# Public relations and trust in contemporary global society: A Luhmannian perspective of the role of public relations in enhancing trust among social systems

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ABSTRACT: This article provides a theoretical conceptualization of the role of public relations in society based on the "organic theory" of public relations and on Luhmann's systems theory as well as on the concept of trust. In a postmodern, hypercomplex society, we claim that the main role of public relations is to strengthen system interactions through the creation of trust among systems. To enhance, maintain and ensure trust, public relations practitioners must think, not only strategically, but "metastrategically," beginning with a normative theory of society that is built on the foundation of existing social theory, e.g. Luhmann, but also on contemporary social theory that must be built within a framework of communication technology.

KEYWORDS: public relations, organic theory of public relations, systems theory, Luhmann, trust, contemporary society, metastrategy

# INTRODUCTION

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The 21st century is experiencing unprecedented and increasingly egalitarian information access, tremendous changes in the dynamics — and perhaps the effects — of mass media, and increasing migrations among the global population, all of which have exacerbated cultural tensions worldwide. We live in an era in which communication barriers are more ideological than physical. Space and time have surrendered to the World Wide Web, and social relationships have changed dramatically and are more viral than ever. This is a century of immense uncertainty; nothing is secure or stable in global society (Kruckeberg & Vujnovic, 2007), and confu-

sion and social anarchy are widespread (Etzioni, 1993). Many aspects of our social lives, which are limited only by the speed of technology, are nevertheless evanescent and superficial, and many of these social relationships are the product of our virtual-identity construction. In our complex and multifaceted society, organizations as well as people are being affected by globalization to the extent that neither can no longer think of themselves as mono- or bicultural (Valentini, 2007); nor can organizations any longer simply choose to pursue either the organization's interests or society's interests. Economic instability of the markets, terrorist attacks throughout the world, and a multitude of environmental threats are examples that readily demonstrate that nothing is more global than a local issue and that nothing is confined to only one social system. The complexities of global society and the inherent synthetic nature of social relationships produce fear among people, such as the fear of trusting nation-states' ability to protect their citizens from criminality, the fear of trusting online communities, the fear of trusting one's own government to enhance citizens' welfare, and the fear of believing in organizations' intentions to be socially responsible. How is 21st century society possible, i.e. a postmodern global society in which communication technology is the intervening variable that has allowed indeed has required — globalism, but also its obverse, i.e. multiculturalism? In this global world, what is the normative role of governments? Of corporations? Of Civil Society Organizations (nongovernmental organizations)? Finally, what is the role and function of public relations within these organizations? How can public relations as a professionalized occupation ease today's uncertainties and increase trust among different social systems? This begs the question: What is the role of trust in a functioning society?

This article provides a theoretical conceptualization of the role of public relations in society based on the "organic theory" of public relations (Vujnovic & Kruckeberg, 2005) and on systems theory (Luhmann, 1995; Holmström, 2005). From systems theory, we look upon Luhmann's discussions about social systems and trust. Luhmann conceptualizes society as consisting of various social systems, such as law, politics, economics, and mass media (Luhmann, 1982; 1995; 1997). Social systems are co-naturally existent in societies and must interact with and influence one another to sustain a functioning organism, i.e. society. We also propose to use Luhmann's theoretical framework for conceptualizing "trust" (Luhmann, 1979; 1988), i.e. to explain how trust can secure confidence in relationships, which are at the core of public relations practice, and how trust can strengthen system interactions, which are the forces that maintain society as a healthy and functioning organism (Lloyd, 1901).

This article also builds on previous scholarship in community relations, e.g. Kruckeberg and Starck (1988) and Starck and Kruckeberg (2001), which we find to be complementary to Luhmann's conceptualization. More precisely, we focus on the organic theory of public relations as well as on systems theory, both of which extend the theoretical framework of the role of public relations in contemporary society by looking at the interrelationships and interconnections among the three major systems, i.e. governments, civil society organizations (nongovernmental organizations), and corporations, *vis-à-vis* public relations' role in fostering these interrelationships and connections (Holmström, 2005) as well as at the role of trust—intended as an irreducible and multidimensional social reality (Luhmann, 1979; 1988).

# FEARS OF CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY

The 21st century is considered by many social scientists as the era of globalization, post-industrialization, and postmodernism. While the development of new technologies and means of communication have eliminated previous barriers that have restricted people in their communication, at least among those in regions of the world where access to these resources is widespread, societies throughout the world appear today to be both more complex and more unstable than could have been reasonably predicted. In fact, the presumed certainties of modern global society have been replaced by an extended incredulity among individuals about ostensible indicators of "progress" and of science, i.e. a suspicion about any assumed claims. Jean-François Lyotard, in his work The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge (1979), describes contemporary society as being pervaded by incredulity toward all metanarratives, that is to say, characterized by an increasing scepticism toward those claims that assert to tell an absolute truth. This uncertainty toward modern science has also raised questions among philosophers such as Prigogine and Stengers (1984) about the foundation of our knowledge. New modes of expression and alternative ways to combine styles, genres, and worldviews have emerged (Christensen, Torp & Firat, 2005). This is the era of postmodernism or, in Qvortrup's (2003) words, the age of hypercomplexity. Hypercomplexity represents second-order complexity, or complexity inscribed within complexity, such as when one observer describes another observer's description of a particular phenomenon. Qvortrup (2003) argues that our emerging society can be characterized as a polycentric and polycontextual social system that applies different codes of selfobservation related to different positions of observation in society. Accordingly, organizations and societies are not evolving toward some final state of total control guided by unlimited rationality. Rather, stability is a "dynamic state of equilibrium in which mechanisms and procedures for mutual observation and communication have developed to neutralize tendencies toward social entropy" (Qvortrup, 2003, p. 5). The 21st century is thus a time in which different realities, i.e. different "truths," are possible, where events and situations are three-dimensional, and where universal objectivity does not exist.

Postmodern, hypercomplex society, however, destabilized organization–public relationships in several ways. In marketing, for example, postmodernism is affecting the way in which consumers understand, interpret, and consume companies' prod-

ucts and services. Cova (1996) argues that postmodernism is challenging marketing activities because consumers lack commitment to universal or totalizing ideas, they distrust planned and pre-packaged images, and they tend to play around with signs and modes of signification. Individuals are becoming more reluctant to digest companies' stories and even less so political messages. In the political sphere, postmodernism is changing the way in which citizens trust institutions and in which they participate in political discussions. Norris (2001, p. 2) claims that especially "Western publics have become more and more disenchanted with the traditional institutions of representative government, detached from political parties, and disillusioned with older forms of civic engagement and participation." This position suggests that citizens perceive democratic institutions as being opaque and detached from their living space and experiences and they find themselves highly disengaged from the policy process (Nesti & Valentini, 2010). This detachment is not purely a consequence of a generalized carelessness; many citizens have lost their faith in the nation-state as a democratic institution that is capable of resolving problems of postmodern society, e.g. unemployment, poverty, economic and financial crises, immigration, terrorism, and crimes. Confidence in the nation-state as an institution that provides security and stability has decreased throughout all Western countries, and new forms of self-defense toward alleged "enemies" of society have ultimately increased, reaching new levels of xenophobia, such as in the case of France's recent expulsion of much of its Roma community. In recent times, faith in established institutions, e.g. the Church, has also diminished. Particularly the Roman Catholic Church has entered a dark phase in its history, e.g. the revelation of Ireland's sexually abusive priests. Allegations of church-based sexual abuse have increased throughout Europe, including in Austria, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, and Switzerland as well as in Brazil, home of the world's largest Roman Catholic population (Gilgoff, 2010). Any presumptions that the Roman Catholic Church's values and norms hold fundamental truths in the Church's role as the "good shepherd" have been perhaps irrevocably diminished.

People are losing confidence, not only in political and religious institutions, but also in the role of mass media as the "backbone of democratic societies" (Fog, 2004). Arguments about the value of journalism in acting on behalf of the public are increasingly questionable, because today, in times of economic crisis, journalists are under even more pressures than ever before and have limited resources to perform their job, thus relying more and more on external sources' materials. Recent surveys by Edelman show a continuous decline in people's trust in the media (Edelman, 2010). As a response to this decreasing confidence in news media, 21st century society is experiencing a rise of civic journalism, in which people are not just spectators of news reportage of a social, political, or economic event, but they are active participants who observe and report the event directly. Civic journalism has also grown because of its facility in "capturing" and "diffusing" events through the use of new technologies, primarily through the Internet. The use of the Internet has escalated in all of its possible utility, from a tool of information-seeking and information-sharing to a medium of social-gathering, entertaining, and even providing a relational place, e.g. chat rooms that promise to find "your other half."

The Internet, with its social media applications, seems to promise a different approach for organization–public relationships that takes into consideration the hypercomplexity of today's society. However, these new social media hold publics in a state of continuing uncertainty because people lose those traditional parameters that had allowed them to evaluate received traditional communications and their scopes (Valentini, 2010). In cyberspace, everyone can be anyone, can deconstruct and reconstruct his/her identity, and can create stories and metanarratives that may or may not be real, factual, or objective. There is no assurance about the accuracy of what is read, viewed, or listened to in the Internet sphere.

The scarcity of certainty in the different subsystems of society and the ambiguity that pervades this postmodern, hypercomplex society brings us to reconsider the concept of "trust" and its potential role in 21st century global society. However, before presenting and discussing trust, we shall review Luhmann's systems theory as a general postulation for assessing the role of public relations as a communicative function to enable system-discursive interactions and to support trust among systems, trust being one of the preconditions for the existence of society.

### **SOCIETIES AS COMMUNICATIVE SYSTEMS**

Postmodern societies are hypercomplex systems of interrelationships resulting from people's evolution into more complex "thinking" entities. In sociological terms, a society consists of a group of people who are related to one another by continuing relationships, such as social status, roles, social networks, culture, and institutions. Technological, as well as general knowledge, developments have influenced the way in which societies as aggregations of people have advanced. We still have societies throughout the world which are based on traditions and norms that, from a developed nation perspective, appear to be "traditional." But we also have societies, e.g. China and some Eastern European countries, that have moved quickly from less developed economies to emerging capitalistic ones, and some countries worldwide have newly emerging more democratized forms of government. Societies, just as human beings, can change and evolve and/or regress more quickly or slowly, depending on contextual factors and situations. Societies are living organisms that seek adaptation to survive and to compete with one another. This concept of societies as living organisms or "systems" was used by Luhmann (1984; 1995) to describe social, psychological, and organic systems. Observing the evolution of Western societies, Luhmann realized that general theories of society were insufficient to explain the changes that had occurred during the final decades of the 20th century. For him, society was better explained if it were conceived of as consisting of different systems, not having a centre or unity, but instead a composition of functional systems, e.g. legal and political, each one fulfilling a specific function (necessary for society's survival) (Luhmann, 1995).

Luhmann, inspired by the idea of autopoiesis as conceived by Humberto Maturana and Francisco Varela in 1972, two Chilean biologists who had intended to define and explain the nature of living systems, argues not only that society consists of different social systems, but that these are autopoietic (Maturana & Varela, 1972). Autopoietic systems, just as biological systems, have their own elements that reproduce themselves. Each of these systems is capable of controlling its reproduction through its own operations and of autonomously defining its boundaries. In this way, autopoietic systems are, so to speak, open and closed at the same time, open because they are influenced by their environments, but also closed because their environments do not directly influence the structure and elementary processes of the systems. Autopoietic systems thus perform an operational closure (Luhmann, 1992) which ensures that no external system can connect directly, but at the same time they do maintain communication with the outside (Luhmann, 1995, p. 37). Systems perform a selection on what the outside world can influence, and these systems have an impact on their inner structures and operations. Both are critical because, to survive, "systems have both to preserve their autonomy (their difference from the environment that is comprised of all other systems) and to be able to learn from the environment increasing their responsiveness to social (other systems) developments" (Vasconcelos Vilaça, 2010, p. 67).

Luhmann argued that the complexity of modern society is very much determined by the complexity of its social systems that are able to differentiate and to distinguish themselves from the remainder of society through means of communication. Luhmann (1995) later conceptualized society as a communication system distinct from human agents. Luhmann, in fact, saw society as a complex system of communication that has differentiated itself into a network of interconnected social subsystems. Each of these systems reproduces itself recursively on the basis of its own system-specific operations. Each of them observes itself and its environment, but whatever they observe is marked by their unique perspective, i.e. by the selectivity of the particular distinctions they use for their observations. In Luhmann's view, communication therefore is not sufficiently represented by the traditional senderreceiver model, which encapsulates communication into a transmission process. This model, for Luhmann, was useless because it seemed too ontological (Jalava, 2003). In Luhmann's perspective, communication must be understood as a synthesis and the processing of three different and independent choices or selections: information, utterance, and understanding. In information, it is a matter of what we utter; in utterance it is how we utter it; and in understanding, it is the separation of uttered information from the way we utter it. Understanding consists of the communicative actions through which the receiver reacts to the message (Jalava, 2003; Vasconcelos Vilaça, 2010). What is of particular interest in this definition of society that consists of communicative systems is that, through communicative

actions and interactions, society reproduces itself and survives. The role of communication as an interactive process of exchange of ideas, feelings, and opinions is that of enabling different systems to evolve and to develop. In other words, communication, as the externalization of what people and organizations within particular subsystems understand of society, is the means by which society, itself, changes. It is through its discursive definition that society expresses itself in its entirety and in its contradictions, juxtapositions, and even complexity. In Luhmann's systems theory, we cannot conceive of society without conceiving of communication because "even the communication of not wanting to communicate is communication. In practice, one cannot not communicate in an interaction system; one must withdraw if one wants to avoid communication" (Luhmann, 1997, p. 413). Yet, this idea that society is not only maintained by communication, but is also constituted by communication, is not new. John Dewey in 1916 also conceptualized society as being comprised of communication.<sup>1</sup>

Luhmann's systems theory, with its concept of society as a communication system, not only provides us a *raison d'être* for the existence of our professionalized occupation of public relations, but also supports the role of public relations in society. If societies are comprised of communication and if subsystems of society need communication to reproduce, adapt, and change themselves, and if the role of public relations is to enhance the flow of communication among organizations and publics of any type, thereby facilitating the process of communication among these different systems and subsystems, then public relations for contemporary postmodern societies is not only important, it is essential for the survival of society itself. Furthermore, if societies are hypercomplex and in continuously changing status, different systems and subsystems comprised by society require a level of familiarity and even trust in the different mechanisms of interactions and communicative discourses to autopoietically live and develop. Trust, thus, becomes an important factor that helps interactions among systems and that facilitates communication flows among systems.

### TRUST AND SOCIETY

In environments in which uncertainty and ambiguity prevail, either as intrinsic dimensions of a specific environment or as the consequences of an external malfunction, e.g. during crisis situations, the concept of trust is critically important to explain both relationships among systems and people as well as among individuals. Trust becomes a functional prerequisite for the existence of society because the only alternatives to appropriate trust are "chaos and paralysing fear" (Luhmann, 1979, p. 4). The very essence of trust is related to the concepts of instability and

 $<sup>^{1}</sup>$  See Kückelhaus (1998) for more information on John Dewey's 1916 concept of society as being comprised of communication.

risk, since trust's main function is to help individuals find solutions for specific problems of risks (Luhmann, 1988, p. 95). The function of trust is thereby to reduce complexity. This complexity is easily seen in the temporal aspects of the social life of our postmodern, hypercomplex society. Scholars, such as Mayer, Davis and Schoorman (1995), believe that the role of trust is often emphasized in a risk society. A risk society is "a society increasingly preoccupied with the future (and also with safety), which generates the notion of risk" (Giddens, 1999, p. 3). Thus, it also can be "a systematic way of dealing with hazards and insecurities induced and introduced by modernisation itself" (Beck, 1992, p. 21). Postmodern societies are risk societies in the sense that they are characterized by an "attitude" of suspicion toward different aspects of individuals' lives and by a general tendency of distrusting different systems, such as the media and the political system. Postmodern societies thereby challenge people's general expectations, which are "the common understandings that are 'taken for granted' as part of a 'world in common'" (Zucker, 1986, p. 57). Trust is thus highly relevant in explaining organization–public relationships in risk societies

Trust as a concept has been defined in its several different nuances, but most of these underscore the idea that trust is "a particular level of the subjective probability with which a trustee will perform a particular action, both before the trustor can monitor such action (or independently of his capacity of ever being able to monitor it) and in a context in which it affects the trustor's own action" (Gambetta, 1990, p. 217). Trustworthiness as the capacity to commit oneself to fulfilling the legitimate expectations of others is both the constitutive virtue of, and the key causal precondition for, the existence of any society (Dunn, 1984). Misztal (1996) further adds that the role of trust is to create solidarity in society, which is the basis of social order in postmodern, chaotic societies.

Luhmann saw trust, in particular, as something that needs to be learned and as part of the socialization process between individuals. Trust for him was "an attitude which is neither objective nor subjective; it is not transferable to other objects or to other people who trust" (Luhmann, 1979, p. 27). Trust in the system is thus possible when a certain degree of familiarity with the object of trust is available. The concept of familiarity is critically important for Luhmann's conceptualization of trust. Accordingly, trust "has to be achieved within a familiar world, and changes may occur in the familiar features of the world which will have an impact on the possibility of developing trust in human relations" (Luhmann, 1988, p. 94). Luhmann, however, does not exclude the possibility of unfamiliar situations; on the contrary, he emphasizes how often unfamiliar events are interpreted and coped with through familiar terms, i.e. a means to cope with hypercomplex societies and the uncertainties that they produce is the use of familiar terms of reference.

Social scientists have collectively identified three types of trust: Interpersonal Trust; System or Impersonal Trust; and Dispositional Trust (McKnight & Chervany, 1996). Interpersonal Trust is the trust that one agent has directly in another agent,

and thus is agent- and context-specific. System Trust is not based on any property or state of the trustee, but rather on the perceived properties of or reliance on the system or institution within which that trust exists. Dispositional Trust describes the general trusting attitude of the trustor. This is "a sense of basic trust, which is a pervasive attitude toward oneself and the world" (Erikson, 1968, p. 96). Therefore, it is independent of any party or context.

For many decades, the notion of trust, and particularly of Dispositional Trust and Interpersonal Trust, as institution-based has been widely accepted in several literatures, especially in organizational theory and management studies, to understand social interaction and the need for a social order (Möllering, 2006, p. 355). Trust has also been studied from the perspective of ontological security and commitments (Giddens, 1984; 1990; 1991), as a part of social capital (Fukuyama, 1995), in the context of welfare and democracy (Inglehart, 1997; 1999; Hardin, 1999), and as an important historical concept (Seligman, 1997). Furthermore, System Trust, specifically trust in the societal system, has been examined by a fairly large number of political scientists and sociologists, such as Barber (1983), Dunn (1988), Coleman (1990), Putnam (1995), Sztompka (1999), Warren (1999), and Cook (2001). Especially in the realm of the public sector, trust has been discussed in public administration/management schools in relation to the development of democratic systems and particularly to the development of public organizations and citizens' relationships. The findings of these studies show, in fact, a correlation between the level of trust in a society and the level of well-being of that society (Rothstein, 2004; van de Walle & Bouckaert, 2003; Nyhan, 2000). So-called trusting societies have governments that redistribute wealth from the rich to the poor, that spend more on education, and that pursue policies that will stimulate economic growth. Trusting societies in democratic regimes pursue programmes that indirectly boost faith in others (Uslaner, 2003). According to Ilmonen and Jokinen (2002), nation-states capable of creating a culture of trust are reported to be on many levels the most successful, not to mention that trust also affects the level of public involvement (Valentini, 2008).

Of particular relevance for our discussion of the role of public relations in contemporary society is the concept of System Trust, as conceptualized by Luhmann, which has influenced most of the recent studies on the subject. System Trust is the extent to which one believes that proper impersonal structures are in place to enable an individual to anticipate a successful future endeavour (Luhmann, 1979; Lewis & Weigert, 1985; Shapiro, 1987). Personal attributes of the other are not an issue with System Trust. System Trust does not derive from emotion, but rather has a "presentational" base that "is activated by the appearance that 'everything seems in proper order'" (Lewis & Weigert, 1985, p. 974). Positive experience with the system also can contribute to increased trust.

McKnight and Chervany (1996) distinguish two types of System Trust: the structural assurance and the situational normality. The former refers to such

mechanisms of safeguards as regulations, guarantees, and contracts (Shapiro, 1987; Zucker, 1986), the latter to the role that people have in a situation (Baier, 1986) that presupposes a state of normality or "proper order" (Lewis & Weigert, 1985). Both structural assurance and situational normality types of System Trust can be maintained by means of communication and through constructive and mutually beneficial relationships among the different systems through which a society is composed. In this respect, the role of public relations would be that of establishing mechanisms of trust among systems and between systems and individuals, so as to keep open the channels of communication and to facilitate the occasions for creating relationships.

# LUHMANN AND THE ORGANIC THEORY OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Along with Luhmann's idea of society as being comprised of systems and subsystems that are at the same time interdependent and dependent on one another, the organic theory of public relations, as conceptualized by Vujnovic and Kruckeberg (2005) and tested by Vujnovic, Kumar, and Kruckeberg (2007, March), proposes organic interrelationships among elements in social systems that are mutually constituted. This organic theory also emphasizes the community-building function of public relations (Kruckeberg & Starck, 1988; Starck & Kruckeberg, 2001) and is of particular value in social/economic/political systems that have undergone rapid transformation to a more individualistic social system, to a more capitalistic economic system, and to a more democratic political system (Kruckeberg, 2006). Kruckeberg (1995-1996; 2006) claims that democratic societies can and will exist in the 21st century only through the support of — and directly resulting from the cooperative community-building efforts of governments, civil society organizations, and corporations, the last of which provides, not only goods and services, but also employment, a tax base, and other social benefits. Kruckeberg metaphorically describes the relationships of governments, civil society organizations, and corporations as the three legs of a stool, each of them supporting part of the weight of society but that collectively are able to do so better than can the sum of their weightbearing parts individually, and he sees the central task of public relations as that of creating, restoring, and maintaining the linkages among these three legs of the stool (Kruckeberg, 2006). When cross-braced with one another in mutual purpose, they provide more strength to support society than these three do additively, i.e. allowing the whole of this three-part foundation of society to become stronger than the sum of this foundation's parts. From a Luhmannian perspective, the three legs of the stool represent three specific social systems with their own unique purposes, priorities, needs, and identities.

In later years, the organic theory of public relations has gained further relevance, especially in relation to the increasing reconsiderations by organizations, especially private ones, of their role and function within society and *vis-à-vis* their

responsibility in society. Vujnovic, Kumar, and Kruckeberg (2007) argue, in fact, for an "organic model" of public relations that focuses and is predicated upon the need for "community" and "community-building" as conceptualized by Kruckeberg and Starck (1988) and Starck and Kruckeberg (2001). Such an "organic model" of public relations would have benefits for every organization and every individual, and it would even support organizational legitimization in interrelation to different and changing forms of societal coordination as conceptualized by Holmström (2005). But, above all, these authors argue that society-at-large is also a primary beneficiary of the organic model of public relations, which shares many perspectives and values espoused by Luhmann as well as by Kruckeberg and Starck (1988) and Starck and Kruckeberg (2001). Similarly, Ihlen and van Ruler (2007) propose a societal perspective in reconceptualizing the role of public relations in postmodern society. Accordingly, society-at-large becomes "the unit of analysis and considers its social structure and institutions as the basis and the outcome of public relations. This implies that the main interest is not the corporation or organization itself, but its place in society at large" (Ihnen & van Ruler, 2007, p. 245).

### THE ROLE OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

If public relations practitioners are to ensure confidence in relationships with their organizations' publics within a context of community, which confidence we argue is at the core of public relations practice, and if trust can strengthen system interactions, which are the forces that maintain society as Lloyd (1901) had argued over a century ago, then — in an uncertain world filled with conflicting messages and considerable uncertainty and trepidation — the public relations practitioners' role is fundamentally to enhance, maintain, and ensure trust within the context of community as conceptualized "organically." However, trust can only exist where it is deserved, i.e. such trust cannot be betrayed. A requisite of trust is the reasonable prediction and anticipation of an action by an actor based on that actor's prior behaviour and other communication.

Thereby, the role of public relations in postmodern, hypercomplex society should be reconceptualized *vis-à-vis* the assumption that publics are now more active, more knowledgeable, and more empowered in their decisions, and thus these publics must be engaged and involved more than in the past in the construction of values and meanings of public, private, and non-profit organizations. From this perspective, even the commonly accepted view of scholars and practitioners that public relations is a strategic management function should be reconsidered and requalified according to a societal approach. Public relations practitioners are educated to think "strategically," primarily within the framework of a sender–receiver, i.e. transmission, model of communication in which receivers, i.e. audiences, are not active players in constructing meaning, arguably the case even in the idealized two-way symmetrical model/dimension as conceptualized by Grunig and Hunt

(1984). Kruckeberg and Starck (1988) contrast the transmission view of communication that connotes communicatively doing something *to* someone with an alternative model, which they note may have predated the former, that stresses the "communal" or "communitarian" aspect of communication, sometimes called "ritual." The latter model connotes communicatively doing something *with* someone. They observe that public relations early adopted and continues to apply the transmission model of communication, which is rooted in persuasion and advocacy rather than in social involvement and participation. It is the latter model, i.e. "ritual," in which trust can and will be built.

"Communal" or "communitarian" communications presume a societal approach in practising public relations, which, according to a Luhmannian perspective, requires a reckoning of other elements, systems, and subsystems of society and their peculiarities. These are, in fact, important factors for public relations' communicative function to enable system-discursive interactions and to support trust among systems, the latter of which is one of the preconditions for the existence of society.

These theoretical foundations for public relations, thus, point to the need for a consideration of differing perspectives about communication and strategic thinking. In a postmodern, hypercomplex 21st century in which communication is an intervening variable that has created globalism and its obverse, multiculturalism, we argue that there is a greater "metastrategy" of which practitioners must become aware, for which they must prepare, and which promises even greater benefits for both their organizations — be they governments, civil society organizations, or corporations — and for society-at-large. In accordance with this "metastrategy," models of public relations must extend beyond "strategies" and "strategic publics" to include a "metastrategy" that is grounded in a theory of society. As Kruckeberg (1995–1996) noted, Hardt's mandate for a requisite theory of society to study mass communication is equally pertinent for the consideration of the role and function of public relations. Hardt (1979) concluded:

[T]he study of mass communication can make sense only in the context of a theory of society; thus, questions of freedom and control of expression, of private and public spheres of communication, and of a democratic system of mass communication must be raised as part of an attempt to define the position of individuals in contemporary industrialized Western societies. (Hardt, 1979, p. 35)

A metastrategic approach based on a sustainable theory of society also requires redefining the role of public relations, taking into consideration the porosity and interconnectivity of the different systems that society comprises. Ihlen and van Ruler (2007) argue, in fact, that the role of public relations should not be of simply maintaining and cultivating relationships of an organization with its publics, but it should rather address how an organization relates itself to the public arena and society-at-large. Kruckeberg (1995–1996) argues that the public relations practitioners will be as "keepers and reconcilers" who can examine, maintain, and modify as necessary indigenous organizational and societal values and belief systems

in which values, beliefs, and ideologies will be continually challenged. Along with this line of thought, Vujnovic (2004), for example, provided a normative model about how public relations practitioners' individual values and worldviews should influence organizational culture, exploring how these individual values and worldviews should influence the choice of public relations models and ultimately should define the character of the organization. Known values, beliefs, and ideologies of an organization are the requisites to trust, upon which society members can reasonably predict and anticipate an action by an organization based on that organization's prior behaviour and other communication.

Hence, public relations practitioners must be students of society who possess a longitudinal, i.e. historical, understanding of society, their clients' publics, and other immediate organizational stakeholders as well as of society-at-large, and they must have a highly knowledgeable latitudinal, indeed *global*, perspective. Within such context, the social theories presented here, as well as other social theories, both classical and contemporary, can be heuristic in examining what Kruckeberg (1995–1996) has admonished public relations practitioners to consider. He said that public relations must consider theories of society that can satisfactorily transcend narrow political ideologies to which practitioners provide lip service, e.g. democracy and capitalism. Hence, the proposed metastrategy in professional practice bridges theoretical conceptualizations that view organizations as interdependent and communicative-discursive systems of society with those that qualify communication as a "communal" or "communitarian" activity. Both postulations, as we have seen, can enhance trust among different systems and provide greater values for organizations and for society-at-large.

# **CONCLUSIONS**

We live in an ambiguous world in which truths are uncertain and are continually being challenged. Authority, moral and otherwise, in many respects no longer exists. We belong to multiple communities, both physical and virtual. Kruckeberg and Tsetsura (2008) argue that "tribalism" represents today's most threatening form of dysfunctional communities as fundamentalist extremists of many kinds use demagoguery to form communities of the disenfranchised, which communication technology has allowed them to act more effectively. This "tribalism" is a rebellion against modern mass-mediated society and against nationalism and secularism by those who seek to reestablish ostensibly more idyllic and more predictable traditional unmediated societies. Today, tribalism is the primary threat to modern global society. Public relations practitioners, we argue, must be at the epicentre of trust-building for their organizations, whether these are governments, civil society organizations, or corporations. Trust, however, is a phenomenon that can only exist when it is deserved, i.e. when society members can reasonably predict and anticipate an action by an actor based on that actor's prior behaviour and other com-

munication; with betrayal, trust cannot exist. This role of public relations in the 21st century is certainly among the most important of any professionalized occupation in organizations as well as in contemporary society-at-large. To enhance, maintain and ensure trust, public relations practitioners must think, not only strategically, but metastrategically, beginning with a normative theory of society that is built on the foundation of existing social theory, e.g. Luhmann, as well as on evolving social theory that must be built within the framework of communication technology as an intervening variable that — short of cataclysmic societal changes — has created increasing globalism while attempting to reconcile the exacerbating challenges of its obverse, multiculturalism. These models — as well as other sociological perspectives, both classical and contemporary — should be examined by the public relations scholarly community and must be tested continually by the practitioner community with the hope that a theory of society and of public relations can evolve that encourages metastrategic public relations practice as the normative model.

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