UvA-DARE (Digital Academic Repository)

Did we make it to the news? Effects of actual and perceived media coverage on media orientations of communication professionals

Jacobs, S.; Wonneberger, A.

Link to publication

Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

Public Relations Review

Full Length Article

Did we make it to the news? Effects of actual and perceived media coverage on media orientations of communication professionals

Sandra Jacobs*, Anke Wonneberger

Amsterdam School of Communication Research (ASCoR), University of Amsterdam, P.O. Box 15793, 1001 NG Amsterdam, The Netherlands

ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to assess the mass media orientations of communication professionals: Is past media coverage for their organization related to the way communication professionals currently evaluate the importance of the media for their organizations? Following the debates on mediatization and reciprocal effects of media coverage, we assume that the amount and the tone of media coverage matter for the media orientations of communication professionals. In our analysis, we discern between *actual* and *perceived* characteristics of media attention. A quantitative content analysis was used to analyze the actual characteristics of media coverage for public and for-profit organizations as well as non-profit organizations. A survey was conducted to analyze the perceptions of coverage and mass media orientations of Dutch communication professionals working for those organizations. For public organizations, actual media favorability and perceived visibility turned out to be important predictors of the media orientation 'attention seeking'. The organizations were rather homogeneous in their relations between actual and perceived media coverage and the media orientation 'strategic impact'. This orientation was best predicted by volume of coverage, the substantiality of issues that were covered, and perceived visibility. Our results point at the importance of taking perceptive data into account when predicting media orientations.

The amount and tone of media coverage about organizations varies widely between different organizations. Some companies show, whether intended or not, high levels of visibility, whereas some small public sector organizations can be considered as 'media virgins' (Andrews & Caren, 2010; Capriotti, 2007; Deacon & Monk, 2001; Schillemans, 2012). Several studies have examined factors that can account for these differences, such as the type of organization, its domain, its organizational capacity, and its media strategies (Capriotti, 2007; Reich, 2010). Even more interesting than focusing on differences in media visibility and the tone of coverage is the analysis of their consequences.

Media coverage of an organization influences its reputation (Fombrun & Shanley, 1990: 252; Kiousis, Popescu, & Mitrook, 2007; Meijer & Kleinnijenhuis, 2006). A favorable reputation can contribute to organizational stability, performance, profit, and legitimacy (Luoma-aho, 2008: 448). Media coverage can thus benefit a reputation, but the other side of the coin is that intensive media scrutiny or negative coverage can also have negative effects on the reputations of businesses (Fombrun & Shanley, 1990). Secondly, media visibility is alleged to improve the relations with stakeholders, as it can reduce information asymmetry between members of the organization and its stakeholders (Brammer & Millington, 2006). An organization that has (positive) coverage in the news media can also benefit from that medium's legitimacy. The media thus fulfill a third-party endorsement role (Carroll, 2010). Visibility can also make organizations more sensitive to social and political stakeholders. Organizations that are in the spotlights are more likely to

---

experience social pressure and might feel a greater need to adapt their behaviour to the demands of stakeholders (Brammer & Millington, 2006; Meznar & Nigh, 1995: 180; Salancik, 1979: 391).

Research on the consequences of organizational media coverage often treats organizations as unitary actors. However, we want to move beyond organization-level consequences and are interested to study the relations between media coverage about an organization and its communication officials. Two theoretical perspectives provide a rationale to study this topic. At first, studies on reciprocal effects of media coverage show that subjects of media coverage can be affected by media messages about them (Kepplinger & Glaab, 2007). Consequently, reciprocal effects are generally analyzed with a focus on individual effects (such as emotions that a person experiences) as a consequence of media coverage about that specific person (Kepplinger & Glaab, 2007). We expect that the reciprocal effect also occurs for coverage about the organization a person works for, since how employees see the organization is influenced by their thoughts of how others see the organization (Hatch & Schultz 2002, 2009). This effect is shown for members of the organization that are not involved in media relations (Jacobs, 2014; Kepplinger, 2007; Korn & Einwiller, 2013; Schillemans, 2012). We can however expect this effect to be even stronger for communication officials, as they are specifically appointed to manage the relations with journalists. It is part of their job to monitor media coverage about their organization and to set up communication strategies to manage relations with stakeholders and the media. Therefore we do not only focus on the relations between characteristics of actual media coverage and media orientations, but we also analyze the perceptions communication professionals have of these characteristics of media coverage and their relation with media orientations.

Secondly and on a more general level, we can expect that mediatization processes play a role in the way communication professionals carry out their work. 'Mediatization' refers to the incorporation of media logic in the functioning of organizations. This might lead to organizational adaptations, such as the change of internal procedures and the allocation of responsibilities (Schillemans, 2012; Thorbjørnsrud, Ustad Figenschou, & Ihlen, 2014). 'Media pressure' is considered as an important factor in the work of career bureaucrats (Thorbjørnsrud et al., 2014) and the media meet "organizations that are increasingly sensitive to any type of public attention", to use an understatement (Pallas, Jonsson, & Strannegård, 2014). We consider the wider debate on 'mediatization' as a starting point for this research and focus on a specific form of it, namely the media orientations of communication professionals. Our research problem can be seen in the light of mediatization studies, as we are interested in whether actual and perceived media coverage are related to how communication professionals in organizations think about the media.

Communication professionals are the most interesting subjects for studying the consequences of media attention. It is their daily business to work on external communication strategies and media relations. In their work, these employees are guided by a variety of factors, such as their professional identity and their organization's identity (Cornelissen, Carroll, & Elving, 2009). Next to that, we expect that their orientation towards the media plays a role in how they carry out their work. 'Mass media orientation' refers to the (perceived) importance of media coverage about the organization for the work of communication professionals as well as for their organization in general (Rödder, 2009; Weingart, 1998; Wonneberger & Jacobs, 2016). We expect that the way communication professionals are oriented towards media influences their communication strategies. We take this assumption as a starting point to analyze the relation that precedes this one: The relation between media visibility and mass media orientations. Therefore, our research question is: *What is the relationship between both actual and perceived media coverage about an organization on the one hand and the mass media orientations of communication professionals in those organizations on the other?*

Research on organizations in the news often focuses on one type of organization (Andrews & Caren, 2010; Capriotti, 2007; Schillemans, 2012; Verhoeven, 2016). Organizations do however differ in fundamental ways due to their goals, ownership and funding (Boyne, 2002) and we wonder whether that is related to differences in coverage and media orientations. We therefore discern between three types of organizations: private organizations (firms), public sector organizations, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). These organizations differ in several aspects, e.g. their goals (profit vs. public service), strategies to reach those goals, institutional position, funding, and relations with stakeholders (Boyne, 2002). They also face varying levels of media attention (Andrews & Caren, 2010; Capriotti, 2007; Deacon & Monk, 2001). For that reason, one of our sub questions is related to the issue of organizational diversity: To what extent do our findings differ between types of organizations?

1. Media orientation: a reciprocal mediatization effect

In public relations research the mass media, and more specifically instances of mass media coverage about organizations, are oftentimes considered as influenced by the work of communication professionals. Examples of PR-driven media effects include studies on media framing (e.g., Schultz, Kleinnijenhuis, Oegema, Utz, & van Atteveldt, 2012) or agenda setting (e.g., Carroll & McCombs, 2003). Very little, in contrast, has been said so far about how mass media influence the work of communication professionals (Thorbjørnsrud et al., 2014; Wonneberger & Jacobs, 2016). The concept of mediatization offers a valuable perspective that can help to approach this understudied part of public relations research.

Mediatization is a heavily debated concept (Hepp, Hjarvard, & Lundby, 2010; Hjarvard, 2008; Schillemans, 2012). Its core assumption is that societal actors, as in our case organizations, adapt themselves to the logic of the media (Thorbjørnsrud et al., 2014). Media themselves can be considered a social institution that interacts with other institutions (Hjarvard, 2008). In the last years, mediatization has received increased scrutiny (Brants & van Praag, 2015). The concept has been subject of numerous empirical and theoretical analyses (Couldry & Hepp, 2013; Mazzoleni & Schulz, 1999; Schillemans, 2012; Strömbäck, 2008; Thorbjørnsrud et al., 2014). It is however also criticized for being a 'container concept' that is used to cover several different operationalizations (Sartori, paraphrased in: Deacon & Stanyer, 2014), in which 'causes' and 'consequences' are difficult to discern (Deacon & Stanyer, 2014). Or, as Brants and van Praag state it: "the phenomena that they cover and the empirical proof of their existence and growing

presence are at best ambiguous" (Brants & van Praag, 2015: 1). For that reason, Lunt and Livingstone propose to use 'mediatization' as a concept that gives rise to research questions, instead of treating it as a new paradigm (Lunt & Livingstone, 2016). We follow their suggestion and focus on a specific form of mediatization, which is 'mass media orientation' of communication professionals (Kohring, Marcinkowski, Lindner, & Karis, 2013).

Media orientation comprises media-related attitudes of communication professionals. It can be understood as an individual-level effect of mediatization and includes perceptions of communication professionals regarding the impact of organizational media coverage on communication activities of their organization. This is why media orientation has been considered a 'mental' form of mediatization' (Kohring et al., 2013; Wonneberger & Jacobs, 2016). We discern two sub-dimensions: Attention seeking and strategic impact. The former is concerned with the degree to which communication officials consider it important for their organizations to attract media attention. Strategic impact refers to the perceived relevance of past and future mass media coverage in organizational decision-making (Kohring et al., 2013; Wonneberger & Jacobs, 2016).

Media orientation can be considered as a reciprocal effect of media coverage. The term was first coined by Lang and Lang (1953: 10). Reciprocal media effects do not occur in a linear way (as for example in agenda-setting research) but can rather be characterized by a feedback model: "the personality or behaviour of media subjects stimulate media reports, which in turn directly influence the cognitions, appraisals, emotions and behaviour of those subjects" (Kepplinger & Glaab, 2007: 338). Consequently, there is no given distinction between cause and effect (Kepplinger, 2007: 8–9). A media report might be the cause of subsequent behavior within an organization, but might also be a consequence of organizational action. Kepplinger argues however that media coverage is the most useful starting point (in contrast to communication messages of organizations) because many actions in society aim at influencing media coverage. He states that those actions cannot be understood without taking the importance of the media into account (Kepplinger, 2007: 9). Because of our interest in mediatization effects on the level of individuals in organizations, media coverage forms the starting point for our analysis and constitutes our primary independent variable (Pallas & Fredriksson, 2013: 420).

The effects we analyze are however not exactly reciprocal, as the primary subjects of media coverage are organizations and our objects of interest on which we expect the effects are *individuals* within those organizations (see also Korn & Einwiller, 2013). Our assumption is that these individuals, which are communication officials, identify themselves with their organizations and therefore will be susceptible for effects of media coverage of their organizations. Mass media fulfill an important role in identification processes between employees and their organizations. How employees believe others see the organization shapes their own views of the organization, which influences their actions within that organization (Hatch & Schultz, 2002; Korn & Einwiller, 2013).

Our research question is concerned with the relationship between both actual and perceived media coverage about an organization on the one hand and the mass media orientations of communication professionals in those organizations on the other. In the following sections we discuss how mass media orientations of communication professionals are shaped by different characteristics of the media coverage about their organization.

2. Media coverage of organizations

The public presence of organizations in the mass media varies widely. Three aspects are generally recognized to characterize an actor's media visibility: The intensity by which it is covered, the tone that is used, and the topics that are subject of the coverage (Carroll & Deephouse, 2014; Yang & Kent, 2014).

2.1. The amount of organizational media coverage

Intensity, amount, salience, exposure, and quantity all refer to the same element of media content: How often are organizations covered in the news and if so, with which volume? Visibility is important to organizations as it might help them to enhance their legitimacy and reputation (Carroll, 2010; Ihlen & Pallas, 2014; Meijer, 2011). In his literature study on the field of corporate communication, Verhoeven (2016) synthesizes research on corporations, public relations, and the news. His findings indicate that newspapers have been analyzed for the presence of corporations, but does not reveal a systematic body of literature on other types of organizations in the news. Others identified some drivers for news coverage on businesses. van Lunenburg (2002) found that branch as well as size (measured by the number of employees) influence the volume of coverage, whereas change in profit, stock value, and change in share price did not influence the volume. Capriotti (2007) shows that larger companies with good reputations and oriented to mass consumption are more visible in Spanish newspapers. Andrews and Caren (2010) analyzed media attention for social movement organizations in the United States. Their research revealed that professional and formalized groups that mobilize large numbers of people and employ certain tactics are favored by local media. In his research on corporations in the Western European public television news, Verhoeven (2009) shows that firms do not attract a lot of media coverage in Western European newscasts; they appear in only 5.5% of the news items. He also indicates that representatives of non-profit organizations attract more attention than companies (Verhoeven, 2009). For public sector organizations, research on the media visibility of quango's (quasi-autonomous non-governmental organizations) reveals that specific types of agencies (executive and regulatory ones) receive the biggest share of attention, whereas other types such as advisory bodies are neglected: "coverage tends to bunch around an elite band of agencies" (Deacon & Monk, 2001: 164). It is thus difficult to draw general conclusions about organizational drivers of visibility that hold across media landscapes and different types of organizations.

In general, it is assumed that the impact on subjects is higher as the amount of reports about them increases (Kepplinger, 2007). This hypothesis has been tested in the context of mediatization research. Fredriksson, Schillemans, and Pallas (2015) analyzed whether the 'media pressure hypothesis' (higher media pressure leads to stronger adaptations) goes for organizations and did not find

support for this hypothesis: They tested several drivers for mediatization and when controlling for each other, only the type of management in the organization (career managers vs. field professionals) turned out to explain organizational mediatization. It should be noted that they analyzed the relation for *actual* media coverage, noting that the perception of media pressure "may be important in relation to organizational responses" (Fredriksson et al., 2015: 1085). Analyzing the exact, objective amount of messages however neglects a crucial step in the way orientations are formed. It is not just the exact, observable amount that is expected to 'cause' effects, but also the perception of that amount, as the widely used Thomas theorem tells us: "If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences". We thus expect that if a communication official thinks that his organization is often covered in the news, his media orientation might be adapted consequently. The perception of the amount can thus be considered as a self-fulfilling prophecy regarding the media orientations of communication professionals (Merton, 1948). Thus, we assume that perceptions of coverage might have stronger relations with media orientations than actual coverage.

H1: Greater actual visibility relates positively to the media orientations a) attention seeking and b) strategic impact.

H2: Greater perceived visibility relates positively to the media orientations a) attention seeking and b) strategic impact.

H3: *Perceived* visibility is more important than *actual* visibility in predicting the media orientations a) attention seeking and b) strategic impact.

2.2. The favorability of organizational media coverage

It is generally assumed that the tone of reports influences the media reputation of organizations and, consequently, the way stakeholders evaluate a firm (Carroll & McCombs, 2003). Several concepts such as favorability, tone, and valence refer to more or less the same issue, which is the expressed level of support for the organization (Carroll & Deephouse, 2014). Favorability refers to "the overall evaluation of a firm presented in the media resulting from the stream of media stories about the firm" (Deephouse, 2000: 1097).

The favorability of news coverage matters to organizations. Bednar, Boivie, and Prince (2013) show that negative news coverage is a trigger for top managers to change their firm's strategy. However, Fombrun and Shanley (1990) found that the business media tend not to report negatively about firms, as 87% of the article titles in their study was not analyzed as negative.

Tone is often measured in terms of positivity and negativity. It can also be examined from the perspective of the news object: the analysis can focus on the description of an object in a news story, which is called focal media favorability, versus focusing on the overall tone of the report: Peripheral media favorability (Carroll, 2009; Carroll & Deephouse, 2014).

Again, we discern between the actual tone of media coverage about the organization and the tone as it is perceived by its communication officials. In particular, a 'negativity bias' might be present. This effect assumes the higher weight of negative information to the human brain, compared to positive information (Rozin & Royzman, 2001). Such biased media perceptions have also been described as hostile media effect – media coverage about controversial issues tends to be perceived as favoring the opposing side (e.g., Gunther & Liebhart, 2006). Communication professionals can be considered as "partisans" for their organization. Consequently, they might be susceptible to a hostile media effect and perceive a negative bias of the media attention of their organization. More generally, this also means that the perception of the tone of media coverage by a communication official has stronger relations with media orientations than the actual valence of the messages. We thus expect that 'negative news' will have stronger effects as the brain weights this information higher (Rozin & Royzman, 2001).

H4: The lower the actual favorability, the stronger the media orientations a) attention seeking and b) strategic impact.

H5: The lower the perceived favorability, the stronger the media orientations a) attention seeking and b) strategic impact.

H6: *Perceived* favorability is more important than *actual* favorability in predicting the media orientations a) attention seeking and b) strategic impact.

2.3. The topic of organizational media coverage

The topic of coverage refers to the aspect of the organization that is discussed: A substantive issue, action, or people involved in the organization that is subject to coverage (Carroll, paraphrased in: Carroll & Deephouse, 2014). Carroll and Deephouse (2014) conclude that systematic research regarding the topics of organizational media coverage is lacking. Einwiller, Carroll, and Korn (2010) show, based on a pre-established list of organizational attributes, that products and services are most dominant in coverage with a share of 47%. Management and corporate strategy (31%) and, thirdly, financial performance (14%) were rather often present as well. Other research focuses on the context of the organization in the news. Verhoeven found that if corporations are in the news, they are often part of issue news such as items about national or foreign news (Verhoeven, 2009). An overlap with issues that are relevant for those newspapers also helps for attracting attention (Andrews & Caren, 2010).

We do not focus on the exact place of organizational coverage in the news, but we take the perspective of the news object, namely, the organization, and assume that the topic of coverage matters for the effects that it can have. Therefore, we discern between two types of news about organizations: Substantive issues and organizational topics. The former is concerned with the work field of an organization. This could be its products and services, but also funding, events, investments or CSR activities. Organizational issues are related to merger, bonuses, management, and organization. Both types of news attract the attention of stakeholders, which might

force the organization to deal with stakeholder attention and take media attention into account. It is an open question, however, to what extent both types of organizational media coverage might differ in their relationship to media orientations of communication professionals.

RQ1: Are *substantive* issues or *organizational* issues more important in predicting the media orientations a) attention seeking and b) strategic impact?

3. Organization types

Research that focuses on organizations and the news often takes one specific type (e.g. firms, non-governmental organizations or public sector organizations) into account. However, these types of organizations differ fundamentally in some respects, as they exist for different reasons (Luoma-aho & Peltola, 2006, paraphrased in: Luoma-aho, 2008: 449). Whereas firms are primarily oriented towards making profit, public sector organizations are established for public service. This difference is given by the fact that public organizations are "controlled predominantly by political forces, not by market forces" (Boyne, 2002: 98). As a result, they generally get their funding from taxes rather than from customers or clients (Boyne, 2002). For that reason, it is also expected that public sector organizations are scrutinized heavier than private organizations, as journalists consider it to be their task to keep an eye on power and the way tax money is spent (Liu & Horsley, 2007). Liu, Horsley, and Levenshus (2010) investigated public relations practices in the public and private sector and did find some differences between both sectors. Among other factors, the media coverage frequency and the media coverage evaluation (tone, accuracy, and fairness) were different for both types of organizations. They used a survey to measure both frequency and media coverage evaluation, which results in perceptual data. This means that no conclusions can be drawn about the *actual* content of media coverage regarding both types of organizations. Deacon and Monk investigated British news media reports on a specific type of public sector organizations: Quasi-Autonomous Non-Governmental Organizations (quangos). They concluded that the wider debate on this type of organizations is almost entirely negative, but that there is no 'routine hostility' towards specific agencies (Deacon & Monk, 2001). This highlights the importance of distinguishing between these organizations. NGOs are also a specific kind of organization. They are heavily dependent on public support, for which media attention plays an important role (Andrews & Caren, 2010; Vliegenthart & Walgrave, 2012). It is therefore relevant to not just study media coverage of firms and its effects on employees, but broaden the scope to public sector organizations and NGOs. We therefore study the consequences of the type of organization for the relation between media coverage and media orientations as well.

RQ2: Does organization type matter for the relation between media coverage of an organization and media orientations of its communication officials?

4. Method

This study combined an online survey among Dutch communication professionals and a manual quantitative content analysis of the national media coverage of the corresponding organizations. The organizations for this study were selected based on ownership (private, public, or non-governmental). The final sample (N = 79) consisted of 23 companies (private sector or profit organizations), 28 public (sector) organizations and 28 NGOs.

4.1. Survey

The online survey was held between September and November 2014 (see also Wonneberger & Jacobs, 2016). Dutch communication professionals from various organizations were invited via e-mail and social networking sites. The survey consisted of questions regarding their organizational environment, professional education and fields of activities, and organizational perspectives on communications strategies and media orientations. At the end of the survey the respondents were informed about the goal of the present study and subsequently could choose to reveal the name of the organization they were currently working for. They were informed that this information would be used solely for the purpose of conducting a media content analysis and further assured of anonymity of individual respondents and organizations. Out of 150 respondents successfully participating in the survey, 102 reported the name of their organization. 79 of these fulfilled the above mentioned criteria for private organizations, public organizations, and NGOs.

4.2. Content analysis

Media orientations are in previous research often refined to 'mass media orientations' (Kohring et al., 2013). We follow this tradition. In order to answer our research question, we conduct a quantitative content analysis of organizational coverage in three Dutch national newspapers. All were large national circulation newspapers with a reach greater than 50.000 readers. *De Telegraaf* is recognized as a popular newspaper, *de Volkskrant* as quality newspaper, and *Het Financieele Dagblad* is the largest national economic newspaper. The names of the organizations, including different versions and abbreviations served as keywords for the search in LexisNexis. Identic articles were excluded by automatic search. Our research period covers January to August 2014. A small number of – mainly private – organizations received a large amount of media coverage of up to 500 articles during the research period. To keep the amount of coding feasible and proportional for different organizations; a maximum of 100 articles was coded per

organization. Sub-samples per organization were selected on a systematic basis to ensure an equal distribution over the research period. The final sample consisted of 2781 articles that were coded manually by two student coders. The coders received an extensive training. A final pre-test consisting of about 10% of the articles of the sample (n = 271) yielded a sufficient level of intercoder reliability (average score of Krippendorff's alpha: 0.868; see Table A1 for detailed overview).

4.3. Measures

The *amount of coverage* was operationalized as the absolute number of articles about an organization published during the sample period ($M = 116.63$, $SD = 274.92$).

The *volume of coverage* was defined by the average number of words per article ($M = 486.71$, $SD = 325.31$). Amount and volume constituted elements of 'actual visibility'.

4.3.1. Media favorability

Explicit and implicit evaluations of an organization were coded on a 5-point scale from -2–"strongly negative" to $+2$–"strongly positive". Due to very few cases coded as -2 or $+2$, the scale was reduced to a 3-point scale from -1 to $+1$. The measure of media favorability was constructed by adding up explicit and implicit evaluations per article and computing the average over all articles per organization ($M = 0.18$, $SD = 0.58$).

4.3.2. Substantial issues

Ratio of all articles about an organization focusing on substantial issues. These were coded if an article predominantly covered issues related to the work field of an organization, such as products, services or other substantial activities; often external issues; also investments, gains or losses, funding, as well as events, sponsoring or CSR activities ($M = 0.67$, $SD = 0.35$).

4.3.3. Organizational issues

Ratio of all articles about an organization focusing on organizational issues. These were mainly internal issues related to management, re-organization, salaries, bonuses or merger ($M = 0.12$, $SD = 0.17$).

4.3.4. Media orientation

The measurement of media orientation was adopted from Kohring et al. (2013). The items for all three dimensions were answered on 7-point scales (1–"completely disagree to 7–'completely agree'). First, *attention seeking* consisted of one item: "It is important for my organization to attract media attention", ($M = 5.66$, $SD = 1.64$). Second, *strategic impact* included two items that evaluated the perceived role of past and future media attention for strategic decision-making within the organization ($M = 5.14$, $SD = 1.69$, Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.874$).

4.3.5. Perceived visibility

The survey respondents were asked how often their organization is mentioned in five different media: newspapers, television, radio, online news, and social media. Each was measured on a 5-point scales from 1–"never" to 5–"several times per week". A composite score was constructed to gauge perceived visibility ($M = 3.95$, $SD = 0.76$, Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.892$).

4.3.6. Perceived favorability

Three items gauged whether the respondents perceived the media coverage about their organization as unbiased and correct and how they judged the knowledge of journalists about their organization. In addition, the respondents rated to what extent "The media only cover negative news about my organization", "The media try to damage my organization", and "The media wrongly cover competitors and comparable organizations more positively than my organization". These three items were reversed. All six items were measured on a 7-point scale from 1–"completely disagree" to 7–"completely agree" and yielded an acceptable scale ($M = 3.96$, $SD = 0.88$, Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.622$).

5. Results

5.1. Mass media coverage and mass media orientations

As a first step, we compared the actual and perceived media coverage for the three types of organizations. We found organizational differences in the amount ($F(2, 76) = 8.975$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.19$) and volume ($F(2, 76) = 3.189$, $p = 0.047$, $\eta^2 = 0.08$) of media coverage as well as in media favorability ($F(2, 76) = 12.485$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.25$). Corporate organizations appeared significantly more often in the news ($M = 301.35$, $SD = 442.94$) than public organizations ($M = 59.36$, $SD = 126.52$) and NGOs ($M = 22.18$, $SD = 27.545$). In terms of volume, in contrast, NGOs appeared more often in longer articles ($M = 607.91$, $SD = 415.28$) compared to public organizations ($M = 414.46$, $SD = 280.43$) and corporations ($M = 427.12$, $SD = 194.92$). In addition, NGOs were depicted more positively ($M = 0.56$, $SD = 0.67$) while public organizations ($M = -0.08$, $SD = 0.32$) and corporations ($M = 0.02$, $SD = 0.47$) showed a greater balance of positive and negative coverage. Perceived visibility and favorability did not differ significantly between organizations.

Secondly, we compared the three types of organizations on the two sub-dimensions of mass media orientation. Attention seeking

Table 1

OLS-regression models on media orientations.

Predictor variable	Media orientation			
	Attention seeking		Strategic impact	
	b/SE	b*	b/SE	b*
Amount of coverage	0.00 (0.00)	0.02	0.00 (0.00)	0.08
Volume of coverage	0.00 (0.00)	−0.09	−0.01 (0.01)	−0.40**
Favorability	0.66 (0.31)	0.23*	0.07 (0.34)	0.03
Substantial issues	−1.32 (0.58)	−0.28*	2.54 (0.62)	0.52***
Organizational issues	0.74 (0.98)	0.08	2.62 (1.05)	0.26*
Perceived visibility	0.83 (0.21)	0.38***	0.80 (0.23)	0.36***
Perceived favorability	0.23 (0.17)	0.12	−0.19 (0.19)	−0.10
Corporation	0.62 (0.41)	0.17	−0.42 (0.44)	−0.11
NGO	1.59 (0.41)	0.47***	−0.40 (0.43)	−0.11
Constant	1.63 (1.16)		1.93 (1.24)	
Adjusted R-square		0.357		0.307

Note: N = 79. b – unstandardized regression coefficients (and standard errors). b* – standardized regression coefficients.

* p < 0.05.
** p < 0.01.
*** p < 0.001.

was most important for NGOs. This is the only media orientation where we find organizational differences (F(2, 76) = 9.762, p < 0.001, η² = 0.20). Specifically, the difference between public organizations (M = 4.79, SD = 1.99) and NGOs (M = 6.54, SD = 0.79) was significant according Bonferroni post-hoc comparisons (p < 0.001) while no significant differences were found for corporations (M = 5.65, SD = 1.40). The three types of organizations did not differ significantly in the level of perceived strategic impact (F(2, 76) = 0.610, p = 0.546).

5.2. Effects of actual versus perceived media coverage

In the next step we were interested in the relationships between actual as well as perceived characteristics of organizational media coverage and the two types of media orientations. Table 1 shows ordinary least squares regression models on attention seeking and strategic impact.

5.2.1. Visibility

We found only one significant relationship for actual visibility: a negative association of volume and strategic impact (b* = −0.40, p < 0.01). Thus H1b was partly confirmed while H1a was not confirmed. Perceived visibility, in contrast, was positively related to both, attention seeking (b* = 0.38, p < 0.001) and strategic impact (b* = 0.36, p < 0.001). H2a and H2b could thus be confirmed. Accordingly for attention seeking, perceived visibility (b* = 0.38, p < 0.001) was more important than actual visibility (amount: b* = 0.02, n.s. and volume: b* = −0.09, n.s.) – confirming H3a. While actual media presence was not relevant, the perception of a greater presence in the media was associated with a greater organizational concern about media attention.

For strategic impact, the comparison of actual and perceived visibility gave a more complex picture. Again, perceived visibility had a positive effect: In addition to attention seeking, organizations with a greater presence in the media also valued the strategic impact of media coverage more strongly (b* = 0.36, p < 0.001). Interestingly, we also found a negative association for actual visibility, specifically, of volume (b* = −0.40, p < 0.01). We did not find a significant relationship for the actual amount of coverage (b* = 0.08, n.s.). This did not confirm H3b: the actual volume of coverage is slightly more important in predicting strategic impact than the perceived visibility.

5.2.2. Favorability

As opposed to our expectations regarding a negativity bias, actual favorability was positively related to attention seeking (b* = 0.23, p < 0.05). Generally, organizations receiving more positive coverage score higher on attention seeking. However, perceived favorability did not show a significant relationship with attention seeking (b* = 0.12, n.s.). In addition, also no significant

relationships were found for strategic impact. In sum, H4a and H4b were not confirmed because actual favorability did not relate negatively to attention seeking or strategic impact. Also H5a and H5b were not confirmed as also no significant relationships for perceived favorability were found. Consequently, H6a and H6b had to be rejected: Perceived favorability was not more important that actual favorability in predicting media orientations. The positive relationship for actual favorability and attention seeking is rather interesting, as it indicates that favorable coverage apparently can have consequences without communication officials being aware of it.

5.2.3. Topic of organizational media coverage

The amount of substantive issues related negatively to attention seeking ($b* = -0.28$, $p < 0.05$) indicating that organizations that were more often covered in the context of their products, services, performances, etc. were less concerned about attention seeking. The amount of organizational issues was not significantly related to attention seeking ($b* = 0.08$, n.s). While attention seeking was negatively related to substantial issues, these related positively to strategic impact ($b* = 0.52$, $p < 0.001$). In addition, a weaker but still significant positive relationship to organizational issues was found ($b* = 0.26$, $p < 0.05$). Thus, coverage on issues relating to the working area or performance of an organization but also coverage on organizational matters seemed to trigger the perceived strategic media coverage. But also for strategic impact, substantial issues showed a stronger relationship compared to organizational issues. Concerning RQ1 we can, thus, conclude that substantive issues were generally more important in predicting media orientations than organizational issues.

5.2.4. Organizational differences

Research question 2 was about organizational diversity: Does organization type matter for the relation between media coverage of an organization and media orientations of its communication officials? As indicated above, attention seeking was most relevant for NGOs ($b* = 0.47$, $p < 0.001$). To test whether this difference between organizations also led to differences in the relevance of the predictors of attention seeking, separate interaction models were estimated for all predictor variables. The model with interaction terms of actual favorability and organization type yielded significant interaction effects (see Table 2, model 1). The model indicated that the positive impact of actual favorability mainly applied for public organizations since negative interaction effects were found for both, corporations ($b = -2.29$, $p < 0.05$) and NGOs ($b = -2.64$, $p < 0.01$). As indicated by the interaction coefficients as well as by Fig. 1, actual favorability did not relate to media attention for corporations and even a negative effect was found for NGOs.

A second significant interaction was found for perceived visibility (Table 2, model 2). Again, the model and also the plotted interaction in Fig. 2 indicated that the positive impact of perceived visibility mainly applied for public organizations. A negative interaction effect was found for NGOs ($b = -1.29$, $p < 0.05$). No significant interaction was found for corporations ($b = -0.49$, n.s.). Fig. 2 shows a clear positive trend for public organizations.

In contrast to attention seeking, no significant interaction effects were present for strategic impact. Thus, no differentiated relationships could be identified for one of the three types of organizations.

6. Discussion

Our study examined relations between media attention for organizations and mass media orientations of communication

Table 2
Interaction effects on attention seeking.

Predictor variable	Model 1		Model 2	
	b	SE	b	SE
Amount of coverage	0.00	(0.00)	0.00	(0.00)
Volume of coverage	0.00	(0.00)	0.00	(0.00)
Favorability	2.76**	(0.84)	0.52	(0.31)
Substantial issues	−0.80	(0.60)	−1.11	(0.58)
Organizational issues	0.40	(0.95)	0.93	(0.97)
Perceived visibility	0.63**	(0.22)	1.40***	(0.33)
Perceived favorability	0.18	(0.17)	0.33	(0.18)
Corporation	0.50	(0.40)	2.46	(2.12)
NGO	1.66***	(0.40)	6.67**	(2.00)
Favorability*corporation	−2.29*	(1.09)		
Favorability*NGO	−2.64**	(0.96)		
Perceived visibility*corporation			−0.49	(0.53)
Perceived visibility*NGO			−1.29*	(0.50)
Constant	2.51	(1.16)	−1.06	(1.58)
Adjusted R-square	0.405		0.399	

Note: $N = 79$. b – unstandardized regression coefficients (and standard errors).
* $p < 0.05$.
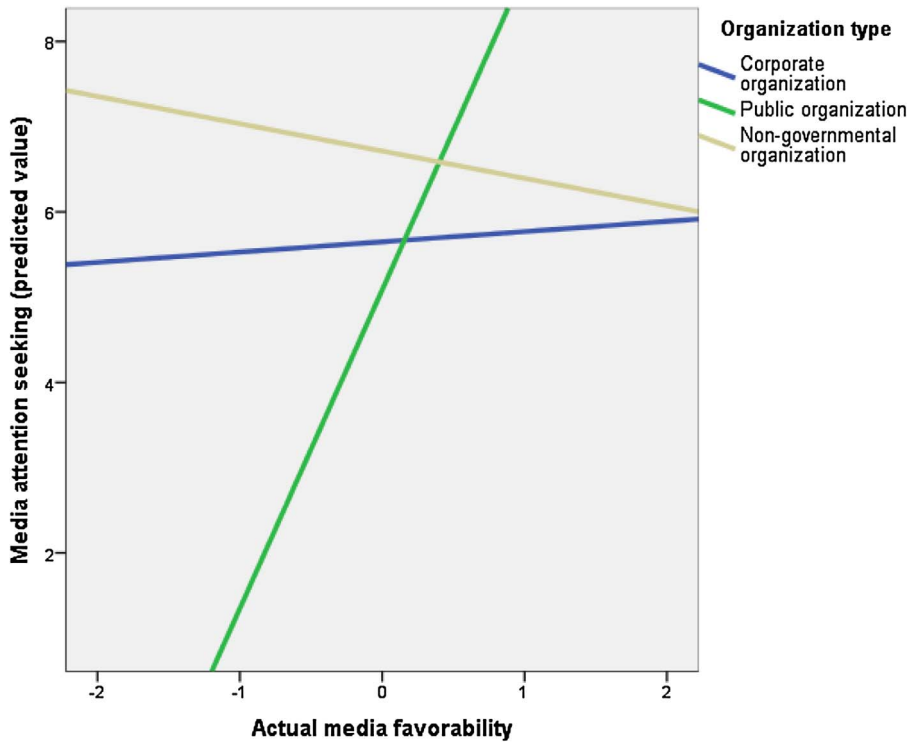** $p < 0.01$.
*** $p < 0.001$.

Fig. 1. Interaction effect of favorability and organization type on attention seeking.

professionals within those organizations. Previous research often assumes a connection between amounts of media coverage and effects on individuals and organizations (Fredriksson et al., 2015; Kepplinger, 2007). We refined this assumption and focused not only on actual characteristics of organizational media coverage, but studied the consequences of the perceptions thereof as well. We were
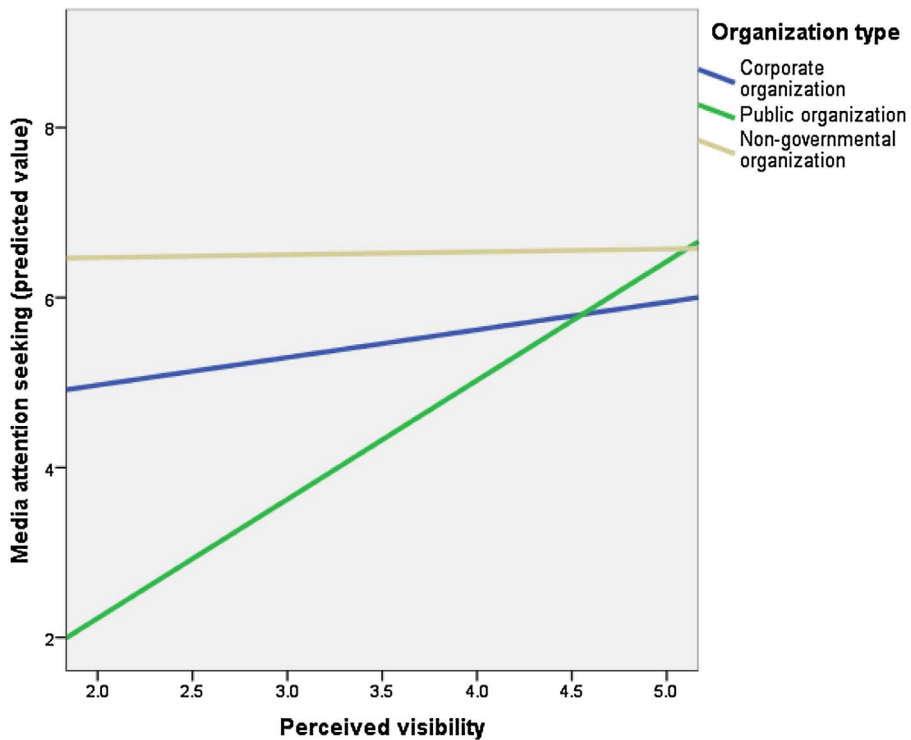

Fig. 2. Interaction effect of perceived visibility and organization type on attention seeking.

interested in the relationships between actual as well as perceived characteristics of organizational media coverage and the two types of media orientations – attention seeking and strategic impact. In addition to previous studies on mediatization (e.g. Pallas & Fredriksson, 2013; Schillemans, 2012; Thorbjørnsrud et al., 2014), we assumed that media orientations might vary between communication professionals in different types of organizations. An online survey among communication professionals in the Netherlands allowed us to assess their media orientations, while a quantitative content analysis of Dutch newspapers enabled us to analyze media coverage for their organizations.

6.1. Relevance of attention seeking for NGOs

We found little differences between the three types of organizations regarding their media orientations, despite the differences between these types of organizations in terms of their goals, institutional position, funding, and relations with stakeholders (Boyne, 2002). Attention seeking, however, appeared to be most important for NGOs. The relevance of attention seeking is in line with social movement literature, which states that media attention is particularly important for NGOs as it may influence the public opinion and discourse, as well as the political agenda, which is one of the core goals of NGOs (Andrews & Caren, 2010; Vliegenthart & Walgrave, 2012). In addition, NGOs are rather dependent on media – and consequently: public – attention for fundraising and other forms of public support.

6.2. Perceived but not actual visibility as a predictor of media orientations

Our analysis of the relationships between actual as well as perceived characteristics of organizational media coverage and the two types of media orientations yielded some interesting results. Perceived visibility turned out to be an important predictor for both, attention seeking and strategic impact, especially for public organizations (see also Fig. 2). Thus, the more communication professionals think that they appear in news coverage, the more attention they want to attract and the more important they estimate that coverage in their strategic decision making. This finding confirms the Thomas theorem in the context of mediatization of organizations: The perception of a situation influences the inferences that persons draw from that situation (Merton, 1948). Concerning public organizations, it is said that they are probably naturally reluctant when it comes to media attention, or "pathologically introverted" (Marr, paraphrased in: Deacon & Monk, 2001: 155) and therefore media attention would probably be the result of the journalist's initiative (Deacon & Monk, 2001). However, the results suggest that the more they encounter media coverage about themselves, the less introvert they become. Media apparently become less 'scary' for these organizations. This positive relationship between perceived visibility and media attention seeking also implies a reinforcing effect of organizational media coverage specifically for public organizations that is in line with the idea of reciprocal mediatization effects (Couldry & Hepp, 2013; Fredriksson et al., 2015; Kepplinger, 2007; Kepplinger & Glaab, 2007).

In contrast to this clear impact of perceived visibility, actual visibility was less influential. While the actual amount of coverage did not yield significant results, only coverage consisting of smaller articles was related to a greater perceived strategic impact. This could point to organizational differences as specifically business news consist more often of shorter articles. However, the corresponding interaction analysis could not confirm this assumption. An alternative interpretation could be that for organizations that tend to appear in longer articles, communication professionals are less likely to take the coverage into account for strategic decision-making. Or, difficulty to gain journalistic attention exceeding brief mentioning of an organization seems to enforce more strategic considerations. A tentative explanation for this finding is that longer articles possibly cover a specific topic in-depth. If that topic does not fit the organization's point of view (for example because it is a critical piece), the organization might try to neglect it. In contrast, more frequent appearance in shorter articles might be valued more strongly due to possible mere exposure or publicity effects. This would be in line with Ihlen and Pallas (2014), who point at the perceived advantages that media coverage can have for the reputation, legitimacy, and brand of organizations.

6.3. Actual but not perceived favorability as a predictor of attention seeking

The expressed level of support for the organization in media coverage is generally considered as a factor that can influence the way stakeholders evaluate organizations (Carroll & McCombs, 2003). The consequences of media favorability for organizations itself have, however, not been studied before. The results of this study showed that in addition to economic benefits (Deephouse, 2000), positive media coverage is associated with higher levels of media attention seeking by communication professionals. This indicates a reinforcing effect of media favorability for the relevance of media coverage within an organization, again, confirming theories of reciprocal effects and mediatization (Couldry & Hepp, 2013; Fredriksson et al., 2015; Kepplinger, 2007; Kepplinger & Glaab, 2007). In contrast to the effects found for visibility, perceived favorability did not have significant relations with both media orientations while it was actual favorability that was positively related to attention seeking. This difference between actual and perceived favorability could reflect a professional attitude of communication officers – taking objective measures of media coverage into account as opposed their subjective perceptions. It should be noted that actual and perceived favorability were not significantly correlated pointing to substantial, albeit not systematic, deviations between the two concepts.

Similarly to visibility, the effect of actual favorability on media attention seeking was specifically strong for public organizations. In addition to volume, thus, positive media coverage strengthens a more open and positive attitude towards the media for public organizations. But media attention can also backfire, specifically for public organizations: A negative tone in the media coverage was associated to avoidance of media attention. An explanation for this finding could be found in the 'negativity bias', the higher weight

of negative information (Rozin & Royzman, 2001), and the hostile media effect (e.g. Gunther & Liebhart, 2006) suggesting that coverage with a negative tone might be particularly influential.

6.4. Organizational differences

The positive impacts for actual favorability and perceived visibility for public sector organizations are striking. Although there is much scholarly discussion on the differences between public and private organizations (Boyne, 2002), our results point at the relevance of discerning between types of organizations, as the effects of media favorability and perceived visibility are mainly applying for public organizations. A tentative explanation for the first result could be that initially, media are often perceived as a 'risk': (Dutch) public sector organizations try to avoid or correct negative coverage regarding their organization (Schillemans, 2012). This image of the media might shift as soon as organizations have experienced favorable coverage, which consequently leads to an increased importance of making it to the media. The same logic might apply to the second interaction effect: Initially, public organizations might want to avoid the 'risk' of being in the news, but as soon as they think that they figure in the news more often, they might also tend to seek attention more actively.

In contrast, we did not find any organizational differences regarding the predictors of strategic impact. This points at homogeneity across types of organizations when it comes to the role of media attention in strategic decision-making. It could also be explained by the rather high variation in organizations within the groups of public organizations, companies, and NGOs.

6.5. Limitations and future research

In this study, we assessed the relations between actual and perceived media coverage on the one hand and media orientations of communication professionals on the other. We used mediatization theory and the theory of reciprocal effects as a starting point. However, it could be argued that these relations are more complex and that media orientations are formed in interaction with news coverage and other organizational factors not at one point in time, but over and over again. The relations between coverage and media orientations have been measured with coverage as the independent variable and media orientations as the dependent variable, but future research could also analyze this as a feedback model by taking a longitudinal perspective.

To discern between types of organizations assumes homogeneity or comparableness between organizations that belong to the same group. In this case, organizations are assigned to a category based on their publicness, e.g. their ownership. In the case of private organizations, entrepreneurs, directors or shareholders can decide about the strategic goals of their organization without an actor above them that is higher in hierarchy. In contrast, members of political communities can exert influence in the political realm in order to affect the public organization that is consequently not fully autonomous in setting its goals (Boyne, 2002). Whereas public organizations are often and generally funded by tax payers are firms financed by their clients. NGOs are also privately funded. However, taking publicness as the criterion for grouping organizations disregards other organizational characteristics that might explain media coverage and media orientation, such as size, domain, geographical location, and organizational strategies. Future research could use a more comprehensive approach and could take these in-group differences into account.

Our results show that the perception of coverage can really differ from the actual amount and favorability of coverage. We could possibly explain this by our measurement of actual coverage: We analyzed newspaper coverage in a half year's period prior to the measurement of the media orientations. However, perceptions of amount and favorability (as measured by the survey) are not bound by time and medium limits, as is also the case in the research by Liu et al. (2010). The origins of perceptions are difficult to trace: They might be based on online news sources, earlier coverage, unequal weight of messages, selective attention and all other personal kinds of factors such as a person's memory. Weighting the media content according to its proximity to the survey, however, did not show that more recent coverage had stronger effects on media orientations. This points at the importance of 'perception' regarding visibility compared to actual visibility: it might be a better predictor in several situations in which media coverage is taken as an independent variable.

Next to that, the concept of 'media orientations' deserves some more theoretical and empirical attention. We used it to analyze mediatization processes at the individual level and following previous research focused on the two dimensions of media attention seeking and strategic impact (Kohring et al., 2013). Possibly, qualitative research would uncover more dimensions of 'media orientation', such as the extent to that communication professionals become risk-averse or more pro-active in their behavior towards journalists (Jacobs, 2014; Wonneberger & Jacobs, 2016). It could also help to analyze the exact process that starts with awareness of media coverage via interpretation of that coverage to behavioral intentions (Pallas & Fredriksson, 2013).

7. Conclusions

Media attention for specific types of organizations and its effects for organizations has received considerable attention, but research on its consequences for communication professionals of those organizations is very limited. Our study aimed at contributing to the fields of mediatization and reciprocal effects by examining the relations between media attention for organizations and the mass media orientations of their communication professionals, with a specific focus on organizational differences.

Overall, this study contributes to our understanding of the ways communication professionals in organizations perceive the mass media. The findings support that perceptions are a very relevant factor, although not the only one, to take into account when looking for drivers of specific human aspects such as media orientations. This provides new directions of research on public relations that should not only take actual factors such as the exact number or tone of messages into account, but should also pay attention to the perception thereof when it comes to affecting communication professionals and their organizations.

Appendix A

Table A1
Intercoder reliability per coding category (2 coders, n = 271).

Variable	Krippendorff's alpha
Newspaper	0.977
Day of publication	0.992
Month of publication	1.000
Article volume	0.995
Placing of the article	1.000
Relevance	0.831
Role of the organization	0.726
Position: active/passive	0.852
Quote: direct/indirect	0.918
Explicit evaluation	0.775
Implicit evaluation	0.673
Source of evaluation	0.684
Mean	0.868

References

Andrews, K. T., & Caren, N. (2010). Making the news: Movement organizations, media attention, and the public agenda. *American Sociological Review, 75*(6), 841–866. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0003122410386689.

Bednar, M. K., Boivie, S., & Prince, N. R. (2013). Burr under the saddle: How media coverage influences strategic change. *Organization Science, 24*(3), 910–925. http://dx.doi.org/10.1287/orsc.1120.0770.

Boyne, G. A. (2002). Public and private management: What's the difference? *Journal of Management Studies, 39*(1), 97–122. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/1467-6486.00284.

Brammer, S., & Millington, A. (2006). Firm size, organizational visibility and corporate philanthropy: An empirical analysis. *Business Ethics: A European Review, 15*(1), 6–18. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8608.2006.00424.x.

Brants, K., & van Praag, P. (2015). Beyond media logic. *Journalism Studies,* 1–14. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2015.1065200.

Capriotti, P. (2007). Economic and social roles of companies in the mass media: The impact media visibility has on businesses' being recognized as economic and social actors. *Business & Society, 48*(2), 225–242. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0007650307305724.

Carroll, C. E., & Deephouse, D. L. (2014). The foundations of a theory explaining organizational news. The VT⁴ framework of organizational news content and five levels of influence on its production. In J. Pallas, L. Strannegård, & S. Jonsson (Eds.), *Organizations and the media. Organizing in a mediatized world* (pp. 81–95). New York: Routledge.

Carroll, C. E., & McCombs, M. (2003). Agenda-setting effects of business news on the public's images and opinions about major corporations. *Corporate Reputation Review, 6*(1), 36–46. http://dx.doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.crr.1540188.

Carroll, C. E. (2009). The relationship between firms' media favorability and public esteem. *Public Relations Journal, 3*(4), 1–32.

Carroll, C. E. (2010). Should firms circumvent or work through the news media? *Public Relations Review, 36*(3), 278–280. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2010.05.005.

Cornelissen, J. P., Carroll, C., & Elving, W. J. L. (2009). Making sense of a crucial interface: Corporate communication and the news media. In C. Chouliaraki, & M. Morsing (Eds.), *Media, organization and identity* (pp. 1–22). London: Palgrave McMillan.

Couldry, N., & Hepp, A. (2013). Conceptualizing mediatization: Contexts, traditions, arguments. *Communication Theory, 23*(3), 191–202. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/comt.12019.

Deacon, D., & Monk, W. (2001). 'New managerialism' in the news: Media coverage of quangos in Britain. *Journal of Public Affairs, 1*(2), 153–166. http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/pa.60.

Deacon, D., & Stanyer, J. (2014). Mediatization: key concept or conceptual bandwagon? *Media, Culture & Society, 36*(7), 1032–1044. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0163443714542218.

Deephouse, D. L. (2000). Media reputation as a strategic resource: An integration of mass communication and resource-based theories. *Journal of Management, 26*(6), 1091–1112. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0149-2063(00)00075-1.

Einwiller, S. A., Carroll, C. E., & Korn, K. (2010). Under what conditions do the news media influence corporate reputation? The roles of media dependency and need for orientation. *Corporate Reputation Review, 12*(4), 299–315. http://dx.doi.org/10.1057/crr.2009.28.

Fombrun, C., & Shanley, M. (1990). What's in a name? Reputation building and corporate strategy. *The Academy of Management Journal, 33*(2), 233–258.

Fredriksson, M., Schillemans, T., & Pallas, J. (2015). Determinants of organizational mediatization: An analysis of the adaptation of Swedish government agencies to news media. *Public Administration, 93*(4), 1049–1067. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/padm.12184.

Gunther, A. C., & Liebhart, J. L. (2006). Broad reach or biased source? Decomposing the hostile media effect. *Journal of Communication, 56*(3), 449–466. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00295.x.

Hatch, M. J., & Schultz, M. (2002). The dynamics of organizational identity. *Human Relations, 55*(8), 989–1018. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0018726702055008181.

Hatch, M. J., & Schultz, M. (2009). Of bricks and brands: From corporate to enterprise branding. *Organizational Dynamics, 38*(2), 117–130. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.orgdyn.2009.02.008.

Hepp, A., Hjarvard, S., & Lundby, K. (2010). Mediatization–empirical perspectives: An introduction to a special issue. *Communications, 35*(3), 223–228. http://dx.doi.org/10.1515/COMM.2010.012.

Hjarvard, S. (2008). The mediatization of society. A theory of the media as agents of social and cultural change. *Nordicom Review, 29*(2), 105–134.

Ihlen, Ø., & Pallas, J. (2014). Mediatization of corporations. In K. Lundby (Ed.), *Handbook on mediatization of communication* (pp. 423–441). Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Jacobs, S. (2014). Media & verantwoording over incidenten. Gevolgen voor publieke organisaties. Utrecht University, PhD thesis.

Kepplinger, H. M., & Glaab, S. (2007). Research note: Reciprocal effects of negative press reports. *European Journal of Communication, 22*(3), 337–354. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0267323107079685.

Kepplinger, H. M. (2007). Reciprocal effects: Toward a theory of mass media effects on decision makers. *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics, 12*(2), 3–23. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1081180x07299798.

Kiousis, S., Popescu, C., & Mitrook, M. (2007). Understanding influence on corporate reputation: An examination of public relations efforts, media coverage, public opinion, and financial performance from an agenda-building and agenda-setting perspective. *Journal of Public Relations Research*, *19*(2), 147–165. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10627260701290661.

Kohring, M., Marcinkowski, F., Lindner, C., & Karis, S. (2013). Media orientation of German university decision makers and the executive influence of public relations. *Public Relations Review*, *39*(3), 171–177. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2013.01.002.

Korn, C., & Einwiller, S. (2013). Media coverage about organisations in critical situations: Analysing the impact on employees. *Corporate Communications: An International Journal*, *18*(4), 451–468. http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/CCIJ-04-2012-0036.

Lang, K., & Lang, G. E. (1953). The unique perspective of television and its effect: A pilot study. *American Sociological Review*, *18*(1), 3–12.

Liu, B. F., & Horsley, J. S. (2007). The government communication decision wheel: Toward a public relations model for the public sector. *Journal of Public Relations Research*, *19*(4), 377–393. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10627260701402473.

Liu, B. F., Horsley, J. S., & Levenshus, A. B. (2010). Government and corporate communication practices: Do the differences matter? *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, *38*(2), 189–213. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00909881003639528.

Lunt, P., & Livingstone, S. (2016). Is 'mediatization' the new paradigm for our field? A commentary on Deacond and Stanyer (2014, 2015) and Hepp, Hjarvard and Lundby (2015). *Media, Culture & Society*, *38*(3), 462–470. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0163443716631288.

Luoma-aho, V. (2008). Sector reputation and public organisations. *International Journal of Public Sector Management*, *21*(5), 446–467. http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/09513550810885778.

Mazzoleni, G., & Schulz, W. (1999). 'Mediatization' of politics: A challenge for democracy? *Political Communication*, *16*(3), 247–261. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/105846099198613.

Meijer, M. M., & Kleinnijenhuis, J. (2006). News and corporate communication. Empirical findings from the Netherlands. *Public Relations Review*, *32*(4), 341–348. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2006.08.002.

Meijer, M. M. (2011). Corporate reputation and the news media in the Netherlands. In C. E. Carroll (Ed.), *Corporate reputation and the news media: Agenda-setting within business news coverage in developed, emerging, and frontier markets* (pp. 142–152). New York: Routledge.

Merton, R. K. (1948). The self-fulfilling prophecy. *The Antioch Review*, *8*(2), 193–210.

Meznar, M. B., & Nigh, D. (1995). Buffer or bridge? Environmental and organizational determinants of public affairs activities in American firms. *Academy of Management Journal*, *38*(4), 975–996. http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/256617.

Pallas, J., & Fredriksson, M. (2013). Corporate media work and micro-dynamics of mediatization. *European Journal of Communication*, *28*(4), 420–435. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0267323113488487.

Pallas, J., Jonsson, S., & Strannegård, L. (2014). Media and organizations. Images, practices and organizing. In J. Pallas, L. Strannegård, & S. Jonsson (Eds.), *Organizations and the Media. Organizing in a mediatized world* (pp. 1–10). New York: Routledge.

Rödder, S. (2009). Reassessing the concept of a medialization of science: A story from the 'book of life'. *Public Understanding of Science*, *18*(4), 452–463. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0963662507081168.

Reich, Z. (2010). Measuring the impact of PR on published news in increasingly fragmented news environments: A multifaceted approach. *Journalism Studies*, *11*(6), 799–816. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14616701003760550.

Rozin, P., & Royzman, E. B. (2001). Negativity bias, negativity dominance, and contagion. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *5*(4), 296–320. http://dx.doi.org/10.1207/S15327957PSPR0504_2.

Salancik, G. R. (1979). Interorganizational dependence and responsiveness to affirmative action: The case of women and defense contractors. *Academy of Management Journal*, *22*(2), 375–394.

Schillemans, T. (2012). *Mediatization of public services. How public organizations adapt to news media*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

Schultz, F., Kleinnijenhuis, J., Oegema, D., Utz, S., & Van Atteveldt, W. (2012). Strategic framing in the BP crisis: A semantic network analysis of associative frames. *Public Relations Review*, *38*(1), 97–107. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2011.08.003.

Strömbäck, J. (2008). Four phases of mediatization: An analysis of the mediatization of politics. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, *13*(3), 228–246. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1940161208319097.

Thorbjørnsrud, K., Ustad Figenschou, T., & Ihlen, Ø. (2014). Mediatization in public bureaucracies: A typology. *Communications—The European Journal of Communication Research*, *39*(1), 3–22. http://dx.doi.org/10.1515/commun-2014-0002.

van Lunenburg, M. A. (2002). A content newspaper analysis of Dutch industry. *Corporate Communications: An International Journal*, *7*(2), 126–135. http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/13563280210426197.

Verhoeven, P. (2009). Corporate actors in Western European television news. *Public Relations Review*, *35*(3), 297–300. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2009.05.001.

Verhoeven, P. (2016). The co-production of business news and its effects: The corporate framing mediated-moderation model. *Public Relations Review*. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2016.03.006 Advance online publication.

Vliegenthart, R., & Walgrave, S. (2012). The interdependency of mass media and social movements. In H. Semetko, & M. Scammell (Eds.), *The sage handbook of political communication*. London: Sage.

Weingart, P. (1998). Science and the media. *Research Policy*, *27*(9), 869–879. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0048-7333(98)00096-1.

Wonneberger, A., & Jacobs, S. (2016). Mass media orientation and external communication strategies: Exploring organisational differences. *International Journal of Strategic Communication*, *10*(5), 368–386. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1553118X.2016.1204613.

Yang, A., & Kent, M. (2014). Social media and organizational visibility: A sample of Fortune 500 corporations. *Public Relations Review*, *40*(3), 562–564. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2014.04.006.