of the Secretary of War" (Fletcher & Soucy, 1983, p. 93). These actions demonstrated a temporary or casual relationship between the military and the media. During this time, the Coast Guard remained relatively reclusive in terms of public affairs. However, the advancements of other military services and civilian public relations created the initial communication environment of which the Coast Guard would soon be a part.

Before the early 1900s, journalists and their sources used the publicity model of public relations to communicate. Civilian reporters relied on these casual relationships with publicists and press agents to gather information for news articles. Competition on both sides of the relationship encouraged unethical behavior, such as bribes and gimmicks, to ensure more exposure and increased sales. During that time, most people associated

publicity with dishonest and misleading information, which may have prevented the military from formalizing a public affairs program. However, shortly after the Spanish-American War, the military and the press established a professional relationship where an organized and ethical information exchange could take place.

In his 1906 declaration of principles, renowned publicist Ivy Lee vowed to only release accurate and verifiable information to the public. Claiming a goal of objectivity, Lee argued the job of the publicist was "to supply to the press and the public of the United States prompt and accurate information concerning subjects which it is of value and interest to the public to know about" (as quoted in Russell & Bishop, 2009, p. 91). Using Lee's declaration of principles as the new industry standard, the public information model formed and added an element of credibility to the profession. This model provided unbiased and accurate information to the public and press in the form of information subsidies, such as press releases, bulletins, and information sheets. Coincidentally, the first organizational change in the United States military that resembled professional public relations occurred shortly after Lee's declaration in 1907, when the Marine Corps established a publicity bureau in their Chicago recruiting office (Stephens, 1978). Although mostly a recruiting information center, the Marine Corps took a bold step to establish such an office during a time when questionable ethics still surrounded the use of publicity.

Some politicians, however, remained uncomfortable with government agencies using publicity, which influenced the federal government to pass the Gillett Amendment in 1913. Introduced by Fredrick Gillett (R-Mass) as a 17-word attachment to the Deficiency Appropriation Act of 1913, the amendment prohibited government agencies from hiring publicity experts using appropriated funds (Taylor & Kent, 2016). Since the Gillett Amendment never clearly defined the term "publicity expert," ambiguity allowed military branches room to work around the restriction.

Not long after the Gillett Amendment, the Secretary of the War Department asked the Army to organize an office to respond to the public's inquiries for information. The Army complied and in 1916 assigned Major Douglas MacArthur the duties of operating the Army Public Release Office at West Point (Pulwers, 2003). This office mostly acted as a central contact point for the members of the press. Without actively seeking attention from the newspapers, the office operated within the restrictions of the Gillett Amendment.

Additionally, the Navy established a news bureau to supply news of Navy convoys and anti-submarine activity to the CPI and the newspapers (U.S. Navy Public Affairs Association [USNPAA], 2007).

The Committee on Public Information

World War I increased the public's demand for military information, which prompted the federal government and military services to expand their involvement with the press very quickly. Moreover, propaganda from Europe reached America and provided a need for the federal government to inform and possibly influence the public. The Executive Order of April 13, 1917, signed just days after the United States entered WWI, established the Committee of Public Information (CPI). Otherwise known as the Creel Committee after its chair, George Creel, the CPI included the Secretaries of State, War, and Navy in addition to a group of journalists, scholars, press agents, editors, and artists (Mock & Larson, 1939, p. 4). From 1917 to 1919, the committee served as a common voice for the armed forces and established the governing policy for the release of governmental and wartime information. This collective voice also included the Coast Guard because President Wilson temporarily transferred the service to the control of the Navy in 1917, as is expected during times of war (USCG, 2017d). Although not directly involved with the CPI or the Navy News Bureau, the Coast Guard followed their policies and procedures, thereby exposing the service to organized public affairs.

The design of the CPI followed the concepts of Lee and solidified the public information model, which remains closely associated with military public affairs to this day. The main purpose of the CPI involved the distribution of "affirmative propaganda" (Mock & Larson, 1939, p. 19) to increase patriotism and support for the war. Although persuasive in nature, the propaganda of the CPI maintained an objective appearance, even though their messages aimed to achieve a specific agenda to support the war. A secondary priority required the committee to suppress information it considered harmful to the cause of winning the war. The CPI imposed this censorship in the form of voluntary rules for the press, partly because the committee lacked the legal authority to enforce censorship. That authority belonged to the Department of Justice (p. 20). Creel understood the importance of expression and knew a working relationship with the media would work in the government's

favor. Operating as the first joint military public affairs office, the cooperative efforts of the CPI set the tone for future military public affairs.

The Inter-War Period

The end of World War I brought a sharp decrease of the public's interest in military news, but the armed services maintained their newly established public affairs positions, even though they released a minimal amount of information. However, the inter-war period served as an important time because military public affairs became more prominent. The military adopted the new civilian term "public relations" to distance its communication program from negative reputation of propaganda, which still lingered from WWI. After moving their Public Release Office to Washington D.C. in 1919, the Army transitioned the office into the Public Relations Branch in 1924, where it operated as part of the Military Intelligence Division (Pulwers, 2003). That same year, the Commandant of the Marine Corps established a publicity officer position at their headquarters and assigned a public relations officer to his personal staff (Condit, Johnstone, & Nargele, 1970).

Also after the war, the Coast Guard reverted back to the Treasury department in 1919. Only a few years after the merger of the Revenue Cutter Service and Lifesaving Service in 1915, the newly formed Coast Guard failed to gain much recognition from the public and continued to use casual and informal relations to communicate with the public and the press. Although the other services established publicity and public relations positions, the Coast Guard quietly operated as it did prior to WWI. One Philadelphia newspaper shared heroic stories in a 1922 article and claimed for every Coast Guard rescue featured in the press, one hundred rescues remained untold ("Fiction Outdone," 1922, p. 15). Another article, written by Coast Guard Commander Bryon Reed (1922), simply tried to explain the Coast Guard's authority on the water as recreational boating activity increased during the early 20th century. Commander Reed, acting as an informal public affairs officer before the Coast Guard even recognized the position, informed the public of the Coast Guard's role in an upcoming regatta and explained how spectators could safely watch the event. Although commonly practiced in the Coast Guard today, these articles appeared as isolated information subsidies and were not the norm.

Some public affairs activities, however, involved a more professional working relationship with the media, such as collaborating with motion picture industry and embedding news reporters into operational units. Beginning mostly as novelty entertainment, motion pictures quickly evolved into an effective way to communicate with the public. The Coast Guard cooperated on a number of early productions before and after WWI, but the service mostly authorized the use of its ships and shore facilities (Judd, 2006). However, a willingness to work with the motion picture industry showed promise for the Coast Guard public affairs program and created much needed public exposure for the service. News reporter embeds also showed early promise, even though the practice remained uncommon. In one example, Coast Guard Commandant Admiral Billard granted special permission for a North American Newspaper Alliance reporter to spend several days with Coast Guard units in Cape May, NJ (Peterman, 1930). Reporter Ivan Peterman flew with Coast Guard pilots, sailed with Coast Guard small boats and cutters, and then produced a series of four articles published in newspapers across the country. Capitalizing on the growing print media industry, *The U.S. Coast Guard Magazine* first appeared in 1927, but as a privately funded publication (USCG, 2017c). However, Coast Guard personnel contributed articles and information to the magazine, which acted as the first official magazine. While some of these activities indicated progress for Coast Guard public affairs, the program mostly remained unorganized following WWI.

Prohibition

A new role of enforcing prohibition laws during the 1920s and 1930s attracted more attention for the Coast Guard than ever before. However, without a designated publicity or public relations officer, the relatively unknown service struggled to control its public identity. Many Americans first heard of the Coast Guard through news of government boats intercepting "rumrunners" attempting to smuggle liquor off the coast. Some of the early press reported the Coast Guard's new role with excitement and enthusiasm. Roberts (1924), a photographer for the *Los Angeles Times*, published a series of favorable photographs depicting Coast Guard boats in pursuit of rumrunners. A *New York Time*s article explained that the Coast Guard's fleet of small and maneuverable boats provided an ideal fit for maritime prohibition enforcement ("Coast Guard's Life," 1925). The increased authority and

responsibility enabled the Coast Guard to expand its personnel numbers, which almost doubled between 1925 and 1926 (Ricci, 2011). Motion picture productions featuring the Coast Guard spiked during the early Prohibition era as well, with movies such as *The Carnival Girl* and *Casey of the Coast Guard* (Judd, 2006). Most films during that period showcased Coast Guard members as heroes battling rumrunners.

As time passed, the excitement of chasing rumrunners wore off and unfavorable news stories began to surface. Prohibition laws divided the country into opposing sides and the Coast Guard received criticism from both. Opponents of the law observed unnecessary force used against the smugglers, and supporters of the law felt the Coast Guard could stop more rumrunners that it did (Willoughby, 1964). Moreover, Prohibition tempted some members of the Coast Guard to abuse their power, as it did with other enforcement agencies at the time. Incidents of corruption, harassment, and even questionable use of fatal force now dominated the press coverage of the service and shaped the public's opinion.

One noticeable increase of negative sentiment occurred after two Coast Guard boats sank the Canadian-flagged rumrunner *I'm Alone* beyond the U.S Treaty limits in the Gulf of Mexico in 1929. Encounters with international smugglers occurred frequently during Prohibition because liquor remained legal in other countries. However, this incident received international attention because a foreign national died as a result of the pursuit, which, according to the Coast Guard, began within treaty limits (Ricci, 2011). According to international law, if a pursuit begins within the boundaries of a country's jurisdiction, the law enforcement agency may continue the pursuit into international waters. The disputed starting point of the incident brought the Coast Guard into a much larger public debate over international treaties. Although the Coast Guard boats reportedly acted according to regulations, sinking the *I'm Alone* started a chain of unfavorable publicity for the service.

A few months after the *I'm Alone* incident, the Coast Guard seized an illegal shipment of alcohol from the *Black Duck Sunday* off the coast of Rhode Island. Three members of the rumrunner died during the confrontation and the press did not mince words. The *Los Angeles Times*, for example, reported the incident as the "slaying" of three rumrunners by the Coast Guard and then brought up allegations of Coast Guard members stealing seized liquor for a party in New London, CT ("Fight Reveals Rum Theft," 1929). A

few days later, a group of men severely beat two members of the Coast Guard in retaliation for the *Black Duck Sunday* crewmembers ("Gang of Men," 1930).

Senior leadership in both the Coast Guard and the Treasury Department took notice to the recent bad publicity and acknowledged the impact of the growing problem. Captain Chalker, Coast Guard Chief of Staff, directly blamed misleading publicity for the retaliation attacks on Coast Guard members in New London, CT ("Gang of Men," 1930). Moreover, he recognized the need to provide the Coast Guard's viewpoint since "liquor smugglers, cheap politicians, and wet fanatics" (p. 2) provided the anti-Coast Guard statements on the matter. By 1932, the topic of bad publicity surfaced in the Coast Guard appropriation hearing, which included Coast Guard senior staff and members of the House Committee on Appropriations. The Coast Guard members included Commandant Admiral Hamlet, Captain Chalker, Commander Waesche, and several others. During the hearing, members of the Coast Guard and the congressional committee spoke with familiarity about the problem of bad publicity, but only discussed possible solutions that required additional funding. Regardless, the Coast Guard now recognized the concerns over publicity and needed to address them. The next year, the Coast Guard designated Lieutenant Commander LeRoy Reinburg as their first public relations officer (USCG, 2017j).

Lieutenant Commander Reinburg, sometimes referred to as the Coast Guard's national public relations director by the media, transferred to Coast Guard headquarters in early 1933 from Base 6 in St. Petersburg, FL ("Coast Guard Orders," 1934). Although his public relations position held a collateral or secondary duty status, he quickly sought out opportunities in the media. That August, The Times-World Wide News station KHJ broadcasted their radio program from the Coast Guard cutter *Tampa* while she made way in Long Island Sound (Nye, 1933). As a special program for the Coast Guard's anniversary, the Coast Guard band performed a brief concert followed by a public address from Admiral Hamlet for a national radio audience. With a dedicated public relations position and prohibition nearing its end, the Coast Guard created an opportunity to rebuild its public reputation using its public affairs program. However, events such as the radio program mainly sought to gain attention for the service and resembled tactics and techniques associated with the publicity model of public relations. The other military services, meanwhile, mostly used the public information model as developed by the CPI during WWI.

Also during the early 1930s, financial struggles caused by the Great Depression motivated numerous business organizations to create their own public relations departments in order to increase sales (Broom & Sha, 2013). Edward Bernays (1928), a public relations pioneer and former member of the CPI, redefined the profession as a way to understand public opinion and share that information with the organization's decision makers. Instead of an objective information distribution center provided by the public information model, Bernays saw public relations as a two-way communication council used to ethically persuade the public. Exposure to "affirmative propaganda" during Bernays' tenure with the CPI most likely shaped his opinion on persuasion and prioritized its importance in public relations. His social science methods proved highly effective, which caused considerable growth the field of public relations, especially within the federal government. Although the Army and the Navy established their public relations officers the decade prior, the Coast Guard's public affairs actions in the 1930s kept pace with many of the other federal agencies. Fear of the Gillett Amendment faded as public relations departments and press relations became a part of business, even for the federal government. The Federal Trade Commission, the Department of the Interior, and the Bureau of Internal Revenue all created public relations positions during the 1930s (U.S. Civil Service Commission, 1936). Even President Franklin Roosevelt demonstrated the value he placed in public relations when he used radio addresses, known as Fireside Chats, to build support for The New Deal in 1933 (Neuman, 1996).

The Treasury Department

Within the Treasury Department, Secretary Henry Morgenthau Jr. played a major role in the expansion of public relations by creating strict communications policies. After Treasury Secretary William Woodin took an indefinite leave of absence for health reasons in November of 1933, President Roosevelt appointed Morgenthau as Acting Secretary of the Treasury ("Treasury Headed," 1933). Immediately after assuming the duties of the office, Morgenthau signed Treasury Department Order Number One, which stated: "All statements to the press or to the public through interviews, speeches, or public addresses by any officer or employee of the Treasury Department shall be submitted before release for approval by Herbert E. Gaston, assistant to the Secretary" ("Press Incensed," 1933, p. 6). Prior to this order, the press saw few restrictions to information concerning the Treasury, which during

the depression carried substantial news value. In response, the press protested and petitioned to the President over the censorship imposed by this new order. Morgenthau and Gaston took offence to allegations of censorship and insisted they merely attempted to control leaks of rumors and inaccurate information. This order not only applied to the Treasury, but the agencies within the department as well. The Coast Guard, Public Health Service, Bureau of Internal Revenue, and the Bureau of Industrial Alcohol all needed Gaston's approval to release any information to the public. Fortunately, Morgenthau's monopoly of information only survived a few days before he alleviated the restrictions and urged agencies to designate officers to handle press inquiries ("Morgenthau Eases," 1933). The Coast Guard and the Bureau of Internal Revenue already designated such officers, which may have influenced Morgenthau to limit his control of information to only concern policy specific to the Treasury. Nonetheless, with Morgenthau now in office, the Coast Guard saw the need to immediately strengthen its public affairs program.

The Shift Toward Public Information

During the mid 1930s, the Coast Guard initiated a series of steps to organize its public Affairs program. These changes began to evolve Coast Guard public affairs beyond the publicity model of public relations and aligned the service closer to the public information model used by the other military branches. Policy, reorganization, and additional staffing all contributed to the formalizing of Coast Guard public affairs.

Lieutenant Commander Reinburg remained the Coast Guard's public relations officer the following year and worked with the Personnel Section at Headquarters to acquire more staff. In a series of memorandums during November 1934, a discussion arose about the possibility of assigning a member of the Coast Guard as an official photographer (USCG, 1950). Headquarters noticed missed opportunities from not possessing an updated photographic file of units and ships they could distribute to the press. Lieutenant William Schiebel, Assistant Chief of Personnel at Headquarters recommended Yeoman First Class Everett Washburn who then became the first official Coast Guard photographer. The Army and the Navy already designated members as photographers and even established photography schools during WWI (Moyes, 1996), but they mostly used photographs for intelligence and historical purposes (Moeller, 1989). Solely for the purpose of public affairs,

the Coast Guard photography program originated from modest beginnings involving one petty officer. A few years later, the service temporarily appointed Boatswain First Class Clarence Samuels to Chief Photographer before officially establishing the Photographer's Mate rating in 1940 (Strobridge & Grecco, 1975).

In addition to a designated enlisted work force, the officer positions achieved a higher status as the Coast Guard continued to incorporate public affairs into the service. During 1935, Commander Waesche, aide to Coast Guard Commandant Admiral Hamlet, implemented a reorganization of Headquarters personnel. The new structure placed the Commandant's aide, the public relations officer, and a technical advisor in the same office as the Commandant (Johnson, 1987, p. 150). This move exemplified the priority of the public relations position and the need for public affairs at the highest levels within the Coast Guard. Moreover, the service now considered public relations a primary duty and assigned Lieutenant Commander Louis Perkins to the public relations officer position in October 1935 (USCG, 1953). Perkins only held the job for a year before transferring to the Coast Guard Academy as the Commandant of Cadets. After which, Lieutenant Commander George Gelly became the Coast Guard's public relations officer and remained in the position until 1940. However, the lessons learned from all three officers provided input for the first official public affairs policy, which the Coast Guard released in a Circular Letter signed by Admiral Waesche on August 25, 1936 (USCG, 1940).

Coast Guard Circular Letters acted as immediate amendments or additions to Coast Guard regulations. Circular number 125, appropriately titled "Public Relations," defined the role of public relations in the Coast Guard, assigned responsibility, and established guidelines for the production of information subsidies (USCG, 1940). According to the policy within Circular 125, the Coast Guard held an obligation to disseminate accurate and pertinent information about the organization to the public. It also listed public relations as a function of command and designated every commanding officer and officer in charge as their unit public relations officer. This designation could be delegated to a junior officer if he possessed the necessary tact and judgment to deal with the press, and Headquarters required written justification in those cases. The bulk of the policy outlined appropriate procedures and restrictions on public speeches, photographs, and production agreements with the motion picture industry. Most importantly, the new policy streamlined the process to embed

accredited members of the press, which allowed reporters to witness Coast Guard operations first hand (MacMullen, 1937). The policy also outlined an early form of the media pooling technique, which takes place when multiple reporters seek limited seats on a Coast Guard asset. Media pooling requires members of the press to share their information and camera footage with the remaining members unable to embark with the Coast Guard. Circular number 125 only included six pages of instruction, but now public relations responsibilities extended beyond Headquarters and out to hundreds of units across the country. Additionally, with clear guidance on working with the media, the Coast Guard could collaborate on more information subsidies, including motion pictures.

The experience gained from the earlier days of working with the motion picture industry began to greatly benefit the Coast Guard in the late 1930s. The new policy explicitly listed the conditions under which the Coast Guard would cooperate with a specific production. Such cooperation offered the service more control over how it appeared on film. Multiple motion pictures with prominent production companies such as Paramount, Universal, and 20th Century Fox and big-name actors, including Buddy Ebsen and John Wayne featured the Coast Guard and its missions during this time. Having a policy in place made collaboration easier for both the motion picture industry and the Coast Guard, and this enabled the service to take better advantage of this popular medium.

In the summer of 1939, President Roosevelt announced his Reorganization Plan II, which consolidated the Coast Guard and the Lighthouse Service (Johnson, 1987). The merger became official on July 1, 1939 and that same month the Coast Guard discontinued the *Lighthouse Service Bulletin* to publish volume one of the *Coast Guard Bulletin* ("The Coast Guard Bulletin," 1939). Over the next few years, the *Coast Guard Bulletin* transformed from a small pamphlet containing navigational information to the primary source for internal information to members of the service.

New public affairs positions and policies created during the late 1930s focused the Coast Guard on photography and internal publications. Such emphasis on information subsidies and other informative media products solidified the Coast Guard's progression into the public information model of public relations. Additionally, the policy to release true and accurate information to increase the public's knowledge of the service demonstrated a change in the use of the public affairs program. With a purpose other than simply gaining attention

for the service, the one-way communication activities updated the program's prior publicity and press agentry methods.

Initial Influences

Although influenced by Army and Navy public affairs, the Coast Guard developed its program independently and for purposes other than regulating wartime communication. The environment of WWI and the policies of the CPI provided the starting framework for the other branches of the armed forces. Early Coast Guard public affairs, however, most likely resulted from the public's negative reaction to Prohibition enforcement and sought to control and rebuild the service's tarnished image. During a future public affairs conference, a senior member of the Coast Guard even recalled their poor relations with the press during Prohibition and highlighted the progress the service made in its public affairs program (Haley, 1950). Additionally, Morgenthau's policies in the Treasury Department influenced Coast Guard public affairs more than the advances in the other services. Otherwise, the Coast Guard would have established a public affairs program immediately following WWI. Instead, the Coast Guard created its own path to establishing a public affairs program for its specific needs and operations. However, when the United States entered World War II (WWII), Coast Guard missions and priorities changed. This new direction required the Coast Guard's public affairs program to adapt to Army and Navy public affairs.

The Expansion During World War II

When Commander Ellis Reed-Hill assumed the duties of Coast Guard public relations officer in August 1940 (USCG, 2017g), he completed his first year rather quietly making few changes to the public affairs program. At that time, public affairs included a minimal staff of just a few photographers assigned to Headquarters in addition to untrained collateral duty public relations officers scattered at units across the country. Multiple factors over the course of WWII, however, contributed to the unprecedented expansion of Coast Guard public affairs efforts and personnel. These factors included advancements in civilian public relations, changing communication technology, the reorganization of federal agencies, and operating as part of the Navy Department.

Without a formal training program for their public relations officers, the Coast Guard public affairs program directly benefited from efforts to improve the civilian public relations profession. Civilian public relations continued to grow in the 1940s as private businesses and organizations added or expended public relations departments. Although colleges offered public relations courses as early as the mid 1920s (Grunig & Hunt, 1984), most practitioners lacked professional training and, by the early 1940s, the profession suffered for it. Companies hired former journalists to fill public relations positions because senior management desired public relations men with knowledge of the newspaper business. This approach caused public relations departments to rely on the production of information subsidies instead of acting as the communication link between the company and its publics as envisioned by Bernays. However, early in 1939, a group from west coast colleges and newspapers consulted one another about the growing problems of public relations and established the American Council on Public Relations (Harlow, 1940). Seeking to advance the education and research of public relations, the council's main purpose aimed "to provide courses of instruction in public relations to all levels of our society" (Harlow, 1940, p. 324). Within the first few years of its existence, the society formed a network of colleges offering these classes. This endeavor attempted to advance the profession by distinguishing public relations from journalism and publicity while emphasizing the importance of two-way communication.

Interest in military news traditionally increased during times of war, which amplified the demand on Coast Guard public affairs. By the onset of WWII, the news environment evolved into "the media" and military services adapted by strengthening their public affairs programs. Media technology saw considerable changes when compared to the days of the CPI and WWI, which required more attention than the limited personnel of the Coast Guard public affairs program could provide. Radio stations began to replace newspapers as sources of daily news, which decreased the time required for an organization respond to inquiries and release information. Instead of waiting for the next day's newspaper, radio news broadcasted live from the scene of an event. Moreover, emerging media such as newsreels, national magazines, and the Associated Press' Wirephoto service added a new emphasis on visual information subsidies for public relations professionals. In order to earn valuable airtime or print space from news editors, news releases required photographs and motion pictures clips.

The Army and the Navy initiated the expansion by increasing the size of their public affairs programs beginning at the highest levels of their services. In February 1941, Army Headquarters combined its Public Relations Branch, Information Section of the Office of the Under-Secretary of War, and Office Deputy Chief of Staff to form the Bureau of Public Affairs (Mock & Larson, 1941). Shortly after releasing a *Guide to Navy Public Relations* on March 19, 1941 (U.S. Navy [USN], 1943), the Navy established their Office of Public Relations (OPR) and the Marine Corps stood up a Division of Public Relations in the Office of the Commandant (Condit et al., 1970). After President Roosevelt transferred the Coast Guard to the Navy Department on November 1, 1941, the Navy's policy and creation of the OPR directly impacted Coast Guard public affairs (Johnson, 1987). As a result of the transfer, Coast Guard members now adhered to all Navy policy, and the Coast Guard public affairs program integrated into its navy counterpart.

The Navy developed its public affairs policy quickly as the war progressed, which presented Commander Reed-Hill with two options. He could either rely on Navy public affairs to include Coast Guard activities during the war, or he could take advantage of the Navy resources to build Coast Guard public affairs. Commander Reed-Hill possibly considered relying on the Navy since they included the Coast Guard in amendments to the *Guide to Navy Public Relations*. Navy policy released in June 1942 urged its public relations officers to give "substantial credit to the Coast Guard in releasing accounts of joint Navy and Coast Guard operations," and concerning exclusive operations of the Coast Guard, "an effort should be made to give proper individual credit to the officers and men of the Coast Guard" (USN, 1943, p. 1.411). However, Commander Reed-Hill chose to build the Coast Guard public affairs program and from that point the developments almost mirrored the Navy's program, making a few exceptions when needed. Perhaps the nonobligatory language in the Navy's policy convinced Commander Reed-Hill to enhance Coast Guard public affairs. Regardless of his motivation, the Commander moved swiftly to keep pace with the Navy and the other agencies within the federal government.

Multiple voices emerged from the federal government during 1942 and if the Coast Guard failed to tell its own story, the achievements of the service would get lost in the crowd. Similar to conditions during WWI, the United States began to consolidate its communication offices and sought out ways to compete with the influx of foreign propaganda. On June 13,

1942, the Executive Branch created their Office of War Information (OWI) by combining three smaller offices (Koppes & Black, 1977). President Roosevelt instructed the OWI "to enhance public understanding of the war; to coordinate the war-information activities of all federal agencies; and to act as the intermediary between federal agencies and the radio and motion picture industries" (p. 88). Since the military branches now handled their own press activities, the OWI mainly focused on influencing Hollywood and other entertainment media to incorporate positive messages concerning the nation's war efforts. The formation of the OWI and the growing competition from the other military services provided reasons for Commander Reed-Hill to improve the Coast Guard's public affairs program.

Improvements in Coast Guard public affairs occurred on three levels. The "macro-level" included the development of policy and the reorganization of Headquarters staff. This provided the overarching direction for the program. Regional commands, such as Coast Guard District Public Relations Offices, provided the "meso-level" to public affairs program management. This design allowed the Coast Guard to personalize their campaigns to specific communities. The "micro-level" of the program entailed individual public affairs opportunities for Coast Guard members, mostly in the form of new enlisted ratings. Recruitment for the new ratings and officer positions brought a wealth of talent and professional experience to Coast Guard public affairs. The service implemented some of these changes immediately, while others resulted from long-term lessons learned throughout the war.

Policy and Headquarters Organization

Public affairs policy mostly originated from the Navy, but the staff at Coast Guard Headquarters developed eight public relations objectives to guide their efforts during WWII. The objectives stated the following:

1. To acquaint the public with the work of the Coast Guard, the part it has played in war and the peacetime duties it performs for the Treasury.
2. To build up morale among men of the Coast Guard especially overseas, by giving them due public recognition for services rendered. To publicize medal winners. To build morale of families back home.
3. To cooperate with other publicity officials in supplying radio talent, musicians, men for incentive speeches, bond rallies, etc.

4. To keep material for historical purposes – written by combat correspondents and pictures by combat photographers.
5. To review all material for censorship clearance and national security
6. To show benefits of the service and to urge young men and women to join the Coast Guard in the service of their country.
7. To correct misimpressions of the service by reporting faithfully.
8. To stress accuracy and quality of work, and to conform to American traditions which are generally accepted among public relations men. (USCG, 1950, p.1)

As part of his strategy, Captain Reed-Hill (promoted on July 1, 1942) emphasized the importance of portraying the personalities of Coast Guard members to the public (USCG, 2017g). He knew the small service could not compete with the intense production of the Army and Navy, so the individual member became the primary focus of Coast Guard public affairs. To help this effort, the Coast Guard primarily used photography and the hometown news programs.

Sending personalized photos and news stories to a serviceman's local newspaper became a principle policy of Coast Guard public affairs during WWII. Headquarters instructed their field personnel to include the names and home addresses of Coast Guardsmen featured in articles or photographs (USCG, 1950). Once received by Headquarters, the staff then mailed the information subsidies to the families and their hometown newspapers. This procedure produced two main benefits. First, news and photographs of a family member deployed overseas increased morale and support at home. Second, the public's misconception of the Coast Guard staying close to American coastlines quickly vanished after viewing Coast Guardsmen in action oversees. News editors praised this personalized campaign as the best publicity approach of the armed services (Stanford, 1945). To Captain Reed-Hill and his staff, the hometown news program provided an efficient method to achieve big results because it required little effort to make someone a hero in his own neighborhood ("Front-Page Coast Guard," 1944).

As policy and direction developed, the command structure of Coast Guard Headquarters still placed the public relations officer in the Office of the Commandant as it did in 1935 (USCG, 1944b). By 1942, Coast Guard Headquarters created a Photographic Section under Captain Reed-Hill then expanded his position to the Chief of the Public Relations Division the following year (USCG, 1950). These changes aligned the Coast

Guard closer to the Navy OPR, which formed as many as 10 sections during the war (USN, 1943). Responsibilities of the division mostly involved the supervision and approval of public affairs information subsidies and liaising with the OPR and OWI. All Coast Guard material required approval from the Navy prior to public release, so interagency cooperation remained an essential part of the division's staff (USCG, 1950).

TWO-WAY COMMUNICATION

Instead of simply informing the public using one-way communication, the Coast Guard sought to include the public's opinion in the decision-making process of the service. In addition to the production of informational material, the Public Relations Division needed to "ascertain and analyze public opinion regarding the service" (USCG, 1944b, p. 12). The Coast Guard Commandant relied on Captain Reed-Hill's advice concerning public opinion in order to predict how proposed Coast Guard programs and policies would affect the perception of the service. The inclusion of public opinion demonstrated how the Coast Guard public affairs program evolved to resemble the progressive side of civilian public relations, which continued to emphasize two-way communication practices during the early 1940s. Although the majority of Coast Guard public affairs personnel continued to produce and distribute one-way information subsidies, the dominant coalition of decision makers at Headquarters incorporated two-way communication. This practice moved the Coast Guard public affairs program closer to the two-way symmetric model of public relations.

SECTIONS OF THE PUBLIC RELATIONS DIVISION

To supervise the production of information subsidies, Captain Reed-Hill augmented the division with a Correspondent Section in 1943, which complimented the Photographic Section (USCG, 1950). As the Coast Guard's program matured during the war, the Public Relations Division also added a Historical Section and a Magazine Section at Headquarters. Field offices, such as the Graphic Unit in White Plains, NY and a Motion Picture Unit in New York City also emerged to assist with more specialized material (USCG, 1950). Although Captain Reed-Hill incorporated multiple sections and units, the Photography and Correspondent Sections remained the largest and most active components of the Public Relations Division.

Lieutenant Commander Jack Dixon managed the Photographic Section similar to a newspaper office, providing direction and instruction to Coast Guard photographers out on assignment. Lieutenant Commander Dixon's professional resume included more than twenty years of experience as a newspaper photographer in Boston (Stanford, 1945). He enlisted in the Coast Guard during the early stages of the war prior to receiving Captain Reed-Hill's selection and promotion into the Photographic Section. Many of the photographs received detailed attention from Lieutenant Commander Dixon, who some considered a great photographic artist (Stanford, 1945). Using specialized developing and cropping techniques, his knowledge of news photography set the standard for Coast Guard photographers throughout the war.

Although most of the Coast Guard photographers developed their film in the field, others mailed their negatives to Headquarters for development in the photograph laboratory. Lieutenant Junior Grade Everett Washburn, who as Yeoman First Class became the first Coast Guard photographer, earned an officer commission and now supervised the laboratory that developed an average of 2,500 photos a day (USCG, 1950, p.12). For their Graphic Unit in White Plains, NY, the Coast Guard selected a group of professional artists from the enlisted corps. Established in 1945, the Graphic Unit used lithograph and silkscreen printing to produce recruiting and exhibition posters for public display (p. 4). While some district offices established their own graphic and printing centers for local campaigns. The White Plains Graphic Unit produced nationally distributed material to Coast Guard recruiting offices and units participating in special event shows.

The Correspondent Section, and later the Magazine Section, processed written and journalistic material for newspapers, magazines, and internal publications (USCG, 1950). The Magazine Section handled the delivery and placement of Coast Guard articles and recruiting advertisements for civilian publications. Coast Guard Headquarters also produced and published a number of magazines during WWII for both internal and external audiences. The Coast Guard mailed the *War News Clipper,* which included Coast Guard articles, photos, and artwork, to 2,500 newspapers around the country in addition to editors of Coast Guard unit publications (USCG, 1950). This magazine acted as a wire service specific to Coast Guard activities. Editors selected material as needed to add content to their publications without the additional costs of producing the article or photograph.

In January 1944, Arch Mercy left his position as the Associate Chief of the Bureau of Motion Pictures in the OWI to join the Coast Guard Public Relations Division as a Lieutenant (USCG, 1945b). Mercy soon promoted to Commander and assumed the duties of Assistant Chief of Public Relations directly under Captain Reed-Hill. Commander Mercy initiated the *Public Relations Newsletter* to spread information on policy changes, achievements, and upcoming events to Coast Guard public affairs staff around the country (USCG, 1950). This bi-weekly publication, first released on June 15, 1944, acted as a public relations forum until October 1945. Toward the end of the war, Commander Mercy, Chief Lee Grove, and Lieutenant Commander Dixon compiled and edited a collection of individual articles and photographs that represented a personalized view of Coast Guard members in WWII (Mercy & Grove, 1945). The book *Sea, Surf, & Hell* featured an introduction from Captain Reed-Hill, more than forty articles, twenty-five photographs, and a collection of service songs all written or produced by Coast Guard members.

Lieutenant Commander Lothar Wolff supervised the Motion Picture Unit in New York, which processed and edited film footage taken by Coast Guard cameramen (USCG, 1950). Prior to his Coast Guard career, Lieutenant Commander Wolff edited motion pictures for Time, Inc. including multiple episodes of *The March of Time* documentary series (Setliff, 2007). The New York laboratory produced footage for newsreels, recruitment trailers, and Hollywood feature films. As a crucial technical decision, the Coast Guard mostly recorded in color using 16mm film, which separated their footage from the other services (USCG, 1950). Two crowning achievements of the unit included *Beach Head to Berlin* and *Tars and Spars*. Produced only using film shot by the Coast Guard, Warner Brothers released *Beach Head to Berlin* in 1944. Coast Guard cameramen filmed the Normandy invasion using Technicolor, which provided the only color footage of the battle. Concerning the entertainment side of cinema, Columbia Pictures adapted a successful stage production into a full-length musical feature film titled *Tars and Spars*, which it released in January 1946 (Judd, 2006). Originally created to promote the Coast Guard Women's Reserve (SPARs), the production featured Coast Guard member Sid Caesar beginning his entertainment career with Columbia Pictures.

The Coast Guard produced official historical writings during WWII based on the input from the public affairs personnel as early as 1944 (USCG, 1950). Lieutenant

Commander Frank Eldridge supervised the collection of the material and encouraged public relations officers to submit documents and photos of historical value (Havern, 2013). Moreover, Lieutenant Commander Eldridge developed a questionnaire to record war stories from Coast Guard members returning from overseas. Unit and district public relations officers primarily handled the distribution and submission of these forms. By the end of the war, the Historical Section began to produce a series of monographs covering the wartime activities of individual departments titled *The Coast Guard at War* (USCG, 1950). Once completed, the Coast Guard history project of WWII included thirty detailed volumes of official historic records.

The leadership and progression of the Public Relations Division culminated in January 1945 when Headquarters staff organized the National Conference of Coast Guard Public Relations Officers (USCG, 1950). Chaired by Commander Mercy, the agenda focused on addressing current public relations concerns and upcoming changes to the program. Guest speakers included Commandant Admiral Waesche, Captain Reed-Hill, Captain Dorothy Stratton of the Women's Reserve, Captain George Campbell from the Navy OPR, and various section and unit leaders from Coast Guard Headquarters. The Public Relations Division hosted the 3-day conference in order to improve the district public relations offices, which handled the bulk of the daily public affairs operations.

Coast Guard District Public Relations Offices

After the Lighthouse Service merger in 1939, the Coast Guard redesigned its operational district structure to accommodate the newly gained responsibilities. Under Coast Guard Circular Letter number 125, district commanders assumed the responsibilities of public relations officer and decided how to conduct their programs. District public affairs programs varied based on the public's demand for information and the district commander's opinion of public affairs. Some districts designated the Captain of the Port or the personnel officer as a collateral duty public relations officer. Others combined public relations with recruiting or simply assigned a Yeoman to clear material for public release (USCG, 1950). Meanwhile, the Navy formally organized and structured their district public relations offices in August 1941, which assumed public affairs responsibilities for the Coast Guard districts when the service transferred to the Navy Department (USN, 1943). This exacerbated the

confusion regarding the amount of effort the Coast Guard should dedicate to public affairs at the district level. To correct this problem, the Coast Guard required each district to establish a full-time public relations officer position in a policy numbered PUB 701 64 released on August 6, 1942 (USN, 1943).

Following the lead of the Navy, the Coast Guard established and standardized Coast Guard district public relations offices, which began a proactive surge in the public affairs program (USN, 1943). Under this policy, the district public relations officer reported directly to the district commander, copying the command structure at Coast Guard Headquarters. Public relations officers praised this setup and stressed the value of unrestricted access to the district commander, which expedited the release of time sensitive news material (USCG, 1945a). Headquarters directed their district public relations officers "to present the work of the Coast Guard to the public in such a way that will reflect favorably upon the service" (USN, 1943, p. 0.411A). Moreover, the Coast Guard recommended four subdivisions for the new district public relations offices – press, radio, motion pictures, and special events. This closely resembled the organization of Navy district public relations offices, which divided into press, radio, and photography sections with the option of adding an administration section for busier offices (USN, 1943). While the Navy placed an officer in charge of each section, the Coast Guard merely expected one officer to organize his work using the four categories. Early staffing limitations prevented many districts from assigning more than one or two officers to public relations (USCG, 1950).

Navy and Coast Guard public relations offices followed Navy policy and commonly worked together during the early stages of development, which enabled the sharing of some resources. However, Coast Guard district public relations offices faced multiple struggles due to a lack of training, nonexistent budget, inadequate staffing, and minimal support from other Coast Guard members (USCG, 1945a). District public relations officers assumed their new duties with minimal instruction or guidance from the Coast Guard. The Navy published limited public relations resources by 1942, but would not release their first Public Relations Manual until March of the following year (USN, 1943). Many district commanders, however, selected men with civilian public relations or newspaper backgrounds. This helped the Coast Guard districts conduct their public affairs programs independently from the Navy. Funding became an immediate obstacle since the addition of public relations offices appeared

unexpectedly. This lack of funding forced each district to reallocate funding from other departments in order to purchase public affairs materials. It also hindered the development of the new offices from the beginning. Offices that acquired an appropriate workspace and funding still lacked a support staff. Busier offices identified and assigned junior enlisted members with civilian experience to assist the public relations officers (USCG, 1950). The Coast Guard eventually created a new enlisted rating for public relations, but during the first year, public relations officers relied on the experience of members already assigned to the district. To compound the struggle, many Coast Guard members failed to recognize the value of public affairs and questioned the reasons for its existence (USCG, 1945a). The idea of assigning full-time public affairs duties to members of the military seemed like a waste of resources.

In spite of these challenges, the designation of the district public relations offices proved successful by providing products and services that Headquarters could not. News of activities overseas originated from Headquarters, while district offices used local knowledge to conducted public relations campaigns for specific audiences (USCG, 1945a). Districts learned to highlight the Coast Guard's peacetime duties in order to establish themselves within their communities and to distinguish the service from the operations of the Navy. In less active districts, public relations officers connected national Coast Guard stories from Headquarters with local events or people in order to increase news coverage of the service (USCG, 1950). When reservists and Coast Guard Auxiliary members from the community began to work in public relations offices, personal connections with the media became invaluable to the Coast Guard as it continued to compete with the enormous public relations offices of the Army and Navy.

By 1945, district public relations offices grew from a single designated position to fully functioning departments. Most offices employed anywhere from five to ten public affairs personnel, while busier offices, such as the First District in Boston, MA, operated with as many as twenty including an administration staff (USCG, 1950). Impressively, district offices operated prior to the bulk of policy and direction from Headquarters. In many ways, the lessons learned during the first few years by the district public relations offices informed Headquarters on how to structure the Public Relations Division. Based on individual needs, districts developed their own photography laboratories, graphic units, newspapers, district

bands, and promotional sporting teams. Many district offices produced exemplary work that outshined the larger offices of the other services (USCG, 1945a).

Other regional offices included a public relations unit in the European Theater of Operations (ETO) and a separate public relations office for the Women's Reserve (USCG, 1950). Lieutenant Commander Joseph Mutrie served as the Coast Guard public relations officer for the ETO and for Coast Guard operations in Guam, which helped manage public affairs personnel overseas (USCG, 1950). The Coast Guard's regional approach to public affairs became a vital part of the overall program by providing specialized attention to smaller markets. However, most of the Coast Guard's success resulted from the prior education and experience of the individual members in the program.

Individual Public Affairs Opportunities

With a background in engineering and no public relations training, Captain Reed-Hill could only provide leadership to the Public Relations Division. In order to survive, his underdeveloped program required educated and talented members to produce the highest quality work. Although the Coast Guard assigned collateral public relations duties to its commands, a successful program required full-time attention in a number of areas (USCG, 1940). Photographers, artists, correspondents, and public relations officers brought Coast Guard public affairs to life and elevated the public's perception of the service.

Two problems surfaced as the Coast Guard expanded its public affairs personnel. First, the service usually provided the initial training to enlisted men and lacked such a program for public relations, which forced the Coast Guard to find and recruit public relations men, photographers, and journalists with prior civilian training. Second, Commanding Officers assigned additional duties to public affairs enlisted personal, which prevented many of them from producing the quality work Captain Reed-Hill desired. Eventually, public affairs personnel each carried a letter signed by Admiral Waesche describing their new duties (Whetstine, 2001). The letter educated the unfamiliar commanders on the importance of public affairs and prohibited the assignment of a watch or additional duties to photographers, artists, and correspondents (USCG, 1950). This endorsement helped prioritize public affairs duties and added credibility to the new program.

COMBAT PHOTOGRAPHERS AND ARTISTS

Lieutenant Commander Dixon, knowing the service lacked the time to train new photographers, immediately set out to recruit some of the best professional photographers in the country to be Coast Guard photographers (Whetstine, 2001, p. 35). Additionally, the Photographer's Mate rating remained a part of the Aviation Branch (Strobridge & Grecco, 1975). Lieutenant Commander Dixon designated a new group of Photographer's Mates as Combat Photographers and instructed them to take pictures of Coast Guard activities for journalistic and historical purposes. The addition of Combat Photographers also helped expand the Photographer's Mate rating, which added a warrant officer rank by 1942 (USCG, 1943).

After the initial recruitment of newspaper photographers, the Coast Guard began to train and promote from within the service. New photographers completed on-the-job training, which included the development, processing, and distribution of Coast Guard photographs (USCG, 1950). Work in the laboratories gave them an eye for the type of photography used by the service before they deployed on assignment. They also gained knowledge on the Speed Graphic camera, the most commonly used camera in the field (Stanford, 1945). The other services operated photography schools, but on-the-job training accomplished the same outcome for less cost. As an added benefit, Coast Guard trainees assisted the photograph laboratories, which remained extremely busy throughout the war.

In January 1945, 101 photographers operated underway with an additional 84 assigned to shore units (USCG, 1950). These photographers produced some of the best pictures of the war, some of which won multiple awards ("Best Photo," 1944). Impressed by the quality of their work, Lieutenant Commander Dixon spent weeks compiling the best examples of Coast Guard photography for a pictorial album. Set to the words of President Roosevelt's D-Day prayer, *Our Sons Will Triumph* featured more than 40 of the war's best photographs, which Lieutenant Commander Dixon dedicated to the Combat Photographers of the Coast Guard (Dixon, 1944).

Coast Guard artists also added to the service's imagery of the war by providing another visual medium for public affairs. Since the Coast Guard never created an individual rating for artists, members from multiple ratings contributed to the art program (USCG, 1950). Some artists worked under the Printer rating with graphic units and printing offices,

but this mostly occurred as a staffing convenience. In many ways the artists captured a more complete portrayal of war since they recreated scenes from memory, free from the camera malfunctions, poor lighting, and missed timing that plagued photographers (Mercy & Grove, 1945). Artists combined multiple scenes to tell the whole story of a battle and could omit sensitive information, both of which constrained the work of photographers. In November 1945, the United States Postal Service used the artwork of Boatswain Mate First Class Ken Riley to produce a new 3-cent stamp featuring Coast Guard landing craft (USCG, 1950). The Coast Guard considered this an extraordinary honor.

COMBAT CORRESPONDENTS

Early in 1943, the Correspondent Section received a list of all enlisted personnel with newspaper or writing backgrounds from the Headquarters Training Division. The Correspondent Section also distributed a personnel bulletin to Coast Guard districts asking for men with suitable backgrounds to request a public affairs assignment at Headquarters. From those sources, approximately 150 men reported to Headquarters to finish the final selection process in order to become Combat Correspondents (USCG, 1950). Early correspondents mostly came from the Yeoman and Storekeeper ratings and wrote articles as a collateral duty. Later that year, however, the Coast Guard added a Specialist rating for public relations, which elevated Combat Correspondent to a full-time position ("Seven Specialist Ratings," 1943). Specialist ratings allowed the service to quickly add temporary enlisted jobs in the Coast Guard Reserve without a commitment to retain the positions after the war. During WWII, the Coast Guard created more than 10 Specialist ratings, which included jobs such as Dog-Horse Handler, Classification Interviewer, Chemical Warfare, and Teacher (USCG, 1944a). To control the expansion of new Specialist ratings, the Coast Guard needed to justify more than 100 jobs before creating a new rating, so the addition of Specialist (PR) signified a substantial need for the service (USCG, 1946). Combat Correspondents in the Regular Coast Guard maintained their Yeoman or Storekeeper ratings in lieu of eligibility for the new Specialist rating.

To earn a Specialist (Public Relations) Third Class rating, a member needed a minimum of one year's professional experience in either publicity or public relations with samples of previous work (USCG, 1944a). In the absence of a formal school, new

correspondents followed an on-the-job training schedule similar to the Photographer's Mates (USCG, 1950). After spending time at Headquarters learning the Coast Guard's writing style, correspondents either deployed on ships or took an assignment at a district public relations office. The new rating allowed the Coast Guard to dedicate more time to public affairs, which increased the visibility of the program.

PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICERS AND SPARS

Officers in the public affairs program lacked the job stability provided by the enlisted ratings because the Coast Guard failed to establish an officer qualification in public relations. Although public relations officers worked in a full-time status, officers transferred more frequently and rarely completed consecutive tours, which forced the districts to retrain new public relations officers on a regular basis. The Thirteenth District, for example, rotated through four public relations officers between 1942 and 1945 (USCG, 1945a). Fortunately, the creation of the district offices remains the important aspect of this period because they provided a compromise between Headquarters and collateral duty public relations officers at individual units.

Women contributed to Coast Guard public affairs as soon as the service established the Women's Reserve (SPARs) in November 1942 (USCG, 1946). The SPARs offered 16 different job opportunities to women, including the Photographer's Mate rating, in order to release men for overseas duty. After the Coast Guard created the Specialist (PR) rating, SPARs worked as correspondents covering hometown news stories and processing material at Headquarters or district public relations offices. In 1944, as many as 14 qualified officers of the Women's Reserve worked in a public relations capacity for the Coast Guard (USCG, 1946). In terms of publicity, the SPARs generated a great deal of attention at special events such as parades and war bond shows, as evident in the feature film *Tars and Spars*.

World War II Comes to an End

Throughout WWII, military public affairs and civilian public relations changed and expended so rapidly, they barely resembled the professions of the 1930s. This impacted military public affairs because the services hired public relations personnel directly from the civilian work force. External influences from media technology and civilian public relations

enhanced the capabilities, while the war created a desire for military information. The advancements in news and entertainment media provided an abundance of outlets to communicate with the public, which helped justify the additional staff. As a profession, civilian public relations increased educational opportunities for practitioners and began to form a collective body of work (Harlow, 1977). Unfortunately, lucrative opportunities in civilian public relations once again attracted practitioners with questionable ethics, which brought back the old stigma of propaganda (Olasky, 1987).

In order to distance itself from the persuasive practices of the civilian profession, the Navy issued a policy on June 18, 1945 that directed the Navy and Coast Guard to adopt the term "public information" and to discard the term "public relations" (USCG, 1950). This policy also provided one of the last examples of the Navy's influence on Coast Guard public affairs during WWII. Other lasting influences included the creation of a division at Headquarters, district public relations offices, and the formal inclusion into military public affairs. Prior to WWII, Coast Guard public affairs developed and operated independently from the departments of the Army and Navy. After expanding its program in conjunction with the Navy during WWII, the Coast Guard could now take advantage of Navy resources, including training and staffing developments. Both of these resources played an important role in the future of Coast Guard public affairs as the service demobilized after the war. The service faced a vital decision concerning public affairs positions and their potential value during peacetime operations. The next few years proved to be crucial to the survival of Coast Guard public affairs as it transformed to a permanent function.

Senior leadership from Headquarters, regional oversight by district offices, and individual efforts from Coast Guard men and women combined to legitimize public affairs within the service. Members of the Coast Guard and their families appreciated public affairs for keeping them informed, some of whom wrote letters to Headquarters expressing their satisfaction (Stanford, 1945). Many public relations professionals and newspapermen also praised the Coast Guard Public Information Division for the quality of its work (USCG, 1950). Early in 1946, the division submitted a full report of its activities to the American Public Relations Association and earned a Silver Anvil award for meritorious public relations performance (Willoughby, 1957). Achievement of a Silver Anvil signified the highest

accomplishment of public relations and validated the efforts of the Coast Guard public affairs program during the war.

Creating a Permanent Function

As WWII efforts came to a close, the Coast Guard returned to the Treasury Department and prepared to refocus its attention on peacetime duties. Although the service never ceased conducting their peacetime missions, the urgency of national defense held the priority and resources during the war. Additionally, the expanded staffing positions of the Coast Guard now presented an opportunity to revise the service by selecting the most efficient jobs and functions. After growing from a small office into a division of hundreds of Coast Guardsmen, the public affairs program provided one way to improve the service moving forward. However, changes in Coast Guard public affairs occurred gradually as the entire country recovered from the war.

In 1946, Rear Admiral Reed-Hill (promoted to Commodore in 1945 and then to Rear Admiral in August the following year) swore in as the Coast Guard Engineer-in-Chief ending his tenure as the head of the Public Information Division (USCG, 2017g). The division, now led by Captain Samuel Gray, saw the vast majority of its correspondents return to their civilian jobs in public relations and journalism after the service abolished the specialist ratings. Senior officers in the division also departed the service after the war. Commander Mercy transitioned to the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion as the office's film liaison ("Washington Meeting," 1946). Meanwhile, Lieutenant Commander Wolff, honorably discharged in May 1946, left the Motion Picture Unit and returned to work on *The March of Time* (Doyle & Fox, 2014). Moreover, the demand for Coast Guard information subsidies decreased because the public no longer required news of the war and the need for recruiting material diminished. In order to keep the public affairs program intact, the Coast Guard once again relied upon Army and Navy to lead the way to a permanent solution.

Immediately after the war, the Army and Navy recognized the need to permanently employ and train public information officers specifically for military operations. This resulted in the designation of public information specialists, which created a full-time career path for Navy officers. Additionally, the War Department established the Army Information School at Carlisle Barracks in January 1946, the first military public affairs training center

(DINFOS, 2017). Military photography schools already existed, but mainly as technical training and surveillance photography schools. The Army Information School, however, taught mass communication techniques and information campaign strategies for public information officers in the Army and Navy. During this same time period, the newly formed Air Force operated a Public Information School at Craig Air Force Base, AL (DINFOS, 2017). Likewise, the Navy restructured their enlisted ratings on April 2, 1948, adding a Journalist rating for Navy Combat Correspondents and a journalism school at Great Lakes Training Center, IL (USNPAA, 2017).

A small group of Coast Guard public affairs personnel continued the Coast Guard's program after the war. The Public Information Division remained at Headquarters, but with a more limited staff. District public information officer positions endured the transition, but now reported to the district Chief of Staff instead of the District Commander due to the streamlining of districts during peacetime ("Simplification of District Organizations," 1947). In addition, the Coast Guard assigned a public information officer to the entire Eastern Area as early as 1946, which covered multiple districts and units on the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts ("Gets Additional Duties," 1946). A few enlisted Combat Correspondents remained in the service after the war, but held a Yeomen rating with a special designation for public information ("Tell the Coast Guard Story," 1950). Following the Navy's example, the Coast Guard also restructured its enlisted forces and decided to add a Journalist rating, which took affect on the same day as the Navy ("Changes in Enlisted Ratings," 1947). Although, the Journalist rating appeared as a brand new occupation for the service, the Coast Guard merely renamed the title for their specially designated Yeomen. Because of this, the actual creation of the Journalist rating coincides either with the assignment of the Combat Correspondents or the addition of the Specialist (PR) rating, both in 1943.

To justify the Journalist and public information officer positions, the Coast Guard needed to emphasize the importance of public affairs to the service. In essence, Coast Guard public affairs conducted a public relations campaign for itself during the years immediately after WWII as part of the overall effort to permanently establish the program. Two months prior to the implementation of the new ratings, the Navy's Director of the Office of Public Information spoke to the cadets of the Coast Guard Academy on the importance of good public affairs ("Navy Public Relations," 1948). In his address, Rear Admiral Felix Johnson,

USN, stressed the role of leadership in military public affairs and placed responsibility on every officer, cadet, enlisted man, and civilian employee. This demonstrated a continued use of Navy public affairs resources and a conscious effort to accentuate Coast Guard public affairs to future leaders of the service. Immediately after Rear Admiral Johnson's visit, the academy formed the Cadet Public Information Office and Committee to draw attention to academy activities ("The Cadet Public Information Office," 1950). Mostly used to promote athletics and bolster recruiting, the cadets followed a structure similar to the Public Information Division to produce material for newspapers and radio stations ("The Cadet Public Information Committee," 1950). Concerning operational activities, search and rescue drills incorporated public information duties into the exercises in order to compel commanders to acknowledge potential publicity problems during a crisis ("Service Orders Combined," 1950).

After building confidence within the service, the Coast Guard sought to strengthen the public affairs program through new training and policy. The Coast Guard utilized on-the-job training for Journalists, just as it did with prior correspondents, which prompted an indoctrination conference for the members of the new rating. In December 1949, all but two of the fifteen Journalists attended a 2-day conference in Washington D.C. to standardize public information activities and subsidies of the service (Tell the Coast Guard Story, 1950). Similar to the conference for public relations officers in 1945, Journalists received insight from the Public Information Division staff including Mr. Eldridge from the Historical Section, Warrant Photographer George Twambly of the Headquarters Photography Lab, Warrant Photographer John Folk from the Motion Picture Unit, Edward Lloyd from Coast Guard Magazine, and Boatswain John Beach of the Graphic Unit. Other presenters covered topics pertaining to Coast Guard morale, recruiting, and civilian advertising (Haley, 1950). Captain Gray concluded the conference by challenging the Journalists to get out into the field whenever possible in order to portray the service accurately and to keep the trust of their fellow Coast Guardsmen.

The most senior Journalist attending the conference, Chief Journalist Alex Haley, promoted the month prior to become the first chief in the rating (USCG, 2017b). Prior to becoming one of the most recognized authors in the Coast Guard, Chief Haley enlisted in 1939 as a Mess Attendant. At that time the Coast Guard only permitted African-American

men to hold a Mess Attendant or Steward rating. While underway, he honed his writing skills by writing letters for his shipmates to send home to their girlfriends or families. In addition, he edited and wrote articles for his ships' newspaper (Norrell, 2016). His writing abilities captured the attention of the service, which later transferred him to the Third Coast Guard District as Admiral Edward Smith's personal steward. Although still serving as a Mess Attendant, Chief Haley contributed articles to and assisted the editors of the district newsletter during his free time. After the Coast Guard established the Journalist rating in 1948, the service allowed Chief Haley to transfer ratings on June 29, 1949 and become a Journalist First Class (USCG, 2017b). He advanced to Chief, approximately six months later, on December 19. Popular Coast Guard public affairs lore credits Chief Haley with the creation of the Journalist rating and claims the Coast Guard established it specifically for him (Norrell, 2016; Pulwers, 2003). However, if true, Chief Haley's writing needed to have also convinced the Navy to establish the Journalist rating at the same time. Moreover, the rating existed in both services more than fourteen months before Chief Haley became a Journalist. Even if not specifically created for him, Chief Haley's contributions to Coast Guard public affairs left a commendable positive impact on the program.

Around the same period as the Journalist conference, the Coast Guard Reserve created their first public information group to assist the Regular Coast Guard when necessary ("Information Reservists," 1951). Commander Blair Walliser, a civilian radio director, commanded the unit based in New York City. He also served during WWII and wrote numerous newspaper and magazine articles about his experiences in the Coast Guard. *Sea, Surf, and Hell*, the collection of WWII stories, featured his article "To the Shores of Sicily." Commander Walliser selected an advertising agent, Lieutenant Sanford Smith, as the group's executive officer. A writer named Lieutenant Commander John Arwine served as Administrative officer. Other members of the reserve group included editors, television consultants, and public relations campaign specialists.

Another major achievement of 1951 included the world premiere of Republic Studios' *Fighting Coast Guard* feature film on April 26 ("Washington is Selected," 1951). Based on the stories contained in *Sea, Surf, and Hell*, the film covered the Coast Guard's role in WWII and aimed to dispel rumors that the service remained out of combat (Nichols, 1951). Captain Gray assisted with the production of the film, along with Captain John

Trebes, Eleventh District Commander in Los Angeles, and Rear Admiral Joseph Sitka, commander of the Western Area and Twelfth District in San Francisco. Lieutenant Commander Robert Cannom served as technical advisor for the production, which filmed at Navy and Coast Guard bases in San Diego, CA as well as the Coast Guard Academy in New London, CT. *Fighting Coast Guard* provided the first comprehensive film coverage of service exploits during WWII and featured hundreds of Coast Guard personnel in the film, in addition to actual combat footage shot by Coast Guard photographers. To promote the film, Coast Guard units participated in a series of special events and ceremonies, including the world premier in Washington D.C. ("Washington is Selected," 1951).

The Coast Guard Public Information Manual

Rebuilding the public affairs staff and participating in special events advanced the program to a limited extant, but the Coast Guard still lacked an updated public affairs policy. The *Public Information Manual*, signed by Commandant Admiral Merlin O'Neil on September 18, 1951, signified the next major accomplishment for Coast Guard public affairs (USCG, 1951). Up until the release of this manual, the service referenced Navy policy and used Navy definitions to conduct public affairs and to train new personnel. In the opening promulgation letter, Admiral O'Neil endorsed the contents as being based on experiences of the other military branches and stated the manual represented "the best procedure to date concerning public information as it pertains to the Coast Guard" (USCG, 1951). The manual strictly applied to the Coast Guard's peacetime duties and their complex interactions with the civilian population. During times of war, the Coast Guard would adhere to the current public affairs policy of the Navy. Also in the manual, the Coast Guard stated public affairs objectives, defined its program, and assigned responsibilities to multiple levels of the service.

Most likely referencing the objectives from WWII, the Public Information Division focused the efforts of the program in three areas, which included public awareness, morale, and history (USCG, 1951). To specify the goal of awareness, the manual directed Coast Guardsmen to bring attention to the service's roles in search and rescue operations, maritime safety activities, enforcement of federal laws, and military readiness. Since the Coast Guard recently expanded its duties after acquiring the Lighthouse Service and the Marine Bureau of Navigation, the service needed to emphasize its broad range of missions to the public. The

objective of increasing morale through public recognition carried over from WWII. As a volunteer service, high morale in the service equated to higher retention, which decreased the demand for active recruiting efforts. The final objective charged the program to document the achievements and operations of the service for an official historical record. The Historical Section remained a part of the Public Information Division after the war since information subsidies and photographs hold substantial historical value. The three objectives, simplified from the original eight during WWII, provided a manageable goal and direction for the limited staff of the service.

In addition to objectives, the *Public Information Manual* defined two terms relevant to the public affairs program. It defined public information as "any undertaking that contributes to the public understanding and confidence through factual interpretation of the Coast Guard to the American people" (USCG, 1951, p. 1-3). The manual defined public relations as "the process of establishing and maintaining friendly, courteous, and mutually-respectful contacts with the public" (USCG, 1951, p. 1-6). The Coast Guard included the public relations process in its public information program because Coast Guard peacetime missions put service personnel in direct contact with the public. Additionally, the Coast Guard's unique law-enforcement missions relied on support from the public in order to be effective, which the new manual emphasized multiple times. For these reasons, Admiral O'Neil directed all Commanding Officers to become intimately familiar with the *Public Information Manual* and the responsibility it entailed.

Reminiscent of the Coast Guard's first public affairs policy in 1936, district and unit commanders retained overall responsibility for public affairs, but could delegate a public information officer as either a primary or collateral duty. The new manual also assigned responsibilities to the individual members of the service and directed them to represent the Coast Guard in an honorable fashion at all times. Additional duties belonged to the Public Information Division, Commanding Officers, and public information personnel. Responsibilities of the division echoed those from the 1944 *Organizational Manual*, only without the duties concerning the Navy and OWI. The majority of the responsibilities still included the supervision of the program and the surveying of public opinion. Now, the Coast Guard policy required the service to use public opinion to improve their operational activities (USCG, 1951). Senior leadership clearly sought two-way communications in the form of

public feedback since public opinion remained part of the division's responsibilities in both the 1944 *Organizational Manual* and the 1951 *Public Information Manual.* Designated public information officers managed the technical duties of the program, but also provided liaison between the Coast Guard and the public. This role resembled Bernays' (1923) concept of the public relations council, which interpreted an organization to the public and vice versa. Although the inclusion of feedback continued to imply a shift toward the two-way asymmetric and symmetric models of public relations, the operational or "technician" level of the program remained entrenched to the public information model. With a variety of responsibilities delegated throughout the service and policy in place, the Coast Guard public affairs program established its foundation as a permanent function.

By the time Captain Gray left the division in August 1951, his impact on the public affairs program rivaled that of Rear Admiral Reed-Hill. The *Public Information Manual* provided the capstone to the long list of accomplishments during Captain Gray's tour as the Chief of the Public Information Division. Overshadowed by the exemplary leadership of Rear Admiral Reed-Hill during WWII, Captain Gray remains an unsung and forgotten part of Coast Guard public affairs. As he transferred out of the Public Information Division, the Coast Guard credited Captain Gray with clarifying and refining the information reporting procedure for marine disasters and search and rescue missions (Captain Samuel F. Gray, 1951). In addition, the DoD adopted his plan concerning the release of information on operations involving multiple service branches. He acted as the project lead for the *Public Information Manual* and originated the idea that led to the *Fighting Coast Guard.* Unfortunately for Captain Gray, the excitement and magnitude of WWII preoccupied the service's Historical Section for the majority of his time in the office, bestowing his accomplishments with little attention.

Post-War Civilian Public Relations

The Coast Guard, having distanced its program from civilian public relations near the end of the war, retained the objective stance of the public information model while the civilian profession worked to resolve its own issues. During WWII, a rapid growth in civilian public relations attracted untrained and undisciplined public relations practitioners. This motivated some to legitimize their profession and increase the quality of work and the

organization of civilian public relations after the war (Olasky, 1987). In 1948, the American Council on Public Relations "merged with the National Association of Public Relations Council, of New York, to form the new Public Relations Society of America (PRSA)" (Harlow, 1977, p. 55). PRSA brought uniformity and credibility to civilian public relations as ethical practitioners intended to control the fate of the profession. New definitions of cooperation emerged, while more traditional schools of thought remained entrenched to the idea of ethical persuasion. Cutlip and Center (1952) published the first edition of *Effective Public Relations*, which presented public relations as the "communication and interpretation of ideas and information to the publics of an institution; the communication and interpretation of information, ideas, and opinions from those publics to the institution in an effort to bring the two into harmonious adjustment" (p. 16). Bernays (1952) issued a conflicting definition that same year when he published his book *Public Relations*. Holding on to his original concept of persuasion, he updated the definition to three meanings: "(1) information given to the public, (2) persuasion directed at the public to modify attitudes and actions, and (3) efforts to integrate attitudes and actions of an institution with the public and of the publics with the institution" (p. 3). Clearly, Bernays still believed the practitioner's loyalty belonged to the organization more so than the public. Moreover, Bernays (1955) published *The Engineering of Consent* a few years later, where he alleged "public relations is the attempt, by information, persuasion, and adjustment, to engineer public support for an activity, cause, movement, or institution" (Bernays, 1955, p. 3-4).

This view of the conflicting ideas surrounding civilian public relations prompted PRSA to create notable steps to stabilize the civilian profession. In 1954, a "code of professional standards" emerged as a set of ethical guidelines for public relations practitioners (Olasky, 1987). Similar to Lee's declaration of principles, PRSA members promised to conduct public relations truthfully, accurately, and fairly. Ten years later, PRSA established an accreditation program to advance their standards and increase the credibility of public relations (Harlow, 1977). PRSA also used the accreditation program to enforce the "code of professional standards" by threatening to revoke a member's status for violating the code. Both measures demonstrated the effort to overcome the obstacles during this period in order to validate the civilian public relations profession. The objective stance of the public information model proved to be a safe alternative to persuasive public relations, which

allowed the Coast Guard to build its public affairs program without getting involved in the debate.

Training, Qualifications, and Service Integration

Entering the 1960s, Coast Guard public affairs settled into normal operations with the release of additional policy and an increased presence in the service. The *Guide to Coast Guard Public Information Services,* published on April 1, 1961, redefined the public affairs program and supplied clarity concerning the span of its activities. The Coast Guard once again referred to the function as a public relations program and identified public information as "a technique, within the broad spectrum of public relations" (USCG, 1961, p. 1-1). However, the new manual, which superseded the previous manual from 1951, focused entirely on the procedures and instructions of public information and stated only two objectives. The first objective ordered the service to keep the public informed of operations, while the other required the program to inform Coast Guard personnel of the work of the service. Headquarters disbanded the Historic Section in the 1950s (Havern, 2013), which explained why the Coast Guard removed the historic objective from its updated manual. However, the objectives of awareness and morale remained the cornerstone during the efforts to establish Coast Guard public affairs as a permanent function.

Also during the early 1960s, training and qualification opportunities for public affairs personnel increased. The Coast Guard offered formal courses for officers and enlisted members assigned to public affairs duty through DoD training centers. Public information officers learned accepted practices and techniques of public relations during a 5-week training course at the Navy Great Lakes Training Center. Coast Guard Journalists also attended the Navy's journalism school for the introductory course (A-School) needed to advance to Journalist Third Class and enter the rating. The Army's school, which changed titles to the Armed Forces Information School, relocated to Fort Slocum, NY and offered numerous courses to Coast Guard personnel in the fields of public information and information education (USCG, 1961). Additionally, in 1963 Coast Guard officer training records included a public information qualification code to assist Headquarters with future job assignments. Officers earned qualification codes either by gaining work experience or by completing training. The requirements for the public information qualification included:

1. Certification by the Commanding Officer that (a) the officer has been enthusiastic and energetic about the public information program. (b) He has directed or participated in a program to disseminate information to external media. (c) He has carried out a community relations program promoting favorable reaction from local groups and organizations of interest to the Coast Guard. (d) He has maintained morale and pride in the service through an effective internal relations program.
2. Has served in a billet with the primary duty as public information officer for a period of at least one year.
3. Has satisfactorily completed a military public information or journalist course of at least four weeks duration. (USCG, 1963b, p. x)

Officer qualifications represented the major fields of operation and included aviation, engineering, law, intelligence, in addition to others. By including public information into this list, Coast Guard Headquarters recognized the importance of trained and experienced public information officers in its ranks. Although not a primary career specialty, the status of public information increased after a tangible benefit of the position appeared.

In addition to new qualifications, other parts of the service began to incorporate public affairs activities and objectives. The *Manual for Recruiting* dedicated an entire chapter to public relations and publicity as it applied to the recruitment of personnel (USCG, 1962). Since recruiters and public affairs offices worked together as early as WWII, the Coast Guard required all recruiters to acquire a thorough knowledge of public affairs procedures. Moreover, the national objectives of the service, as listed in *United States Coast Guard Objectives*, included general guidelines for the public information program (USCG, 1964). While emphasizing the importance of reporting operational incidents, the objectives also added a need to distribute safety information and regulation changes. The service officially connected public affairs with the effectiveness of Coast Guard operations, which assisted search and rescue, maritime safety inspections, and law enforcement.

Hometown news programs also resurfaced for the Coast Guard during this period and became a more central part of the public affairs program. The Navy maintained their Fleet Home Town News Center with the Marine Corps since WWII, which the Coast Guard used from time to time. However, on November 15, 1963, the Coast Guard became an official partner of the Navy's program by providing a percentage of the center's annual budget (Shaw, 1964). In addition, the Coast Guard provided one officer and three enlisted members

to assist with the daily operations of the center. Since Coast Guard operations mainly occurred near the port cities or boating areas, the service lacked significant press in the inland markets. Working with the Fleet Home Town News Center provided an opportunity to extend the reach of Coast Guard public affairs.

Minor organizational changes also affected public affairs during the early 1960s. The Coast Guard moved the Public Information Division from Office of the Commandant and placed it under the Headquarters Chief of Staff (USCG, 1963a). Only small councils and special advisors remained directly under the Commandant. The Public Information Division now managed a staff too large for this structure, so the service delegated the responsibility. Moreover, the new assignment under the Chief of Staff placed the Public Information Division in the company of the larger and more traditional Divisions. District public information officers once again reported directly to the District Commander, but many also served as the commander's personnel aide (Smith, 1998). This elevated public affairs by moving the position up the chain of command, but the additional duty curtailed the amount of time the officer could dedicate to public affairs responsibilities. Also during this period, the DoD consolidated their public affairs training schools to form the DINFOS (2017) on February 21, 1964. The school moved to Fort Benjamin Harrison, IN the following year. The Army exercised administrative control over the school, but all of the military branches used DINFOS to train public affairs personnel, including the Coast Guard.

The Vietnam War

In 1965 the Coast Guard entered the Vietnam War when Coast Guard Squadron One deployed a fleet of 82-foot patrol boats to assist the Navy (Tulich, 1975). Over the next few years, a fleet of high endurance cutters also deployed to assist with the conflict, along with an Aids to Navigation Team (ATON) and a select group of helicopter pilots. Coast Guard public affairs personnel, mostly enlisted men in the Photographer's Mate and Journalist ratings, deployed with both squadrons in order to document the service's role in Vietnam. Unfortunately, the Navy held public affairs responsibility and the authority to release information regarding Coast Guard operations in Vietnam. As a result, many activities of the Coast Guard and its public affairs program remained unmentioned in the media.

Even with minimal recognition in Vietnam, the Coast Guard public affairs program achieved substantial gains in the two decades following WWII. Enlisted public affairs ratings developed into full-time careers with formal training. Public information officer qualifications elevated the position and offered officers an incentive to increase their proficiency. Advancements in the understanding of public affairs generated two new policy and instruction manuals specifically for Coast Guard operations and missions. By 1966, the program arguably evolved from a miscellaneous administration department to an integral and permanent part of the service. However, just as the Coast Guard solidified its public affairs program, a major transformation in the late 1960s redefined the service and its public image.

REDEFINING THE PROGRAM

Coast Guard public affairs' new status as a permanent and formal part of the service possibly overestimated the capabilities of the program. The use of the public information model limited the value of the program by only announcing the achievements of the service to the public. During the civil rights and Vietnam eras, the Coast Guard faced public relations problems and relied on public information techniques to solve them (Shkor, 1969). In order to provide an adequate value to the service, the Coast Guard needed to expand the public affairs functions to include more than the production of information subsidies for the press. Over the next few years, the Coast Guard updated and restructured the public affairs program at the management and technical levels. Fortunately, the federal government began this process earlier in the decade, which led the Coast Guard to develop plans to redefine its public affairs program along with its public image.

When President Kennedy assumed the office in 1961, he implemented an image-building campaign for the federal government. After redesigning the Air Force One jet airplane, the design firm of Raymond Loewy/William Snaith, Inc. received a contract to work with the Coast Guard in January 1964 (Theison, 2012). The firm surveyed the New York area and confirmed the suspicion that the Coast Guard received "poor recognition among the public" (Beard, 2004, p. 358). In March 1965, the service approved the Integrated Visual Identification System and began the prototyping process to discover a way to gain familiarity with the public. The solution involved a unique paint scheme for Coast Guard assets, which included a broad red stripe and a thin blue stripe near the bow of their vessels.

After testing the new image in Florida and North Carolina, the service approved the "racing stripe" on April 4, 1967 (Theisen, 2012). Prior to the new design, the Coast Guard painted their ships solid white, black, or red without any distinguishing features or markings other than the hull number on the bow and the cutter name on the stern. Over the next few years, the Coast Guard repainted 2,830 boats and ships and 160 aircraft ("Coast Guard Adopts," 1968). By 1975, all but one ship received the new paint scheme. The Coast Guard Cutter Eagle, a 3-masted sailing ship used for training and exhibition purposes, maintained its traditional look preferred by purists in the service. However, Eagle received her racing stripe for the OpSail '76 event for the bicentennial of the nation (Kroll, 2010). Along with the new paint design, the $50,000.00 contract required Loewy and Snaith's to rebrand the Coast Guard's recruiting booths as well ("Coast Guard Adopts," 1968). Public affairs personnel promoted the new public image, which required them to update all of the external products of the service. The Coast Guard perfectly timed their service rebranding because the federal government planned on creating a new cabinet department, of which they would soon be a part.

The Department of Transportation

In an effort to coordinate a national transportation system and to oversee the aviation and maritime transportation industries, President Johnson and the 89th Congress created the Department of Transportation (2017) on April 1, 1967. The new department included existing agencies such as the Federal Aviation Administration, the Federal Highway Administration, and the Coast Guard. Additionally, the plan created new agencies including the Federal Railway Administration and the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration (Deparment of Transportation, 1966). Because the Coast Guard's "principle peacetime duties relate to transportation and marine safety" (p. 3), the service joined the new department after operating for 176 years within the Treasury. After transferring to the Department of Transportation, Coast Guard missions remained the same, but their policy and organizational structure needed to coincide with a new faction of sister agencies.

Office of Public and International Affairs

While the federal government developed plans for the Department of Transportation and the design firm tested their new paint scheme, the Coast Guard restructured its Headquarters (USCG, 1967b). The Public Information Division, along with the Telecommunications Liaison Division, joined the newly created Legislative Affairs, International Affairs, Equal Opportunity, and Ports and Waterways Liaison Divisions to form the Office of Public and International Affairs (USCG, 1968a). The new office reported directly to the Commandant and represented all communication matters external to the service. This began the Coast Guard's shift to the concept of public affairs, a trend making its way through the federal government. Many political and commerce-related agencies, and even the Army, adopted the term during the 1950s, but the Coast Guard remained loyal to the public information title.

Within the Public Information Division, the Coast Guard divided responsibilities between the Motion Picture/Television Branch, Media Relations Branch, and Community Relations Branch (USCG, 1967b). Besides producing and distributing Coast Guard films and photographs, the Motion Picture/Television Branch coordinated and directed the Audio/Visual Unit in Hollywood, CA. This specialized public affairs unit provided liaison with the entertainment media industries by reviewing scripts and serving as a technical advisor to film and television productions. Prior to the unit in Hollywood, either Headquarters personnel or the Eleventh District public information office in Long Beach, CA handled entertainment media requests. The creation of this office streamlined the approval time, which made collaboration with the entertainment industries more efficient. The Media Relations Branch controlled all news media requests and information subsidies. In addition, they supervised the Coast Guard Detail at the Fleet Home Town News Center, Great Lakes, IL. Community relations included official ceremonies, parades, exhibits, and special projects involving Coast Guard personnel or assets. To assist with exhibit material, the Community Relations Branch administered the Coast Guard Exhibit Center in Silver Springs, MD. The branch also coordinated the performances of the Coast Guard Band and Ceremonial Honor Guard, as well as all visiting dignitaries. Now resembling the monumental office from WWII, the Public Information Division's move to the Office of Public and International

Affairs provided room to redefine its role. Moreover, the Coast Guard considered public information as part of the larger concept of the external communication concept of public affairs.

The historical function of the Public Information Division reappeared when an updated *Organizational Manual* returned the responsibility of maintaining a historic record to the Public Information Division, along with the operation of Coast Guard Museums, preservation of artifacts, and the donation of historic memorabilia (USCG, 1968a). To assist with the added responsibilities, the Coast Guard hired Truman Strobridge in November 1970 (Havern, 2013). As the first professionally trained Coast Guard historian, Strobridge filled a permanent position in the division in order to manage the service's historical program. Eventually, Strobridge and Lieutenant Eugene Tulich of the Public Information Division created the Coast Guard Historical Monograph Program to document service activities of historic significance (Tulich, 1975).

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PERSONNEL

Other changes in personnel also occurred during the transition from public information to public affairs. The Coast Guard released a new *Enlisted Ratings Qualifications Manual* in May 1967, which contained a new specialty qualifications system. These designations demonstrated how the services utilized the enlisted workforce and the training available to the ratings of the public affairs program. Similar to the officer qualification codes, enlisted specialty designators helped the Coast Guard assign properly trained enlisted members to the appropriate jobs. Also similar to the officer codes, the Coast Guard assigned enlisted designations based on the completion of formal courses and on-the-job training. Members of the Journalist rating earned Publications Editor, Advanced Information Specialist, and Broadcast Specialist designations. Meanwhile, Photographer's Mates attained the designations of Motion Picture Cameraman and Advanced Photographer (USCG, 1967a).

On the officer side, the Coast Guard changed the staffing assignments for the district public information officer positions. Normally slated for the most junior officer ranks of Ensign and Lieutenant (Junior Grade), the Coast Guard upgraded the preferred rank to full Lieutenant and staffed them as such beginning in 1972 (Castagnera, 1974). This change not

only placed a more mature and experienced Coast Guardsman in the office, it ensured the public information officers possessed a vested interest in the service's public image. Traditionally, Officer Candidate School (OCS) graduates filled public affairs jobs since academy graduates historically served on a ship for their first duty. Many OCS graduates left the service after competing their 3-year obligation, which potentially limited their personal investment in the Coast Guard. However, the service staffed Lieutenants in the public affairs positions as their second or third assignment. This allowed public information officers to gain a proper understanding of the service and opened a new career route to academy graduates. In addition to adding authority to the public information officer position, the decision to upgrade the rank assignments ultimately helped the Coast Guard gain public affairs experience in the senior officer ranks as well. Most Lieutenants attempt to make the service a career, which increased the number of public information officers who promoted to Commander and Captain.

CREATION OF THE PHOTOJOURNALIST RATING

By 1971, the Coast Guard increased its enlisted public affairs staff to 50 Journalists and 49 Photographer's Mates who mostly worked out the same offices (Scotti, 2011). Some assignments extended beyond Headquarters and district offices to the larger units, such as training centers and air stations, that needed regular public affairs support. However, the following year, enlisted public affairs numbers began to dwindle, which left many offices with as little as three to five people (Scotti, 2011). This created staffing problems when one or two members left the office for training or a leave of absence at the same time. At most public information offices, a Journalist and a Photographer's Mate both needed to remain available at all times to handle emergency inquiries from the press or public. With staffing already thin, the absence of one or more Coast Guardsmen caused the office go out of commission until a full staff returned. In 1972, the Coast Guard found a solution to this staffing challenge and announced the merge of the two ratings to form a new Photojournalist rating (USCG, 1972b). A precursor to this merge occurred in 1968, when the Coast Guard converted Warrant Photographers to Public Information Specialists (USCG, 1968b). Warrant Officers with a Photographer designation simply changed titles, but the transition to Public

Information Specialist enabled Journalists to obtain a higher echelon in the ranking structure. Effective on January 1 1973, the new Photojournalist rating immediately provided more availability and flexibility in Coast Guard public affairs field offices. In November later that year, the Coast Guard offered the first 4-year enlistments to women, which included six rating options including Photojournalist ("Welcome Aboard," 1973).

Although the creation of the Photojournalist rating offered benefits on paper, it failed to receive a warm reception by some members in the field (Scotti, 2011). From a staffing perspective, one Photojournalist covered the duties of two people, which improved work schedules, reduced office sizes, and increased assignment possibilities for the enlisted members. However, Photojournalists relied on on-the-job training, which limited the options to cross train members in the smaller offices. Moreover, a Photojournalist's former rating still carried significance when the Coast Guard considered new assignments. Headquarters needed to account for the members' former rating when assigning duty stations in order to prevent staffing an office with four photographers and no writers, or vice versa. Even senior Coast Guard leadership questioned the merger and its negative impact on the public affairs program. In one example, the Third District Commander wrote the Chief of Personnel, asking him to rescind the merger and re-instate the old ratings (Engle, 1973). The District Commander argued the new rating decreased the quality of work and limited the proficiency of the enlisted members by dividing their time to learn each craft. In response, the Chief of Personnel stated that the service identified educational opportunities at DINFOS to assist the cross training process for senior enlisted. Prior to the merger, both Photographer's Mates and Journalists attended training courses at DINFOS. However, the Coast Guard established the new rating before it identified an appropriate training program for new members. In addition to seeking out new training, the Chief of Personnel compared Coast Guard public affairs to the office of a small newspaper, noting neither afforded the luxury to employ specialists in a narrow field. On the contrary, each member needed to possess a slew of basic skills to handle any task related to public affairs (USCG, 1973). For skeptics of the merger, the Public Information Warrant Officer position provided an encouraging example of how the Coast Guard could successfully combine the two skills. Coast Guard Headquarters staff remained optimistic about the merger, but stated they did not consider the matter closed until more time passed.

THE PUBLIC AFFAIRS DIVISION

As the ado over the new rating subsided, the Coast Guard continued to redefine its public affairs program beginning with the 1974 *Organization Manual*. The Public Information Division now embraced the title of Public Affairs Division and also changed the name of the Motion Picture/Television Branch to the Audio Visual Branch (USCG, 1974). The Media Relations and Community Relations Branches remained as well. The new manual also simplified the Office of Public and International Affairs by transferring all divisions except the Public and International Divisions. However, the office added a Governmental Affairs Division a few years later. By 1979, the Public Affairs Division modified a few minor responsibilities and reorganized into a Visual Services Branch, an Editorial Branch, and a Community Relations Branch.

Deployable services also entered the Coast Guard public affairs program in the late 1970s with the creation of the Public Information Assist Team (PIAT). Environmental hazards such as oil spills and the attention they drew presented a growing publicity concern for the federal government during the 1960s and 1970s. Although, contingency plans included public information duties (USCG, 1972a), the government recognized the need to support local agencies during these events. Since the Coast Guard usually represented the largest federal agency during a joint maritime environmental crisis, the government decided to designate the public information responsibilities to the service. Commandant Instruction 5720.8, dated February 22, 1978, announced the organization of the PIAT and outlined the team's duties (USCG, 1978a). The PIAT consisted of three active duty Coast Guard members, one officer and two Photojournalists, who received specialized training in pollution response techniques, equipment, and laws related to pollution. PIAT members deployed to assist on-scene commanders (OSC) and allowed local public affairs personnel to return to their normal responsibilities. Additionally, the PIAT trained Coast Guard units on the public affairs aspects of pollution response. Most importantly, the PIAT provided another example of how the Coast Guard continued to integrate public affairs into its primary missions and redefine the program as a part of it operations.

Civilian Public Relations

Civilian public relations personnel also sought to redefine their profession during the 1970s. As the profession grew, the Public Relations Division of the Association for Education in Journalism met to discuss the status of public relations education in America (Knight, 2011). The members decided to initiate a series of steps in order to improve the curriculum used by colleges and universities. They first established a Commission on Public Relations Education in 1973 (Knight, 2011, p. 248). Two years later, the commission issued *A Design for Public Relations Education*, which suggested curricula for undergraduate and graduate degree programs. These contributions helped public relations education programs rapidly expand during the 1970s. Taking advantage of the advancements in the civilian profession, the Coast Guard began to explore the possibilities of sending public affairs personnel to non-military colleges and universities. This move would begin to align Coast Guard public affairs to the civilian public relations profession and move the service closer to the two-way symmetric model of public relations.

In 1975, a group of civilian scholars decided the existing definitions of public relations "failed to impress or satisfy" (Harlow, 1976, p. 34). They organized a large and extensive study in order to create a modern and useful definition for the profession. After consulting 472 definitions in numerous books and academic journals published over the previous eight decades, they developed the following working definition:

> 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 publics; helps management and its publics; involves the management of problems or issues; helps management to keep informed on and responsive to public opinion; defines and emphasizes the responsibility of management to serve the public interest; helps management keep abreast of and effectively utilize change, serving as an early warning system to help anticipate trends; and uses research and sound ethical communication techniques as its principal tool. (Harlow, 1976, p. 36)

Their findings arguably changed the direction of professional public relations by emphasizing management and research as the profession's foundation. This transformed the main goal of public relations to now help organizations incorporate themselves within the communities where they operate. In the wake of lengthy and detailed definition from the 1975 study, Cutlip and Center (1978) offered their concise definition of public relations with

little change from the 1960s. They presented the definition as "the planned effort to influence public opinion though good character and responsible performance, based on mutually satisfactory two-way communications" (Cutlip & Center, 1978, p. 16).

By 1978, Coast Guard officers completed advanced education programs in both journalism and public affairs (USCG, 1978b). In addition, senior Photojournalists selected for the enlisted education program attended a one-year photojournalism course at Syracuse University (USCG, 1973). By allocating time and financial resources to train and educate their public affairs personnel, the Coast Guard continued to demonstrate a desire to improve its public affairs program by extending beyond the available training limits within the service. The Coast Guard already used civilian advanced education programs in multiple officer specialties including engineering, accounting, physics, and many others. In order to qualify as an official program, the training courses needed to exceed 20 weeks duration.

SYMMETRY

The major changes to the public affairs program redefined how the service used public affairs and what public affairs provided the service. The first four decades of Coast Guard public affairs resembled an isolated one-way communication program to inform the public and to advise senior leadership. Traces of two-way communication existed at Headquarters, but the majority of public affairs activities involved reactive media relations techniques, as exemplified in the *Guide to Coast Guard Public Information Systems* (USCG, 1961). The Coast Guard completed an operation and then the public affairs staff packaged information about that operation for public use. However, after 1967, the Coast Guard included public affairs into the larger purpose of external communication, which incorporated more than media relations into the public affairs program. The inclusion of community relations, ceremonial detail, Freedom of Information Act compliance, and mission operations redefined the role of public affairs. Moreover, an association with governmental and international affairs provided an elevated status to public affairs and emphasized its value. As a public service, the Coast Guard realized the need to coordinate its communication with taxpayers, politicians, and external agencies in order to operate efficiently and secure funding. In short, the public affairs program now managed how the Coast Guard cooperated with the public. Cooperation remains a primary trait of the two-way

symmetric model of public relations (Grunig & Hunt, 1984). This new concept of public affairs extended beyond the simplistic function of public information and continued the trend of conducting organized two-way symmetric public relations campaigns to achieve service goals.

OVERCOMING ADVERSITY

Despite the progress of the Coast Guard public affairs practices during the previous decade, the public affairs program still needed improvement as the service entered the 1980s. After the Coast Guard redefined the role of the public affairs program to include more symmetric behavior, the field personnel struggled to keep up with the new responsibilities. To make matters worse, a series of upcoming staffing challenges during the next two decades encumbered the program to point near extinction. Additionally, another Headquarters reorganization added to the complexity of how the Coast Guard should structure its public affairs program. In order to survive, the program needed to redesign the service's communication and outreach methods.

The Office of Boating, Public, and Consumer Affairs

By 1980, the Coast Guard abolished the Office and Public and International Affairs and placed the Public Affairs Division in the newly formed Office of Boating, Public, and Consumer Affairs (USCG, 1980). The new connection with boating safety exemplified the Coast Guard's recent attempts to incorporate public affairs into its operational missions. The Coast Guard assigned public affairs personnel to Boating Safety Offices during the 1970s, which partially justified the new Headquarters organization structure. Coast Guard Auxiliary, governmental, and boating safety matters accompanied the public affairs program in the new office along with a new Consumer Affairs Staff (USCG, 1981). Executive Order 12160, signed on September 26, 1979, established the Consumer Affairs Council of federal government in order to improve the coordination and management of government agencies. Each federal agency needed to dedicate personnel to comply with the order. The two missions of the Office of Boating, Public, and Consumer affairs combined public and consumer affairs to inform the public, while the remaining branches oversaw boating safety regulations (USCG, 1981). The shift to this office established a more formal association

between external relations and the boating safety information program, which aimed to apprise the recreational boating community of the elements of safe boating practices.

During this same period, the Coast Guard released a new *Public Affairs Manual* to help reinforce the changes to the program from the previous decade and updated definitions of the evolving program (USCG, 1980). The Coast Guard now defined the public affairs program as "an organizational process by which the Coast Guard explains its missions, goals, actions, etc. to its publics and receives communication from its publics" (USCG, 1980, p. 1-2). This new definition intended to incorporate feedback into the service at the operational level. Viewing communication as an ongoing process instead of a single action aligned the Coast Guard public affairs program with the recent developments in the civilian public relations profession. The decision to send public affairs personnel to civilian colleges and universities arguably played a role in this new viewpoint. However, the Coast Guard arguably used public affairs to change the behavior of the boating public, which indicated asymmetric behavior from the program. In order to remain on the symmetric side of public relations, the Coast Guard also needed to adapt to the public's feedback.

In addition to updating the definitions, the new manual identified three public affairs elements and listed the current objectives for the service. The three elements included public information, community relations, and internal relations. These elements helped simplify the uses of the program to Coast Guard personnel outside of public affairs. Objectives of the program still involved informing the public and creating awareness for internal and external audiences. Additionally, public affairs now assisted recruiting and retention efforts just as it did during WWII. The additional responsibilities assigned to the district and unit public affairs offices during the last decade including archiving historical material, developing public affairs annexes for unit policies, and multiple media reports to Headquarters also appeared in the new manual.

Many of these changes from the prior fourteen years failed to impress the members of the Coast Guard's public affairs staff, which an article in the October 1980 issue of *Proceedings Magazine* demonstrated. Nine Coast Guard public affairs staff members, both officer and enlisted, contributed to an article that critiqued the service's public affairs program and offered suggestions to rectify it (Fullerton, 1980). Deficiencies in continuity, training, guidance, and status topped the list of problems that faced the program as it tried to

once again reinvent itself. Continuity issues referred to the high officer turnover rates among the senior leadership at Headquarters. Six different Captains led the Public Affairs Division during the span between 1968 and 1980, most of whom possessed little to no public affairs training. Technical on-the-job photojournalist training still required senior enlisted members to take time away from other duties to teach junior personnel, which limited productivity in the small public affairs offices. Concerning guidance, district and field public affairs offices reported directly to their unit commanders and not to the Public Affairs Division at Headquarters. The staff at Headquarters suggested activities to the district and field offices, but could not directly task them. This created a lack of public affairs standardization across the service as most offices operated in accordance with their unit commander's orders. The most frustrating issue, according to the article's authors, related to the overall status of public affairs within the Coast Guard. Even after the advancements and operational inclusions over the past two decades, public affairs personnel still felt unvalued by the service. Districts returned to an old trend of assigning the public affairs officer the collateral duty of aide to the District Commander. Enlisted personnel complained this placed unnecessary pressure on the public affairs officer to devote more attention to the commander's schedule than to public affairs responsibilities. As a proposed solution, the nine Coast Guard members suggested the service establish its own public affairs school specifically designed for Coast Guard activities (Fullerton, 1980). Additionally, a career specialty for officers provided a solution to continuity issues at the senior level. The Coast Guard noticed these problems as well, and implemented new plans to help with training and the overall status of the program.

The Programs Branch

After the creation of the Office of Boating, Public, and Consumer Affairs, the Coast Guard added a Programs Branch to oversee public affairs training and policy decisions (USCG, 1981). Public affairs training required the new branch to coordinate with the Coast Guard Institute, which assisted Coast Guard members with civilian education courses and DINFOS training. Policy decisions involved the promulgation of public affairs regulations into appropriate manuals and directives for the service. Additional responsibilities included the surveying and analyzing public opinion and providing public affairs guidance to the

districts and other field units. This new branch provided the oversight the members of the public affairs program desperately needed (Fullerton, 1980).

A major achievement in public affairs training occurred in 1982 when the Programs Branch and DINFOS collaborated to create two service specific training courses (Meidt, 1983). The original concept for the courses began a few years earlier in the Eleventh District, with a training program known as the "Long Beach course." Looking to prepare his senior officers for the large media markets in California, District Chief of Staff Captain Harold W. Parker convinced the DINFOS administration to lead to 2-day media relations course at the District Headquarters in Long Beach, CA (Meidt, 1983, p. 27). After the success of the initial course, DINFOS training teams traveled to multiple districts over the next few years. Captain Parker promoted to Rear Admiral in 1978 and then became the Chief, Office of Boating, Public, and Consumer Affairs in 1980 where he continued to work with DINFOS (USCG, 2017h). Eventually, the Coast Guard created two public affairs training courses. Up until these classes, Coast Guard members at DINFOS needed to adapt DoD policy to Coast Guard operations. The 2-day Media Relations Workshop, a formal version of the original Long Beach course, taught Captains and Commanders in two districts each quarter. A 5-day course, known as the Commanding Officers Public Affairs Course, offered a hands-on training environment for junior officers and senior enlisted members, which included mock interviews, speeches, and press briefings. The courses aimed to expose Commanding Officers, Executive Officers, Officers-in-Charge, Executive Petty Officers, and collateral duty public affairs officers to the basic fundamentals of Coast Guard public affairs. The curriculum included classes on communication theory, media relations, community relations, and crisis communications. These classes not only signified an evolutionary step for Coast Guard public affairs, they also represented the first service specific courses offered by DINFOS (Meidt, 1983). The enhanced working relationship with DINFOS also opened up possibilities for the Photojournalist rating. New members joining the rating now attended a 10-week training course (A-school) at DINFOS, which alleviated on-the-job training requirements (Bennett, 1983).

The addition of training only partially alleviated the concerns of the public affairs personnel. A close association between public affairs and photography limited the program's potential and effectiveness, which negatively affected the status of the public affairs

personnel. Coast Guard units commonly requested district public affairs offices to provide photographic support during ceremonies or special events. This removed photojournalists from other duties in the already poorly staffed public affairs offices. Instead of researching and planning effective public relations campaigns, public affairs offices simply provided a photographic service to operational units. The Chief of the Public Affairs Division mentioned his concerns with this topic during the District and Area Commanders conference a few years earlier (Fullerton, 1980). The division planned to diminish their role in photography and transfer the duties to the individual units. An increased supply of the user-friendly "point and shoot" cameras provided one way to obtain photographs without the requirement of specialized training. The elimination of the Photographer's Mate rating during the merger of 1973 aimed to move public affairs away from this association, but proved unsuccessful (USCG, 1984). Another attempt to disassociate the enlisted rating with photography occurred July 25, 1984 when the Coast Guard changed the name of Photojournalist rating to Public Affairs Specialist. The announcement memo concluded that the title of Photojournalist did not aptly describe the duties of the rating, which included media relations, community relations, and the management of public affairs offices. However, only the name of the rating changed, leaving the rating badge and rank abbreviations the same as before. Photography remained a required skill for Public Affairs Specialists, but the broader extent of public affairs became the primary focus for the rating.

Reductions in Public Affairs Personnel

Just as the program began to resolve the concerns of the program, the Coast Guard received extensive budget cuts during the early and mid 1980s as the federal government attempted to reduce redundancies (Johnson, 1987). The reduction in funding caused the service to identify mission-essential jobs, and unfortunately, Public Affairs Specialists failed to achieve a high enough status to remain untouched. Headquarters eliminated nearly 40% of the public affairs staff and implemented a rating freeze for Public Affairs Specialists for three years (Peterson, ca. 1987). Rating freezes prohibit members in the rating from advancing and close the rating to new members in order to prevent additional costs. This only added to the turmoil in the public affairs and forced to Coast Guard to reevaluate the priorities of the program.

The result of these challenges decreased the productivity of the public affairs program and triggered an External Affairs Study Group in 1987 (Scotti, 1987). Multiple proposals to realign the public affairs staffing assignments surfaced, which ranged from increasing the size and responsibilities of the area public affairs offices to diminishing all district and area offices in order to permanently assign Public Affairs Specialists to operational units. Ultimately, the Coast Guard retained the district offices, but with a reduced staff. Instead of five to seven Public Affairs Specialists and an officer in each district, the staff reduction forced the Coast Guard to cover an entire district with three or four total public affairs staff members. Isolated public affairs positions also remained to add regional support at larger units and direct support at training centers (Peterson, ca. 1987). Some relief came in 1987, when the Coast Guard consolidated various districts to reduce the number from 12 to 10, which eliminated the need for two public affairs offices (USCG, 2017e). However, in order to cover multiple media markets in the same district, the Coast Guard established permanent public affairs detachments in the districts with larger geographical areas. Detachments added staffing flexibility to the program and ranged in size depending on the public affairs demands of the area.

Over the next two years, the Coast Guard reorganized and redesigned its headquarters yet again and removed the Public Affairs Division from an overarching office (USCG, 1989). Now listed as a Special Staff Element, the renamed Public Affairs Staff operated directly under the Vice Commandant. Other elements included Governmental Affairs, International Affairs, the Master Chief Petty Officer of the Coast Guard, Staff Chaplain, and Foreign Policy Advisor. This returned the public affairs program to an advisory role for the senior leadership, similar to the original placement of the Public Relations Division during WWII. Internally, the components of the Public Affairs Staff remained relatively similar to the structure of the previous division. The Program, Audiovisual, and History Staffs complimented the larger Media Relations, Internal Relations, and Community Relations Branches in order to manage the public affairs program (USCG, 1989). Additionally, the Coast Guard created a press assistant position specifically meant to handle the Commandant's personal media strategies and relations.

To clarify the new duties and responsibilities of the Public Affairs Staff at Headquarters, the Coast Guard released an updated *Public Affairs Manual* on August 30,

1990. Known as the "Bravo" manual for being the second edition after the 1980 version, the new manual consolidated the many chapters of the previous edition and organized the information under the three elements of public affairs – media, internal, and community relations (USCG, 1990). In addition to the constant public affairs objectives of public awareness and service morale, the new manual emphasized the Coast Guard's obligation to take an active role in community affairs, events, and challenges. The service placed this responsibility on the individual commands more than the district offices and no doubt reflected the program's increased reliance on unit public affairs. With only four or five public affairs specialists in each district, the Coast Guard began to shift the program's focus to the commanding officers and collateral duty public affairs officers.

The "Bravo" manual also included a new chapter for public affairs awards to recognize the efforts of field offices and personnel (USCG, 1990). Full-time public affairs offices, as well as operational units submitted campaign summaries and examples from their unit programs. This decision demonstrated the Coast Guard's need to incentivize more members of the service to contribute to the public affairs program. These awards also signified the Coast Guards effort to create a heritage and legacy for its public affairs personnel. The Alex Palmer Haley Award, named after the former Chief Journalist, recognized units with outstanding public affairs programs. In addition to the public affairs award, the Coast Guard honored Chief Haley with the academy's first honorary degree, a Doctor of Humane Letters in 1989 (Wells, 1992). In the years following Chief Haley's death in February 1992, the Coast Guard named a cutter after him as well as a dining facility at Training Center Petaluma, CA. Soon after the creation of the Haley Award, the Coast Guard introduced the Commander Jim Simpson Award for media excellence ("Public Affairs Awards," 1994). Commander Simpson assumed the duties as the Commandant's first press assistant after completing exemplary work in the Seventh District public affairs office in Miami, FL. In the aftermath of the NASA Space Shuttle Challenger accident in Cape Canaveral, FL in 1986, the Coast Guard led the recovery efforts where Commander Simpson acted as the public affairs officer for the operation (Clendinen, 1986). The Commander Simpson Award paid tribute to the former public affairs officer after he died in November 1992 (U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, 2017). The two remain the most well known public affairs personnel in the service, mostly due to the establishment of these awards.

The incentive for public affairs excellence coincided with another staffing challenge for the public affairs program. By the late 1990s, Coast Guard public affairs faced substantial budget cuts as the federal government continued to eliminate redundancies. The Coast Guard's annual budget for 1998 needed to reduce the cost of its public affairs program by $600,000.00, which translated to a 15% staffing reduction ("Coast Guard Operating Expenses," 1997). Congress imposed a similar cut to the Federal Aviation Administration two years prior to addressing the Coast Guard. This cut targeted the entire program and not just the enlisted rating, which still never fully recovered from the staffing reduction during the early 1980s. With an even more limited public affairs work force, the Coast Guard now looked toward the operational units to fill the gap.

The Office of Governmental and Public Affairs

Soon after the staffing cuts, Coast Guard Headquarters reorganized its command structure to better suit the new streamlined service. Now under the Assistant Commandant of Governmental and Public Affairs, the Office of Public Affairs began work on a new *Public Affairs Manual*. Released on December 14, 2001, the new "Charlie" manual shifted much of the public affairs responsibility onto the unit Commanding Officers and collateral duty public affairs officers. The new plan for the district public affairs offices focused their efforts toward external and media relations. Districts discontinued their internal publications and newsletters, which relieved the Public Affairs Specialists from the time-consuming duties of writing and editing. Instead, the Coast Guard encouraged operational units to create their own internal publications and community relations programs. To assist the units with the new assignment of duties, the "Charlie" manual added an entirely new chapter devoted to the collateral duty public affairs officer (USCG, 2001). This chapter included a detailed list of unit responsibilities as well as examples of work and available resources.

Service public affairs objectives also changed in the "Charlie" manual to reflect the Coast Guard needs for the program. The three objectives in the "Bravo" manual of awareness, recruiting, and community involvement remained. However, two new objectives broadened the impacts of successful program in hopes of motivating the service members to become more proactive. The first new objective aimed to reduce the number of accidents and casualties by educating the public. This resembled the close ties to the boating safety

program from the 1980s and sought to involve the search and rescue and maritime safety communities. The second new objective targeted elective and public officials and informing them of the Coast Guard's role in the nation in hopes of continued fiscal support. Public and governmental affairs remained closely related since the late 1960s and the recent budget concerns most likely motivated the Coast Guard to emphasize this connection. By showing the rest of the service the importance of public affairs as it related to public safety and financial security, the Coast Guard continued to incorporate the individual units into the public affairs program. In addition, to reach non-public affairs personnel, the "Charlie" manual also unveiled the general rule for Coast Guard public affairs: "maximum exposure with minimum delay" (USCG, 2001, p.1-2). This axiom summarized the service's stance on transparency and its desire to disseminate information as quickly as possible in easily understandable terms for those without public affairs training.

Since the first Coast Guard public affairs policy in 1936, the service charged each individual member with public affairs responsibilities. A series of personnel cuts forced the Coast Guard to actually enforce this responsibility, as evident in the changing dynamic of the program in the 1980s and 1990s. Commanding officers and collateral public affairs officers could now receive public affairs training at DINFOS specific to Coast Guard operations. Moreover, their units could flaunt their public affairs programs and receive recognition for their efforts in the form of a Haley or Simpson Award. Public Affairs Specialists and full-time public affairs officers moved to a supportive role for the operational units and focused on the major media markets within their districts. This allowed individual units to run a hometown news program in their own communities. In essence, just like WWII, the Coast Guard realized it lacked the resources to produce an abundance of material for the national market and instead focused on the immediate communities in which they operated. This structure fit the Coast Guard because unlike the other military services that operated large regional bases, the Coast Guard mostly operated out of hundreds of small response units scattered along the coasts. Each unit engaged their local community similar to the way a local public safety department would. Arguably, Coast Guard units established themselves in their local communities before this time. However, equipped with public affairs training and direction, their actions now contributed to the national objectives of Coast Guard public affairs.

MODERNIZATION

As the Coast Guard entered the new millennium and continued to empower the operational units and individual members with public affairs responsibilities, two new challenges surfaced. First, the advancing technology of both equipment and news media forced the Coast Guard to adapt and update its public affairs practices and policies. Second, the primary role of the service changed to focus more on its law enforcement capabilities, which redefined the Coast Guard's public image. After the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, the United States implemented a series of national security reforms. One of these reforms transferred the Coast Guard from the Department of Transportation to the newly created Department of Homeland Security on March 1, 2003 (USCG, 2017d). In order to overcome both of these hurdles, the service needed to modernize its public affairs program and prepare for a rapidly changing media environment.

Although not yet the standard for Coast Guard public affairs, personnel gained confidence and an understanding of digital media and technology during the late 1990s and early 2000s. These experiences provided a foundation on which the service could build and update future policy. Newer technology such as digital cameras and laptop computers enabled many operational units to collaborate on public affairs campaigns with Headquarters. In 1999, the service created an online digital photograph and video network, which allowed units to upload and download digital visual files for public affairs information subsidies (Mench, 1999). The Coast Guard Visual Imagery (CGVI) website connected public affairs personnel to any operational unit in the service and decreased the time required to gather and release information to the public. Although public affairs personnel used digital cameras since the early 1990s, CGVI signified an acceptance to adapt and take advantage of online capabilities and involved the operational units. Moreover, the Coast Guard's online presence began to expand and included more web sites for Headquarters departments, district public affairs offices, and individual units in the field.

In addition to expanding media technology, an organizational change brought another challenge Coast Guard public affairs. The move to the Department of Homeland Security coupled with the public's concern of preventing terrorism generated increased attention from both the media and politicians. Trusting and allowing each operational unit to interact with the media provided the public with more access to the information it needed. Fortunately for

the Coast Guard, the process of training operational units in public affairs practices began years before these challenges put the service to the test. During this time, the Coast Guard operated with 38,000 active duty members, but it only employed about 85 full-time public affairs personnel (Arnold, 2003). However, the Chief of Media Relations, Lieutenant Commander Jeff Carter, knew that hundreds of collateral duty public affairs officers across the country contributed to the program's success. Lieutenant Commander Carter also recognized the news value of placing operational Coast Guardsmen in front of the camera instead of a service spokesperson. This tactic improved the service's transparency and allowed operational units to gain more public affairs experience, both of which improved the Coast Guard's relationship with the media.

Hurricane Katrina

Shortly after gaining the media spotlight for its new role in national security, the Coast Guard found itself in one of the largest search and rescue operations of its history. During August and September of 2005, Hurricane Katrina impacted the New Orleans area of the gulf coast and Coast Guard air and boat crews responded. In addition, public affairs personnel deployed from around the country to help inform the public as the events unfolded. Initially, the Eighth District public affairs office created a Katrina response website to inform the surrounding areas of timely and accurate information (Wyman, 2005). Within days, Lieutenant Commander Carter deployed from Headquarters to establish a joint information center (JIC) and organize public information activities for multiple agencies (Jennings-May, 2005). By September 9, then Vice Admiral Thad Allen assumed the duties of principle federal official (PFO) and became the national spokesperson for the entire operation, which placed a great responsibility on the Coast Guard public affairs program. Ultimately, the Coast Guard deployed approximately 40 public affairs personnel to the handle information requests during the Katrina response, which equated to almost half of the entire public affairs staff. During the operation, Coast Guard personnel issued more than 150 press, photo, and news releases from public affairs field offices in Alexandria, LA; Mobile, AL; and St. Louis, MO in addition to countless media interviews by Coast Guardsmen (Wyman, 2005).

The successful blending of response operations and public affairs during Hurricane Katrina demonstrated the effectiveness of transferring public affairs responsibilities onto the

operational units. Normally, the offshore maritime environment shielded rescue and law enforcement personnel from immediate interaction with the news media. During the Katrina response, which involved mostly inland operations, rescue operators encountered camera crews in flooded neighborhoods and refueling stations (Wyman, 2005). After more than ten years of an inclusive public affairs culture, aircrew and small boat crewmembers proved invaluable to the Coast Guard by providing appropriate information to the media that a limited public affairs staff could not. The results of Hurricane Katrina produced more press and national attention for the Coast Guard than any time in recent history.

In the wake of Hurricane Katrina, the Coast Guard Motion Picture and Television Liaison Office (MOPIC) in Hollywood, CA collaborated with Touchstone Pictures to release a feature film titled *The Guardian* in 2006 (USCG, 2017f). The Coast Guard continuously worked with entertainment media the previous decades on multiple feature films including *The Defection of Simas Kurdirka* in 1978, *Top Gun* in 1985, and *The Perfect Storm* in 2000. However, Coast Guard characters usually played supporting roles. Unlike the majority of the other collaborative productions, *The Guardian*'s main characters, plot, and settings all featured Coast Guard members and missions. Although the service's new operational focus shifted to national security and law enforcement missions, *The Guardian* highlighted the Coast Guard's traditional role in maritime safety. To promote the film, Touchstone Pictures and Coast Guard public affairs personnel hosted multiple special screenings around the country. Additionally, the newly appointed Commandant led a movement within the Coast Guard to capitalize on the popularity of the film and rebranded Coast Guard service members as "guardians."

After a lauded performance as the Katrina PFO, the president appointed Admiral Allen as the 23rd Commandant of the Coast Guard on May 25, 2006 (USCG, 2017a). In his first State of the Coast Guard address, he acknowledged that the service has never been more relevant or more visible to the public (Allen, 2007). Modernization of the service became one of his immediate goals. Along with the goal of updating the operational assets, Admiral Allen knew the service needed to update its communication policies as well. Specifically, Admiral Allen wanted to explore the communication possibilities offered by social and online media.

Social Media

The Coast Guard's initial step toward official social media practices occurred in February 2007 with the development of a YouTube channel on the video sharing website (Migliorini & Day, 2010). YouTube remained the lone social media outlet for over a year until the service resolved legal issues regarding the public release of government information (Axe, 2008). Rear Admiral Mary Landry, the Coast Guard's first Director of Government and Public Affairs, also played an important role in the modernization of the public affairs program. When she transferred into the office in late 2006, the Coast Guard still used the *Public Affairs Manual* from its time in the Department of Transportation. Rear Admiral Landry and her staff began collecting data for an updated manual, which she signed into policy on January 18, 2008. During this initial period of public affairs modernization, the Coast Guard proceeded into online and social media with caution.

Building from the "Charlie" manual, the "Delta" policies remained similar to past editions with a few subtle changes. First, the Coast Guard added a sixth public affairs objective to inform the public in order to deter and dissuade illegal activity (USCG, 2008a). Since the service increased its law enforcement presence, this new objective aimed to assist the growing mission and new identity. Second, the Coast Guard removed Headquarters' responsibility to survey and analyze public opinion. Previously, the Coast Guard relied on this information to determine public affairs implications of new policies. In fact, the only mention of feedback or two-way communications refers to internal information programs, such as Captain's Call meetings or command focus groups. Finally, the "Delta" manual added a new chapter on authorship of official and personal material, which included a short section pertaining to online publications. Surprisingly, the delta manual contained limited information on the internet other than official unit website guidance.

By September 2008 the Commandant issued an ALCOAST message titled "Social Media – The Way Ahead." His message attempted to convince the service of social media's value to missions and operations. Moreover, Admiral Allen revealed that Headquarters would soon release official social media policy for the service (USCG, 2008b). That same month Admiral Allen unveiled his official blog, as well as a Coast Guard Facebook Page and Flickr account (Migliorini & Day, 2010). The following April, the Office of Public Affairs staff held the first Public Affairs Standardization Conference to discuss the changing media

environment and how those changes would impact on the service (USCG, 2009). The results of the conference produced multiple job aids, public affairs position qualifications, and a public affairs budget model to name a few. Additionally, the Office of Public Affairs announced their plans to develop Coast Guard policy specifically for social media.

Beginning with the creation of social media team at headquarters, the Coast Guard generated a social media field guide in order to standardize official social media accounts including Facebook, YouTube, Flickr, Twitter, and the DoD Live Wordpress Blog (USCG, 2008a). Designed primarily to instruct public affairs personnel, the release of the field guide demonstrated the Coast Guard's growing comfort with the new media. Concerning other online publications and website use, the USCG (2008a) added a social media chapter to the *Public Affairs Manual* in January 2011. Released as the first update to the "Delta" manual, the chapter outlined general online information policy including responsibilities and release authority for official communications. Additionally, the chapter explained the purpose of social media to the individual Coast Guard member as "the ability to engage with the right tool at the right level for the right audience" (USCG, 2008a, p. 11-1).

As a follow-up to the field guide, the Coast Guard released a *Social Media Handbook* on May 8, 2012. Mostly concerned with personal use of social media, the handbook covered online security settings for Coast Guard members unfamiliar with social networking sites. Information on propriety of content also aimed to keep members within Coast Guard and federal regulations. As a practical tool, the handbook included a multimedia release decision tree in order to ensure personal posts met the security and professional requirements of the service (USCG, 2012). The Coast Guard updated the *Social Media Handbook* in 2015, which combined the professional application of the field guide and the personnel security guidelines of the handbook.

External Affairs

As social media use became a standard practice in Coast Guard public affairs, the line between public and governmental affairs diminished. An external affairs concept, which started a few years earlier, began to solidify throughout the service. External affairs offices replaced or supervised public affairs offices at the district level and the policies of the two programs began to merge. On July 31, 2013, the Coast Guard issued the *External Affairs*

Tactic, Techniques, and Procedures (TTP), to provide step-by-step guidance for the activities involved in public and governmental affairs. This manual also represented the larger trend of separating policy manuals from procedures and technical manuals. Concerning the content, the *External Affairs TTP* closely resembled the 1961 *Coast Guard Guide to Public Information Systems* by providing more than 300 pages of detailed instructions, examples of campaign material, and official forms (USCG, 2013).

The following February, the USCG (2014) released the policy counterpart of the TTP in the form of the *External Affairs Manual*. In an effort to limit redundancies in other manuals, the *External Affairs Manual* consolidated the responsibilities of the external, public, and governmental affairs officers and provided an overarching policy for all external communication (USCG, 2014). To provide a more versatile purpose for external affairs, the Coast Guard eliminated the six public affairs objectives and replaced them with the goal of informing the public to achieve the service's main objectives. Additionally, the concept of external affairs operations stated "the external affairs mission is to plan, coordinate, and implement communication strategies designed to build understanding, credibility, trust, and mutually beneficial relationships with the publics who the Coast Guard serves" (USCG, 2014, p. 1-1). This definition closely mirrored the academic definition in *Effective Public Relations* (Broom & Sha, 2013). Moreover, the updated definition demonstrated an effort to return two-way communication with the public to the program after the "Delta" *Public Affairs Manual* failed to include the concept. Headquarters' responsibilities still lacked the specific requirement to survey and analyze public opinion. However, the manual introduced the principle of a receiver-focused approach to external communication. This approach used "quantitative and qualitative data found in media analytics, social media metrics, surveys, academic research, and other evaluation tools" (USCG, 2014, p. 1-5) to create a shared understanding with the public. This represented the Coast Guard's desire to keep pace with civilian public relations and to link the public with the success of the service.

Current Organization of the Program

By 2016, the Office of Public Affairs included an Imagery Division, Media Relations Branch, Community Relations Branch, Programs Branch, Social Media Team, and Historian's Office (USCG, 2017i). Regional offices operated in the Pacific and Atlantic

Areas, nine districts, and at 11 public affairs detachments. In addition, multiple training commands and special Headquarters offices staff full-time public affairs personnel. Unfortunately, the program never fully recovered from two waves of staffing cuts in the 1980s and 1990s. The enlisted rating once operated with more than 100 active duty personnel and since the late 1990s only maintained a compliment of approximately 70 ("PA Billet Historical Profile," 2006). Public Affairs Specialists and public affairs officers still attended initial training at DINFOS, which relocated to Fort George G. Meade, MD in 1995 (DINFOS, 2017). For communication methods, the majority of individual units operated a Facebook page and the service continued to expand its online presence with digital newsrooms, blogs, and informational websites.

MODERN SYMMETRY

The inclusion of concepts such as "mutually-beneficial" and "receiver focus" combined with the adoption of social media practices exemplified the modernization of Coast Guard public affairs. Social media channels, such as Facebook and Twitter enabled the operational units to interact with their publics and create their own two-way communication loop. Prior to this period, the Coast Guard only required the senior levels of public affairs to use two-way communication. Encouraging the operational units to engage with the public demonstrated another evolutionary step for the program. Moreover, updating the purpose and methods of public affairs to include the advancements in civilian public relations and media technology allowed to the service to reintroduce public opinion into the decision-making process at nearly every level of operation. Moving forward, Coast Guard public affairs advancements appeared to continuously incorporate the broader purpose of the service, as opposed to the specific objectives of understanding, morale, and recruitment of the past.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

PUBLIC AFFAIRS OBJECTIVES

Research question one aimed to evaluate the Coast Guard's official public affairs objectives in order to expose a relationship with the progression of the civilian public relations profession. Objectives shaped the public affairs program and informed service members of the Coast Guard's communication needs and intentions. They also provided an overall purpose for the program by justifying public affairs activities. This research, however, found the Coast Guard's public affairs objectives related more to the service's operational needs than with the civilian public relations profession.

The first identifiable public affairs objectives during WWII sought to improve public awareness, accuracy of information, service morale, recruitment, and historical record, while maintaining operational and national security. This wide range in objectives signified an uncertainty in the new function and also resembled the needs of a military service during a time of war. Between 1940 and 1945, the Coast Guard saw the largest increase in personnel and needed public affairs to handle a myriad of responsibilities. After WWII, the Coast Guard streamlined the objectives to only include public awareness, morale, and history, which indicated a shift toward an emphasis in information processing tasks. Recruitment no longer needed public affairs assistance and the enlisted members focused on one-way communication information subsidies. During this time, the Coast Guard's public affairs objectives and goals intended to gain the public's understanding and confidence. Meanwhile, the civilian public relations profession debated the importance of persuasion (Bernays, 1952) versus harmony (Cutlip & Center, 1952), which indicated a professional separation between Coast Guard public affairs and civilian public relations.

Entering the 1960s, the Coast Guard simplified its public affairs objectives to merely create awareness and build morale. The public image study by Loewy and Snaith in the mid

1960s proved the service still struggled with public recognition, which justified the focus on awareness on morale. A recruiting objective returned in the 1970s as the service gained new responsibilities during the transition to the Department of Transportation. Also during this period, the Coast Guard refined the overall goal of public affairs to assist with service missions and operations.

The relationship between public affairs and operations remained unconvincing to service members until a series of challenges during the late 1990s. Budget and personnel cuts created noticeable changes in the Coast Guard's public affairs objectives as released in the "Charlie" *Public Affairs Manual* of 2001. With limited operational resources, the Coast Guard added two more objectives to help reduce boating accidents and to gain fiscal support from public officials. During the Department of Transportation years, the Coast Guard linked public affairs with the boating safety mission and used the program to spread safety and regulatory information to the boating community. This campaign indented to reduce the operational workload by adding a preventative element to maritime safety. In addition, the Coast Guard's financial struggles prompted an effort to increase the justification for federal funding by including public officials as a public affairs audience. The service most likely incorporated this practice prior to the late 1990s. However, by making it an official public affairs objective in 2001, the Coast Guard demonstrated a need to involve all levels of the service with financial justification.

Prior to the removal of all specific public affairs objectives in 2014, the Coast Guard added one last objective in 2008. After the move to the Department of Homeland Security in 2003, the Coast Guard's law enforcement missions became central to the service's identity and the success of those missions reflected the success of the Coast Guard as a whole. Because of this, the service needed to use public affairs to help deter and dissuade illegal activity (USCG, 2008a). Similar to the focus on boating safety, the under-sized service relied on each member to contribute to every mission in some form. Public affairs provided a method to include non-operational personnel in operational missions. By early 2013, all six public affairs objectives resembled the history of the service and the many missions it conducted for the nation. However, instead of redesigning the objectives for the *External Affairs Manual* in 2014, the Coast Guard abolished them entirely. A new direction for public

affairs sought to integrate the program more than ever before by connecting it with the overall success of the service.

These examples show that the Coast Guard adapted the public affairs program based on the needs of the service and not in conjunction with the advancements in the civilian public relations profession.

FACTORS AND INFLUENCES

Research question two sought to identify the factors and influences that led to the creation of the Coast Guard public affairs program. Moreover, the researcher developed two sub-questions to separate initial and ongoing influences of the program. Initial influences included the public affairs programs of the other military branches, Coast Guard missions, the information policies of the Treasury Department, and the professional practices of related civilian industries.

Although influenced by Army and Navy public affairs during WWI and the 1920s, the Coast Guard developed its program independently and for purposes other than regulating wartime communication. With a minor role in WWI while operating as part of the Navy, the Coast Guard remained out of the public spotlight without the need for a public affairs program. By the early 1920s, every other military branch employed a public affairs staff, either as public relations, publicity, or press officers. At this time, the public affairs positions in the other branches provided an example of how to organize the responsibilities within a military service. The Coast Guard, however, operated without the wartime communication needs that caused the other services to create public affairs positions. Additionally, with a mostly humanitarian purpose, the service avoided major public criticism until it approached the 1930s.

Early Coast Guard public affairs most likely resulted from the public's negative reaction to Prohibition enforcement and sought to control and rebuild the service's tarnished image. During the 1950 Coast Guard Journalist conference, the senior leadership acknowledged the unsatisfactory media relations practices of the Prohibition era. This indicated an awareness of the problems with Prohibition-related press and partially explained the creation of the public relations officer position in 1933. Although occurring near the end

of Prohibition, this mission forced the Coast Guard to finally recognize the need to communicate with the public.

Additionally, Morgenthau's press policies within the Treasury Department influenced the initial establishment of Coast Guard public affairs more than the actions of the other services. During his first days in office, Morgenthau brought attention to the importance of regulating information and created a requirement for the Treasury Department agencies to comply with his strict rules. This included the Coast Guard and motivated the service to expand the responsibilities of their newly designated public relations officer. Moreover, these events required the service to create an official public affairs policy before the Treasury Department revoked the service's authority to release information.

Since public affairs remained a new function for the military and government agencies, civilian public relations supplied the structure, methods, and terminology. Aside from influencing the title of the Coast Guard's public relations policy and public relations officer, civilian public relations also provided the scope of responsibilities for the initial program. Initially, the militaries hired former civilian public relations practitioners and newspaper journalists to fill their public affairs positions, which brought the practices of the civilian industries into the military services. This led the Coast Guard to operated many of the initial public affairs offices similar to their civilian counterparts.

Once the Coast Guard's public affairs program became self-sustaining, many of the initial influences continued to inspire changes as time progressed. The other military services provided training through DINFOS as well as organizational influences such as the creation of the Journalist rating. Coast Guard missions controlled the direction of the program through specific public affairs objectives. Additionally, the Coast Guard adopted civilian public relations definitions, while advanced education degrees connected the public affairs program with the civilian and academic professions.

When the president placed the Coast Guard under the Navy during WWII, Coast Guard public affairs formed a professional connection with Navy public affairs that still remains. Prior to the war, the Coast Guard's public affairs program consisted of a group of photographers and one officer. After the exposure to Navy public affairs, the Coast Guard's program morphed into a miniaturized version of the Navy's program. Almost every aspect of Coast Guard public affairs corresponded with its Navy equivalent, from district offices to

the enlisted correspondent program. From that point on, Coast Guard public affairs departed the company of smaller government agency communication programs and identified more so with military public affairs. The Navy and the Coast Guard both adopted the public affairs title in 1974. Senior enlisted Coast Guard members even used the Navy's photojournalist education program at Syracuse University during the latter part of the 20th century. The Army's influence came from DINFOS, which supplied training for Coast Guard Journalists, Photographer's Mates, and public affairs officers based on DoD communication needs. In terms of training and policy, the other armed services influenced Coast Guard public affairs since the beginning of the program and continue to do so today.

Examples of civilian public relations influences remained prevalent during the initial phases of the program but occurred less often throughout history. After WWII, the federal government distanced its public affairs programs from the civilian profession because of the negative and untrustworthy reputations of civilian practitioners. This association, combined with conflicts concerning the Gillett Amendment's restriction on publicity experts caused the government to associate more with the journalism profession. However, by the 1970s, advanced education programs for civilian public relations influenced the program when the Coast Guard began sending junior public affairs officers to civilian colleges and universities. From then on, the Coast Guard embraced the community-centered and cooperative ideas of civilian public relations. By 2014, the Coast Guard's updated public affairs definition and purpose of the program reflected the definitions of the civilian profession, thus connecting the two even more.

As this research shows, many correlations exist between Coast Guard public affairs and its external influences. Unfortunately, without isolating each influence, the magnitude and extent of the effects remained difficult to determine. However, being one of the first research projects on this topic, the researcher only intended to identify the major influences, not measure them.

COMMUNICATION NEEDS

In reference to the first sub-question of research question two, the initial communication needs of the Coast Guard resulted from bad publicity during Prohibition enforcement. Negative press not only damaged the Coast Guard's public image, it hindered

operations and endangered the lives of service members. Without the public's support, the enforcement of controversial laws became daunting and ineffective. The rise of public information programs in the civilian law enforcement community provided a similar example of the communication needs of the Coast Guard. Immediately following the bad publicity of the civil rights era of the 1960s, local law enforcement agencies began to create community and media relations programs (Motschall & Cao, 2002; Surette, 2001). In both cases, certain publics perceived law enforcement personnel as part of the problem because criminals controlled the flow of information. The Coast Guard created a public affair program after Prohibition to provide its side of the story.

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

This study relied on available historic archives and museums, which severely limited the access to relevant information. Archivists rarely selected Coast Guard public affairs documents for their collections due to limited space, which prevented the preservation of valuable official paperwork. These documents could add context or further explanation of past Coast guard public affairs policy. Based on references cited within the available resources, much more information remains undiscovered including additional memorandums, training material, and policy manuals. A more thorough search for existing documents, with additional time and travel expenses, would greatly benefit future research. In terms of providing a complete and total history, this research merely took the first step in creating a historical conversation.

The material selected for this research also limited the results by mainly examining public affairs and organizational material. More information exists within the vast amounts of historic material that this research lacked the resources to ascertain. Future research should involve a broader scope of Coast Guard manuals to provide additional information and context to changes in the public affairs program.

Additionally, subjective interpretation of historic documents only infers the possible influences and reasoning behind the policy and organizational decisions. Depth interviews with Coast Guard public affairs personnel and senior leadership may provide the thought processes involved with organizational and program decisions. This information could

provide a deeper level of understanding concerning the influences and factors of the public affairs program.

The researcher hoped to inspire future studies of Coast Guard public affairs history and draw attention to the people who created and improved the program. Coast Guard officers experience high turnover rates, especially in the positions without a primary career specialty such as public affairs. Without a well-documented history, the service loses valuable information about past successes and lessons already learned. Moreover, further analysis of past Coast Guard public affairs policy may uncover trends in the motives and techniques used by the service, which may prove useful in the development of new policy.

CONCLUSION

The Coast Guard public affairs program encompassed a unique combination of military public affairs, law enforcement community relations, and civilian public relations and may connect a larger body of work for the profession. This brief view into the history of Coast Guard public affairs only scratched the surface of an otherwise ignored aspect of public relations. Initially, this study expected to find a closer relationship between Coast Guard public affairs and civilian public relations. However, after constructing the most thorough history of Coast Guard public affairs to date, this research illustrated a closer connection to the operational and organizational needs of the service.

Connecting the public affairs objectives to the ongoing identity changes of the Coast Guard revealed the overall purpose of program as an operational asset. Coast Guard service members can no longer deny the value of public affairs since the program contributed to multiple operational missions throughout history. Moreover, the adaptability of the public affairs program demonstrated its longevity in the service regardless of future mission and identity changes.

As the larger services continued to operate their public affairs programs on national and global scales, the Coast Guard focused its program on personal connections. Social media and the new concepts in the *External Affairs Manual* returned the service to a hometown news strategy similar to the Public Relations Division during WWII. Moving forward, this research showed that the Coast Guard intends to continue to incorporate two-

way symmetric practices in order to establish the service as a contributing part of the community.

REFERENCES

Allen, T. W. (2007, February 13). *State of the Coast Guard Address* [Transcript]. Retrieved from https://www.uscg.mil/history/allen/speeches/docs/SOTCG13Feb2007Transcript.pdf

Arnold, E. (2003). U.S. Coast Guard advances its mission by opening up. *PR Week, 6*(38), 10. (Accession No: 232040859).

Axe, D. (2008, March 7). *Coast Guard hates the internet, maybe*. Retrieved from https://www.wired.com/2008/03/coast-guard-hat/.

Beard, T. (Ed.). (2004). *The Coast Guard*. Fairfield, CT: Hugh Lauter Levin Associates.

Bennett, R. F. (1983). *The Coast Guardsman's manual* (7th ed.). Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press.

Bernays, E. L. (1923). *Crystallizing public opinion*. New York, NY: Liverlight Publishing.

Bernays, E. L. (1928). *Propaganda*. New York, NY: Liverlight Publishing.

Bernays, E. L. (1952). *Public relations*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Bernays, E. L. (1955). *The engineering of consent.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Best photo is selected. (1944, October 6). *New York Times*, p. 26.

Boorstin, D. J. (1961). *The image: A guide to pseudo-events in America*. New York, NY: Athenaeum.

Broom, G. M., & Sha, B. (Eds.). (2013). *Cutlip and Center's effective public relations* (11th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education.

Captain Samuel F. Gray CPI, ordered to COTP; Capt. Morine new CPI. (1951). *Coast Guard Bulletin, 6*(12), 136-137.

Castagnera, J. (1974). Public affairs in the Coast Guard: Evolving to meet the challenge of the seventies. *U.S. Coast Guard Academy Alumni Association Bulletin, 36*(2), 57-61.

Castelli, J. W. (2007). *Government public relations: A quantitative assessment of government public relations practitioner roles and public relations model usage* (Master's thesis, University of South Florida). Retrieved from http://scholarcommons.usf.edu/etd/3839

Changes in enlisted ratings to follow new Navy practice. (1947). *Coast Guard Bulletin, 3*(30), 439-442.

Chermak, S., & Weiss, A. (2005). Maintaining legitimacy using external communications strategies: An analysis of police-media relations. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 33*, 501-512.

Clendinen, D. (1986, January 30). Cutter brings 600 pounds of debris of shuttle to port. *New York Times,* p. A15.

Coast Guard adopts a new symbol. (1968, February 4). *New York Times*, p. 18.

Coast Guard operating expenses. (1997, November 3). [Committee recommendation; Facsimile]. Copy in possession of author.

Coast Guard orders. (1934, January 5). *New York Times*, p. 41.

Coast Guard's life has thrills a-plenty today. (1925, August 30). *New York Times*, p. X13.

Condit, K. W., Johnson, J. H., & Nargele, E. W. (1970). *A brief history of headquarters Marine Corps staff organization* [Pamphlet]. Retrieved from: http://www.marines.mil/Portals/59/Publications/A%20Brief%20History%20of%20Headquarters%20Marine%20Corps%20Staff%20Organization%20PCN%20190002487000.pdf?ver=2012-10-11-163141-160

Cutlip, S. M., & Center, A. H. (1952). *Effective public relations: A pathway to public favor*. New York, NY: Prentice-Hall.

Cutlip, S. M., & Center, A. H. (1978). *Effective public relations* (5th ed.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Defense Information School. (2017). *History of public affairs and visual information training*. Retrieved from http://www.dinfos.dma.mil/About/DINFOS-History/

Department of Transportation. (1966). *Project: Creation of a 12th cabinet post* [Report]. Retrieved from https://www.transportation.gov/50/creation-12th-cabinet-post

Department of Transportation. (2017). *Creation of Department of Transportation – Summary*. Retrieved from https://www.transportation.gov/50/creation-department-transportation-summary

Dixon, J. (1944). *Our sons will triumph*. New York, NY: Thomas Y. Crowell Company.

Doyle, S., & Fox, K. (2014). *Lothar Wolf collection, 1926-1987* [Research aid]. Rochester, NY: George Eastman Museum. Retrieved from https://eastman.org/sites/default/files/LotharWolffFindingAid.pdf

Dozier, D. M. (2010). Applying the general process model of content homogenization to public relations and public information. *Global Media Journal, 10*(17), 1-14.

Dozier, D. M., Grunig, L. A., & Grunig, J. E. (1995). *Manager's guide to excellence in public relations and communication management*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Engle, B. (1973, October 5). [Letter to Commandant (G-P)]. Copy in possession of author.

Fiction outdone by exploits of Coast Guard who brave perils of the storm as daily duty. (1922, August 17). *Evening Public Ledger-Philadelphia,* p. 15.

Fight reveals rum theft (1929, December 31). *Los Angeles Times,* p. 3.

Fletcher, J., & Soucy, P. (1983). Army public affairs officer as perceived by press and by military colleagues. *Journalism Quarterly, 60*, 93-97, 204.

Front-page Coast Guard. (1944, August 7). *Newsweek, XXIV*(6), 78-79.

Fullerton, R. (1980, October). Public affairs: We're missing the boat. *Proceedings, 106/10/932,* 143-146.

Gang of men beats 2 Coast Guardsmen. (1930, January 5). *The New York Times,* p. 2.

Gets additional duties: Comdr. R. M. Munroe's territory to take in Eastern Area. (1946, September 8). *New York Times,* p. 47.

Grunig, J. E. (2000). Collectivism, collaboration, and societal corporatism as core professional values in public relations. *Journal of Public Relations Research, 12*(1), 23-48.

Grunig, J. E., Grunig, L. A., Sriramesh, K., Huang, Y., & Lyra, A. (1995). Models of public relations in an international setting. *Journal of Public Relations Research, 7*(3), 163-186.

Grunig, J. E., & Hunt, T. (1984). *Managing public relations*. New York, NY: CBS College Publishing.

Haley, A. P. (1950, April). C. G. Journalists alerted by recent HQ conference. *U.S. Coast Guard Magazine,* 28-31.

Harlow, R. F. (1940). The American council on public relations. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 4(2), 324-326.

Harlow, R. F. (1976). Building a public relations definition. *Public Relations Review, 2*(4), 34-42.

Harlow, R. F. (1977). Public relations definitions through the years. *Public Relations Review, 3*(1), 49-63.

Havern, C. (2013, Fall). The U.S. Coast Guard historian's office. *The Federalist,* pp. 14-15.

Information reservists form New York group. (1951). *Coast Guard Bulletin, 6*(7), 75.

Jennings-May, T. (2005). Telling the Coast Guard story in Katrina's aftermath. *Coast Guard Magazine, Special Edition,* 92-93.

Johnson, E. R. (1987). *Guardians of the sea: History of the United States Coast Guard, 1915 to the present*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press.

Judd, R. W. (2006). *The Coast Guard in film*. Victoria, Canada: Trafford Publishing.

Koppes, C. R., & Black, G. D. (1977). What to show the world: The Office of War Information and Hollywood, 1942-1945. *The Journal of American History, 64*(1), 87-105.

Knight, D. K. (2011). History and development of public relations education in North America: A critical analysis. *Journal of Communication, 15*(3), 236-255.

Knightley, P. (1974) *The first casualty: From Crimea to Vietnam, the war correspondent as hero, propagandist, and mythmaker*. New York, NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Kroll, C. D. (2002). *Commodore Ellsworth P. Bertholf: First commandant of the Coast Guard*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press.

Kroll, C. D. (2010). *A Coast Guardsmen's history of the U.S. Coast Guard*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press.

Levenshus, A. (2016). Building context-based knowledge of government social media communications though an ethnographic study of the US Coast Guard. *Journal of Applied Communication Research, 44*(2), 174-193.

MacMullen, J. (1937, August). Semper paratus and the fourth estate. *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings, 63/7/413*, 1115-1116.

Meidt, R. M. (1983). Coast Guard public affairs is alive and well and in the Army in Indiana. *U.S. Coast Guard Academy Alumni Association Bulletin, 45*(1), 26-29.

Mench, R. (1999, December). New imaging system should make customers friendly. *Rapport*, pp. 1-2.

Mercy, A. A., & Grove, L. (Eds.) (1945). *Surf, sea, and hell*. New York, NY: Prentice-Hall.

Migliorini, A., & Day, R. (2010, Spring). Social media: Technology creates new opportunities for improved communication and participation. *Proceedings of the Marine Safety and Security Council*, *67*(1), 73-75.

Mock, J. R., & Larson, C. (1939). *Words that won the war*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Mock, J. R., & Larson, C. (1941). Public relations of the Army. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, *5*(2), 275-282.

Moeller, S. D. (1989). *Shooting war: Photography and the American combat experience*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Morgenthau eases Treasury censorship, but division heads can't discuss policies. (1933, November 23). *New York Times*, p. 14.

Moorlag, M. (2007). *The U.S. Coast Guard public affairs officer: Roles, perceptions, and culture – a communication excellence study* (Master's thesis). Retrieved from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses database. (UMI No. 1447391)

Motschall, M., & Cao, L. (2002). An analysis of the public relations role of the police public information officer. *Police Quarterly, 5*(2), 152-180.

Moyes, N. B. (1996). *Battle eye: A history of combat photography*. New York, NY: Metrobooks.

Murphy, P. (1991). The limits of symmetry: A game theory approach to symmetric and asymmetric public relations. In L. A. Grunig, & J. E. Grunig (Eds.), *Public relations research annual* (Vol. 3, pp. 115-131). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Navy public relations head addresses cadets (1948). *Coast Guard Bulletin, 3*(33), 477.

Neuman, J. (1996). *Lights, camera, war*. New York, NY: St. Martin Press.

Nichols, H. W. (1951, April 27). Coast Guard gets credit, which is called 'deserved.' *Spokane Daily Chronicle,* p. 6.

Norrell, R. J. (2016). *Alex Haley and the books that changed a nation*. New York, NY: St. Martin Press.

Nye, C. (1933, August 4). Coast Guard anniversary to be observed from cutter. *Los Angeles Times,* p. 18.

Olasky, M. N. (1987). *Corporate public relations: A new historical perspective*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Assoc.

PA billet historical profile (2006, July 24). [Unpublished report]. Copy in possession of author.

Peterman, I. H. (1930, February 27). Night on Coast Guard patrol boat no picnic. *Los Angeles Times, p.* 6.

Peterson. [ca. 1987]. Public affairs billet redistribution [Memorandum to Admiral Gilbert]. Copy in possession of author.

Public affairs awards. (1994, July). *Commandant's Bulletin*, p. 32.

Press incensed by Morgenthau. (1933, November 22). *Los Angeles Times*, p. 6.

Pulwers, J. E. (2003). *The press of battle*. Raleigh, NC: Ivy House Publishing.

Raymond, J. (1965, April 30). Coast Guard units going to Vietnam. *New York Times*, p. 1.

Reed, B. L. (1922, July 16). Coast Guard regatta patrol. *New York Times,* p. BRM10.

Ricci, J. A. (2011). *All necessary force: the Coast Guard and the sinking of the rum runner I'm Alone* (Master's thesis). University of New Orleans Theses and Dissertations. (No. 1342)

Roberts, H. A. (1924, January 13). Hunting the rum runners. *Los Angeles Times,* p. J1.

Russell, K. M., & Bishop, C. O. (2009). Understanding Ivy Lee's declaration of principles: U. S. Newspaper and magazine coverage of publicity and press agentry, 1865-1904. *Public Relations Review, 35*, 91-101.

Scotti, P. C. (1987, September 22). Input to external affairs study [Memorandum]. Copy in possession of author.

Scotti, P. C. (2000). *Coast Guard action in Vietnam*. Central Point, OR: Hellgate Press.

Scotti, P. C. (2011, June 8). [Letter to PACM Keith A. Alholm]. Copy in possession of author.

Service orders combined operations in rescue practices by districts. (1950). *Coast Guard Bulletin, 6*(1), 3.

Setliff, J. S. (2007). *The March of Time and the American century* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from ProQuest Theses and Dissertations. (UMI No. 3283403)

Seven specialist ratings now available in the Coast Guard. (1943). *Coast Guard Bulletin, 2*(14), 170.

Simmons, H. (1999). Media, police, and public information: From confrontation to conciliation. *Communications and the Law, 21*, 69-93.

Simplification of district organizations will fit peacetime conditions. (1947). *Coast Guard Bulletin, 3*(27), 402.

Shaw, G. (1964). Why hometown news. *U.S. Coast Guard Academy Alumni Association Bulletin, 26*(3), 223-225.

Shkor, J. (1969). Public relations: A charted course to success. *U.S. Coast Guard Academy Alumni Association Bulletin, 31*(6), 39-44.

Smith, S. (1998). *Hooligan days: A Coast Guard memoir*. Retrieved from http://prorev.com/mmcg.htm

Stanford, N. (1945, February 24). Coast Guard cameras 'click' in putting servicemen in proper focus. *Christian Science Monitor*, p. 11.

Stephens, L. (1978). The professional orientation of military public affairs officers. *Public Relations Quarterly, Winter*, 19-23.

Strobridge, T., & Grecco, J. (1975). Black trailblazer has colorful past. *Commandant's Bulletin, 7*(75), 11-12.

Surette, R., & Richard, A. (1995). Public information officers: A descriptive study of crime news gatekeepers. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 23*(4), 325-336.

Surette, R. (2001). Public information officers: The civilization of a criminal justice profession. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 29*, 107-117.

Taylor, M. & Kent, M. L. (2016). Towards legitimacy and professionalism: A call to repeal the Gillett Amendment. *Public Relations Review, 42*, 1-8.

Tell the Coast Guard story, Admiral O'Neill urges CG Journalists. (1950). *Coast Guard Bulletin, 5*(8), 240-241.

Theisen, W. H. (2012, Summer). The history of the "racing stripe" emblem and brand part I: The United States Coast Guard. *Sea History, 139*, 28-29.

The cadet public information committee. (1950). *U.S. Coast Guard Academy Alumni Association Bulletin, 12*(12), 365-367.

The cadet public information office. (1950). *U.S. Coast Guard Academy Alumni Association Bulletin, 12*(5), 78-79.

The Coast Guard bulletin. (1939). *Coast Guard Bulletin, 1*(1), 1.

Treasury headed by Morgenthau Jr.; Woodin on leave. (1933, November 16). *New York Times*, p. 1.

Tulich, U. N. (1975). *The United States Coast Guard in South East Asia during the Vietnam conflict* [Monograph]. Washington DC: U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters.

U.S. Civil Service Commission. (1936). *Official register of the United States*. Washington DC: U.S Government Printing Office.

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (1940). *Regulations for the United States Coast Guard*. Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (1943). *Register of the commissioned and warrant officers and cadets, and ships and stations of the United States Coast Guard*. Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (1944a). *Ratings abbreviations, precedence, and qualifications*. Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (1944b). *U.S. Coast Guard organizational manual*. Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (1945a). *History of the district Coast Guard public information office: Thirteenth naval district*. Seattle, WA: U.S. Coast Guard Thirteenth District Headquarters.

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (1945b). *United States Coast Guard book of valor*. Retrieved from https://www.uscg.mil/history/awards/book_of_valor_wwii.asp

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (1946). *The Coast Guard at war volume XXII: Women's reserve*. Washington DC: U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters.

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (1950). *The Coast Guard at war volume XXIII: Public relations*. Washington DC: U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters.

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (1951). *Public information manual*. Washington DC: U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters.

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (1953). *Rear Admiral Louis W. Perkins, USCG* [Biography]. Retrieved from https://www.uscg.mil/history/people/Flags/PerkinsLBio.pdf

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (1961). *Guide to Coast Guard public information services*. Washington DC: U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters.

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (1962). *Manual for recruiters*. Washington DC: U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters.

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (1963a). *Organization manual*. Washington DC: U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters.

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (1963b). *Register of the commissioned and warrant officers and of the United States Coast Guard*. Washington DC: U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters.

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (1964). *United States Coast Guard objectives*. Washington DC: U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters.

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (1967a). *Enlisted ratings qualification manual*. Washington DC: U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters.

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (1967b). *Organization manual: Headquarters supplement*. Washington DC: U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters.

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (1968a). *Organization manual*. Washington DC: U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters.

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (1968b). *Register of the commissioned and warrant officers and cadets of the United States Coast Guard*. Washington DC: U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters.

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (1972a). *Multi-agency oil & hazardous material pollution contingency plan (coastal)* [Pamphlet]. Boston, MA: U.S. Coast Guard First District Headquarters.

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (1972b, May 12). Commandant notice 1440 [Memorandum]. Copy in possession of author.

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (1973). Letter to Commander, Third Coast Guard District. Copy in possession of author.

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (1974). *Organization manual*. Washington DC: U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters.

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (1978a). *COMDTINST M520.8* [Manual]. Washington DC: U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters.

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (1978b). *Register of officers and cadets of the United States Coast Guard*. Washington DC: U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters.

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (1980). *COMDTINST M5728.2* [Manual]. Washington DC: U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters.

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (1981). *COMDTINST M5400.7* [Manual]. Washington DC: U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters.

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (1984, July 25). Commandant notice 1220. Copy in possession of author.

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (1989). *COMDTINST M5400.7C* [Manual]. Washington DC: U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters.

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (1990). *COMDTINST M5728.2B* [Manual]. Washington DC: U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters.

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (2001). *COMDTINST M5728.2C* [Manual]. Washington DC: U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters.

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (2008a). *COMDTINST M5728.2D* [Manual]. Washington DC: U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters.

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (2008b, September 22). *Social media – The way ahead* [Commandant Note]. Washington DC: U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters.

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (2009, May 6). *Coast Guard public affairs standardization conference results* [Commandant Note]. Washington DC: U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters.

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (2012). *U.S. Coast Guard social media handbook: Responsible use of social media*. Washington DC: U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters.

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (2013). *CGTTP1-04.1* [Manual]. Washington DC: U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters.

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (2014). *COMDTINST M5700.13* [Manual]. Washington DC: U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters.

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (2017a). *Admiral Thad W. Allen Commandant, United States Coast Guard 2006-2010* [Biography]. Retrieved from https://www.uscg.mil/history/allen/AllenTWindex.asp

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (2017b). *Alexander Palmer Haley, Chief Journalist, USCG (ret.)* [Biography]. Retrieved from https://www.uscg.mil/history/people/Alex_HaleyBio.asp

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (2017c). *Historical bibliography*. Retrieved from https://www.uscg.mil/history/uscghist/bib/auxbib.asp

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (2017d). *Historical overview*. Retrieved from https://www.uscg.mil/history/articles/h_USCGhistory.asp

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (2017e). *How many Coast Guard districts are there*. Retrieved from https://www.uscg.mil/history/faqs/district.asp

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (2017f). *Movies featuring the U.S. Coast Guard* [Website]. Retrieved from https://www.uscg.mil/publicaffairs/MOPIC/movies.asp

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (2017g). *Rear Admiral Ellis Reed-Hill, USCG* [Biography]. Retrieved from https://www.uscg.mil/history/people/Flags/Reed-HillEBio.pdf

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (2017h). *Rear Admiral Harold W. Parker, Jr.* [Biography]. Retrieved from: https://www.uscg.mil/history/people/Flags/ParkerHBio.pdf

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (2017i). *USCG Headquarters organization*. Retrieved from https://www.uscg.mil/top/units/org.asp

U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. (2017j). *U.S. Coast Guard firsts, lasts, and/or record setting achievements*. Retrieved from: https://www.uscg.mil/history/faqs/firstsindex.asp

U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs. (2017). *National cemetery administration: Quantico National Cemetery*. Retrieved from http://www.cem.va.gov/cems/nchp/quantico.asp

U.S. Navy Public Affairs Association [USNPAA]. (2007). U.S. Navy public affairs part I: the first hundred years (1861-1961) [Unpublished manuscript]. Copy in possession of author.

U.S. Navy Public Affairs Association [USNPAA]. (2017). *History of Navy public affairs*. Retrieved from http://www.usnpaa.org/history-of-navy-public-affairs.html

U.S. Navy [USN]. (1943). *Guide to Navy Public relations*. Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Washington is selected. (1951). *Coast Guard Bulletin, 6*(9), 97.

Washington meeting. (1946, November 10). *New York Times*, p. X5.

Welcome aboard: Women in the Coast Guard. (1973, November 20). *Los Angeles Times*, p. D9.

Wells, R. A. (1992). Alex Haley: A reminiscence. *U.S. Coast Guard Academy Alumni Association Bulletin, 54*(1), 6-7.

Willoughby, M. F. (1957) *U.S. Coast Guard in World War II*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press.

Willoughby, M. F. (1964). *Rum war at sea*. Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Whetstine, B. J. (2001, May). Combat photographer at sea. *World War II, 16*(1), 35-40, 76.

White, J. M. (2012). The communicative action of journalists and public information officers. *Journalism Practice, 6*(4), 563-580.

Wyman, R. (2005). Communicating in a crisis. *Coast Guard Magazine, Special Edition*, pp. 90-91.

APPENDIX

CHRONOLOGY OF COAST GUARD PUBLIC AFFAIRS EVENTS

1905	Ivy Lee's "Declaration of Principles"
1907	Marine Corps Publicity Bureau established in Chicago, IL
1913	Gillett Amendment
1914-18	World War I (United States entered in 1917)
1915	The Revenue Cutter Service and Lifesaving Service combined to form the Coast Guard
1916	Army Public Release Office established at West Point
1917-19	The Committee on Public Information (Creel Committee)
1917-19	Coast Guard operated under the Department of the Navy
1917	Navy established News Bureau
1920-33	Prohibition
1923	*Crystallizing Public Opinion* by Edward Bernays
1924	Army established Public Relations Branch
1924	Marine Corps created publicity officer and public relations officer positions
1925	*Publicity* by Ivy Lee
1927	First issue of *Coast Guard Magazine*
1928	*Propaganda* by Edward Bernays
1933	Lieutenant Commander LeRoy Reinburg became the Coast Guard's first public relations officer in a collateral duty status
1933	Henry Morgenthau became the Treasury Secretary, restricts press relations for Treasury agencies
1934	Petty Officer Everett Washburn became the Coast Guard's first photographer
1935	Commander Louis Perkins became the Coast Guard's first full-time public relations officer
1936	Coast Guard Circular Letter no. 125 – "Public Relations"

1939	The Lighthouse Service joins the Coast Guard
1939	First issue of *The Coast Guard Bulletin*
1939	The American Council on Public Relations is established
1940	Coast Guard created modern organization of operational districts
1940	Photographer's Mate rating established by Coast Guard
1940	Ellis Reed-Hill in charge of Coast Guard public relations
1941	Army established a Bureau of Public Relations
1941	Navy established an Office of Public Relations
1941-46	Coast Guard transferred to the Department of the Navy
1942-45	Office of War Information (OWI)
1942	Photographer Warrant Officer position adopted by Coast Guard
1942	Pub 701 64 required Coast Guard districts to staff public relations officers
1942	Women's Reserve (SPARs) established by Coast Guard
1943	Specialist (Public Relations) rating created by Coast Guard
1943	*Guide to Navy Public Relations*
1943	Headquarters operated as Public Relations Division
1944-45	Coast Guard *Public Relations Newsletter*
1945	Navy and Coast Guard adopted "public information" title
1946	Coast Guard absorbed Bureau of Marine Inspection
1946	Navy created public relations officer specialty code
1946	Army Information School established
1947	Public Relations Society of America (PRSA) is established
1948	Journalist rating established in the Navy and Coast Guard
1949	Coast Guard Journalist conference
1949	Alex Haley became the first Chief Journalist
1950	Navy created Chief of Information (CHINFO) position
1951	Coast Guard *Public Information Manual*
1952	*Effective Public Relations* (1st ed.) by Scott Cutlip and Allen Center
1954	PRSA adopts a "Code of Professional Standards"
1955	*The Engineering of Consent* by Edward Bernays
1961	*Guide to Coast Guard Public Information Systems*
1963	Coast Guard created public information officer specialty code

1963	Coast Guard partnered with the Fleet Home Town News Center
1964	Defense Information School established
1964	PRSA established an accreditation program
1965-73	Coast Guard involved in Vietnam War
1967	Coast Guard transferred to the Department of Transportation
1967	"Racing Stripe" added to Coast Guard assets
1968	Public Information Warrant Officer established by Coast Guard
1968	Headquarters operated as Office of Public and International Affairs
c. 1971	Hollywood liaison office established
1973	Journalist and Photographer's Mate ratings combined to create Photojournalist
1974	Navy and Coast Guard adopted "public affairs" title
1974	Headquarters operated as Public Affairs Division under the Coast Guard Chief of Staff
1975	Foundation for Public Relations Research and Education created "working definition" of public relations
1978	Public Information Assist Team (PIAT) established
c. 1978	Public affairs advanced education available to Coast Guard officers
1980	Coast Guard *Public Affairs Manual* (alpha)
1981	Headquarters operated as Office of Boating, Public, and Consumer Affairs
1982	PRSA created their modern definition of public relations
1982	DINFOS created courses specific to Coast Guard public affairs
c. 1983	Public affairs enlisted rating staff reduction
1984	Photojournalist rating renamed Public Affairs Specialist
1989	Headquarters operated as Public Affairs Staff
1990	Coast Guard *Public Affairs Manual* (bravo)
1995	DINFOS moved to current location at Fort George G. Meade
1998	Public affairs program staff reduction
1999	Headquarters operated as Assistant Commandant of Government and Public Affairs
2001	Coast Guard *Public Affairs Manual* (charlie)
2003	Coast Guard transferred to the Department of Homeland Security
2005	Hurricane Katrina
2007	Headquarters operated as Director of Government and Public Affairs

2007	Coast Guard YouTube Channel (entry into social media)
2008	Coast Guard *Public Affairs Manual* (delta)
2008	*Social Media – The Way Ahead*
2011	Social Media chapter added to the *Public Affairs Manual*
2012	*Social Media Handbook* (1st ed)
2013	*External Affairs Tactics, Techniques, and Procedures*
2014	Coast Guard *External Affairs Manual*
2015	*Social Media Handbook* (2nd ed.)