Mediatization, Marketization and Non-profits:

A Comparative Case Study of Community Foundations

in the UK and Germany

Tobias Bürger

Doctor of Philosophy

School of Arts and Cultures

February 2019

Abstract: Over the past decades, media actors and technologies have profoundly transformed how organisations and institutions communicate with citizens and vice versa. Drawing on mediatization theory, the thesis explores the contours and context of communication by non-profit organisations, focusing on community foundations in the UK and Germany. The aim of the work is to provide a deeper understanding of the strategies, motivations and patterns of communication which have been adopted in these organisations which now exist within a highly networked and mediatised society, and the ways in which those strategies have kept pace with technological change. I make an original contribution to the concept of mediatization by applying it to the non-profit sector, using a comparative case study approach. I also make an original contribution to our understanding of how non-profits plan their communication strategies in a contemporary environment of information overload and economic austerity.

Drawing on interviews with communication professionals and marketing managers in a range of community foundations in the UK and Germany, the study explores how activities such as building relationships, strategic planning and positioning, fundraising, attracting volunteers and interacting with stakeholders, including potential donors, are influenced by processes of mediatization and marketization. In addition to the interviews, a content analysis of these organisations' websites has been undertaken to better understand their adoption and use of digital communication tools to maximise their effectiveness online. Through a careful and in-depth analysis of how processes of mediatization, marketization and professionalisation affect these non-profits, the study provides a timely assessment of both drivers and resistors in adopting and adapting to social and technological change within this particular sector.

To my family for their support,

My grandparents for their belief in me,

Katharina for her love and encouragement,

And Karen for her guidance.

Acknowledgements[1]

As with a lot of work that we do over the course of our lives, little is achieved without relying on the groundwork of others and the guidance and mentoring by people whose thoughts and advice we appreciate. I would like to express my gratitude to Karen Ross and Darren Kelsey for supervising my work and being available for feedback at any time. I would also like to thank the following people for their commitment at various stages of my journey. Their support has made it possible that this journey reached its final destination, although the road was at times bumpy and the mountains steep: the Stiftung Mercator in Essen for providing me with the opportunity to formulate my initial thoughts on this project, Saskia Richter (†2015), Jessica Einspänner-Pflock, Lewis Faulk, Anna Domaredzka, the workshop group at the 2016 International Society for Third-Sector Research (ISTR) conference in Stockholm for their valuable feedback, Siobhan Daly, Marloes Jansen and the colleagues at the School of Arts and Cultures at Newcastle University, my former colleagues at the Department of Media at Northumbria University, Sigrid Kannengiesser, Christopher Allinson, Barry Knight, and Nick Deychakiwsky from the C.S. Mott Foundation. I would also like to thank the communication professionals at the community foundations for their insights and their support in these challenging times.

CONTENTS

List of Tables & Figures

Appendix

Chapter 1.

Introduction

Foundations are of growing importance for civil society in countries around the globe. This development has been reflected in the establishment of new foundations and the increasing interest in researching their role at the intersections of civil society, governments, and markets (Anheier, 2005). With welfare states being in crisis mode and the multiple facets of economic uncertainty being a constant topic in daily newspapers, the situation as it is today represents a continuation of how it was assessed about 20 years ago (Deacon, 1996). As the third sector has grown in importance in recent years, so has the relevance to assess its use of communication to spread ideas and raise awareness, raise money, advocate and thrive in a neo-liberal media marketplace. It can be said that the amount of research on non-profits and foundations, and 'philanthropy' more in general, has been on the rise for about 30 years and that the field has managed to become a multidisciplinary arena for research, thereby providing new perspectives and insights into a vital part of civil society (Bekkers and Wiepking, 2011). Studies have been conducted on the development of NGOs in countries that are new to philanthropy and which experience a growing interest and need to deal with social and environmental challenges, for example in China (Ru and Ortolano, 2009), but studies have – among others – also explored international collaboration of non-profit organisations (Atouba and Shumate, 2014) or the impact of philanthropic foundations and their role as institutional entrepreneurs and 'agents of change' (Quinn *et al.*, 2013) in education or health care.

While these examples present only a fragment of non-profit research, communication research into the ways in which non-profits interact with the media is rather novel. Yet

communication technologies have always played a key role in the rise of non-profit organisations. As Davies claims in his book *NGOs: A New History of Transnational Civil Society*, non-profits and foundations have a shared history, especially regarding the use of communication technologies "including the enhanced speed of communication facilitated by the telegraph and steamship in the nineteenth century, and aeroplane travel and television in the twentieth" (Davies, 2013, p.9). A statement that underlines the importance of communication technologies not only in the last two decades – but of the development of transnational civil society itself.

Non-profits, Foundations, and Technology

Indeed, one does not have to go back into the 19th century to discover that technology, and in due course information and communication technologies (ICTs) in particular, have substantially influenced philanthropy and non-profits. However, it took a while to acknowledge the rise of non-profit organisations and their impact on civil society, governments, and markets. In 2005, Lewis stated that, "the civil society sector (otherwise known as the independent sector, the nonprofit sector, the third sector, and the nongovernmental sector) is a growing worldwide phenomenon" (Lewis, 2005, p.239). Today, the civil society sector is diverse, with institutions operating at the local, national, and global level, with, for example, transnational foundations like the World Wildlife Fund for Nature (WWF) but also community foundations, supporting communities at a local level. Foundations are "among the oldest existing social institutions" (Anheier, 2005, p.302) and they have found ways to adapt to changes in the modern national state. Foundations especially serve as long-standing advocates of social change and are a central part of civil society (Prewitt, 2006). The recent programmatic work of the American-based Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation– titled 'Impatient Optimists' – is only one example of this new way of initiating social change through social innovation. Communication plays a significant role to those newer approaches of strategic philanthropy and collaborative concepts. In the concept of *collective impact*, which attempts to group foundations and organisations around specific issues by, for example, purposes to reform education, communication helps to build trust and a shared vocabulary (Kania & Kramer, 2011).

Especially in the United Kingdom and Germany, the development in the number of foundations points to a rising influence of foundations on the social lifeworld. According to the Association of German Foundations, today there are over 20,000 foundations in Germany to date, with an annual growth rate of about 4 per cent. According to a report published recently, more than one third of foundations in Germany were established within the last 10 years (Priller … Waitkus, 2013). The situation in the United Kingdom (UK) differs in various respects, one of which is that more UK foundations are grant-making and organise their own projects than in Germany (Anheier, 2005), a contrast which is at least partly a result of different state funding models (Anheier & Daly, 2007, pp.18–19).

Despite the growth of foundations and the relevance of communication for their daily work, comparatively little work has been undertaken which explores the use of social media by foundations in the UK or Germany.[2] Worldwide changes in media policy throughout recent years have led to changes in the communicative patterns, practices and strategies of non-profits (Kenix, 2008). This has not only resulted in research questions that are interested in the relationship between non-profits and the media, like 'Can NGOs Change the News?' (Waisbord, 2011), but has also prompted more fundamental questions on the implications of new digital technologies and social networks on society and non-profits respectively.

Non-profits and the Media

Being an integral part of the civil society sector, non-profits and foundations have an imperative necessity to communicate and advocate for their causes given that most of the processes in non-profit organizations are 'inherently communicative' (Koschmann, 2012, p.139) in their nature. Although earlier research dating back to the beginning of the millennium was mainly dedicated to shedding light on the question of how ICTs shape non-profit organisations (Burt and Taylor, 2000) the on-going developments and the changing patterns of the strategic use of new media technologies make necessary a deeper review of the status quo. Research into ICTs followed the analysis of social networks and their potential for

---

[2] On the contrary, far more research on non-profits and foundations has been carried out in the US, where most of the studies published to date were also conducted (see chapter 3).

non-profits, for example the use of Facebook to engage stakeholders (Bortree & Seltzer, 2009; Waters … Lucas, 2009) or how they adopt social media within their organisation (Nah & Saxton, 2013). Social networks have significantly altered the size, composition, and boundaries of the networked society. Indeed, social media has challenged and altered power structures around the globe, leading to political and social revolutions (Varnali & Gorgulu, 2014; Milan, 2015) as well as assisting people after natural disasters (Smith, 2010; Muralidharan … Shin, 2011). For non-profits, new scopes of application such as online fundraising (Saxton & Wang, 2013), micro volunteering (Conroy & Williams, 2014; Ilten, 2015; Zorn … Henderson, 2013), crowdsourcing (Amtzis, 2014) or public relations on social media platforms (Curtis … Sweetser, 2010) are emerging chances and challenges.

At the same time, new research fields in digital humanities, digital social sciences, and related fields have opened up. Scientific catchwords such as the 'like economy' (Gerlitz & Helmond, 2013), 'datafication' (van Dijck, 2014; Schäfer, 2016), or 'platforms' (Gillespie, 2010), outline a new field of research that has just begun to explore the impact of digital technologies on everyday life and its role in facilitating 'societal change' (Sormanen & Dutton, 2015). In order to capture those developments, concepts such as 'mediatization'[3] (Hepp … Lundby, 2010) have emerged and strengthened the necessity to explore the impact of traditional and new media on the communicative everyday routines and practices of institutions and organisations such as non-profits.

These developments call for an interdisciplinary approach to researching the communication of non-profits. For doing this, a communications perspective is needed but has to be combined with a non-profit perspective. Approaches that go beyond the traditional divide between non-profit and communication research have emerged only recently, pointing to the growing potential of collaborative theoretical and empirical perspectives from both disciplines (Lewis, 2005; Koschmann, 2012). From a non-profits perspective, the expanding use of new media forces them to engage with those technologies in order to be able to communicate with their stakeholders. Thus, organisations are faced with the need to

---

[3] For better readability and consistency, mediatization, marketization, and platformization are spelled with 'z' instead of 's' throughout the thesis. This is because most of the articles and books use American spelling for these words, not British English spelling. Otherwise, British English spelling conventions are applied.

understand and adopt new information and communication technologies for outreach and engagement purposes (Hackler & Saxton, 2007; Waters, 2007). On the one hand, it seems that non-profits have in part adopted to todays 'media logic' (Cottle & Nolan, 2007) and therefore depend on the news media to get their message out. On the other hand, non-profits and foundations now use social networks to circumvent traditional media gatekeepers. This move potentially enables them to strengthen public trust and push their own issues by using electronic, digital or real-time advocacy (McNutt & Boland, 1999). However, while the majority of research looks at the contents and products of communication, few evaluate the motivations and reasons why non-profits are on social media and how they adopt to them. Phethean et al. conclude that due to different causes and thus desired outcomes of non-profits communications strategies "it is difficult to assess the social activities of a charity without knowing how, and the reasons behind why, that charity in particular actually uses social media" (Phethean … Harris, 2013, p.296).

Research Approach and Methodology

This research adopts an interdisciplinary perspective by researching the mediatization of non-profit organisations in the United Kingdom and Germany, the two European countries that – with about 70% – hold the most community foundations in Europe. However, this also means that about one third of all European community foundations will not be included, leaving space for future research as media environments and organisational structures may differ in these countries, possibly leading to different sets of media practices in the countries excluded. My research has two aims. First, it seeks to contribute to the growing need to describe and analyse non-profit communication strategies and the adoption of information and communication technologies in such strategies within community foundations by providing a qualitative analysis drawing on personal testimony, and a quantitative analysis of the content of community foundations' websites. Second, by comparing community foundations in both countries, the identification of similarities and differences can lead to an enhanced understanding of the motivations of and obstacles to community foundations adapting to the media. My study therefore contributes to the theorization of media practices in non-profit organisations. The idea leading to my research originated in 2013 during my time as a research fellow for social media at the Stiftung Mercator in Essen (Germany). During my stay at the foundation, I collected journal articles, books, and grey literature focusing on non-

profits and their use of information and communication technology (ICTs) and media in their daily work. Although there was a small amount of literature available at a first glance, a second look revealed that most of it focused on non-profits in the United States and that the articles were not as focused as they had to be for my purposes of making assumptions about the state of community foundations and their relationship with the media. A research draft was written, and I started working on my proposal one year later.

Chapter Outlines

The thesis is structured in eight chapters. Following this introduction, the second chapter focuses on a general outline of the area of research, by sketching out an idea of the role of foundations in society and history, current challenges, and the consequences of the emergence of the media as a major game changer for the way in which non-profits operate. It covers the wider role of foundations in society and provides a snapshot of the development of community foundations in the United Kingdom and Germany. In particular, the chapter looks at the interplay of foundations, civil society, and the media. The third chapter commences with a literature review on the use of information and communication technologies by non-profits. It highlights the different fields of application of information and communications technologies and social media, e.g. the use of new and traditional media to create transparency online, raise money for a cause, advocate for an issue, or support accountability. The fourth chapter draws on the theoretical concept of mediatization as laid out by media and communication scholars to assess the way in which community foundations have adopted media channels and adapted to the media. The chapter concludes with a presentation of the theoretical framework for empirical analysis. The fifth chapter builds upon the theoretical framework developed, operationalises the theoretical approach, and explains the comparative case study approach. The study combines interviews with communication and marketing professionals in community foundations in the United Kingdom and Germany and a content analysis of all community foundations' websites in both countries. Findings will be presented in the sixth chapter. While the sixth chapter will look more closely at the themes discovered through the interviews, the seventh chapter will explore the two major concepts, mediatization and marketization, evolved from the analysis and discuss the consequences for community foundations. The final chapter sums up the findings, discusses the contribution of the theoretical model, and future practical implications for community foundations.

Chapter 2.

Philanthropy, Non-profits, and Media

For as long as society and societal groups have existed, non-governmental organisations and individuals devoted their time and invested their money to serve the public good. Giving something to enhance society is as old as humanity and can be found in a range of world cultures. However, the ways citizens can contribute to and consequently change society has profoundly changed over the last centuries (Zunz, 2014; Anheier & List, 2005; Sulek, 2010b). Over the course of history, opportunities and perceptions of how the common good should be improved have changed according to contemporary citizen beliefs (Muukkonen, 2009). From organisations to individuals, who can influence and alter the course of substantial parts of society, such as in education, healthcare, or social services, the existence and perception of those influences have always been perceived with mixed feelings (Sievers, 2010). People called into question the influence and power of non-profit organisations and self-made capitalists over public policy, in this way bringing the relationship between society and government into question. As organisations' intentions and motives were often not visible to the wider public and their well-meant innovations for social change often not foreseeable at the time of their initiation, criticism over the influence of philanthropy on society has prevailed up to today (Arnove, 1982; Roelofs, 2007; Plotkin, 2015; Hall, 2013).

The growth of a network of loosely-knit charities and non-profits that strove to tackle contemporary social needs, caused by natural disasters, famine, epidemics, or war, had been the reasons for transnational civil society organisations to flourish by the end of the 20th century (Davies, 2013). But while the historical roots of modern multinational institutions can

be said to partly be an outcome of the "dialectic relationship between globalization and fragmentation" (ibid., p.179), the origins of American philanthropy and foundations can be understood as a mixture of entrepreneurship, modern capitalism, and social innovation (Zunz, 2014). Furthermore, the way philanthropic foundations were established reflects the differences in societies and how they influenced the development of non-profits, the third sector, and civil society at large (Anheier, 2005).

Before expanding on the origins of philanthropic foundations as an example of how philanthropy influenced society, it is sensible to take a closer look at the defining characteristics of foundations compared with charities and non-profits (NGOs). One can begin with a rather simple differentiation of the characteristics of foundations and charities. Zoltan Ács claims that philanthropy requires a "reciprocal relationship between the philanthropist and the beneficiary" (Ács, 2013, p.3). For example, students who receive a scholarship must invest their own time, which would be their investment, to earn a degree. Therefore, philanthropy "is an investment that stimulates other investments" (Ács, 2013, p.4) whereas charity "requires no such reciprocal relationship" (ibid.). While his fundamental distinction only touches upon the key difference, it also makes clear the preferred way in how foundations and charities tend to approach social issues, such as starvation or education.

While charities operate soup kitchens where needy people can receive food supplies for free, foundations try to avoid starvation by setting up programmes that can at best provide affected regions with long term solutions that allow for a self-sustaining development. Olivier Zunz refers to Daniel Coit Gilman, the first president of Johns Hopkins University, for providing a vivid example from education policy in the United States by the end of the 19th century, though pointing out that philanthropy tries to find "long-term solutions to social problems instead of temporary relief for the destitute" (Zunz, 2014, p.9). This quote extends the desirable reach and impact of a foundation's work compared with that of a charity, as it emphasises that foundations are merely interested in solving the root causes of social problems on a national or even international level instead of concentrating on short-term relief (Anheier & List, 2005, p.196). As a result, Zunz notes that by the end of the 19th century the understanding of philanthropy was that while "charity had been for the needy; philanthropy was to be for mankind" (Zunz, 2014, p.10).

The role of philanthropy

The perceived role of philanthropy and charity has changed within the last century. The definition of the role of philanthropists offered by Zunz is based upon an American perspective, developed at the early beginning of a rapidly emerging non-profit sector in the United States as an effect of far-reaching changes in the law of charitable contributions and endowments in the late 1890s. Social, political, and policy changes affected the discourse of how third-sector organisations were perceived. This is summarised by Anheier and List, pointing out that while in the early 20th century "the debate was over the distinction between charity […] and philanthropy […]; today the discussions are about the replacement of charity by the broader concept of public benefit" (2005, p.46). This perception not only reflects the changing role of foundations in history but illustrates the shifts in the broader meaning of foundations in society.

Besides the separation of charities and philanthropy, non-profit organisations can also be distinguished by their relationship with government, by the concept of their financial endowment, their registration, and their legal practices. Each of these components is important when it comes to societal issues where, for example, foundations try to promote policy change or substitute functions formerly provided by the state. Though, at this point, it is important to note that foundations aim at setting an agenda to solve long-term social problems, such as the eradication of diseases or the fight against malnutrition.

Modern Foundations: In Search of the Root Cause

Authors from the United States in particular claim that foundations should be seen as an American invention (Zunz, 2014; Ács, 2013). Yet, the term philanthropy originates from the Greek 'philanthrôpia', dating back to the mid-5th century before the Common Era, and can be found in the tragic drama Prometheus Bound (Sulek, 2010a, p.387). In this ancient myth, the Titan Prometheus is dragged to the end of the earth and bound to a mountain as punishment for stealing the fire from Zeus and bringing it back to humankind. In a dialogue, Kratos (the god of power), Bia (the god of strength), and Hephaestus (the god of blacksmithing) discuss Prometheus's faith. Throughout this discussion, Prometheus's act is referred to as being philanthropic (philanthrôpou) since it enables the early primitive humans to escape extermination by Zeus who wanted to create his very own divine race. Prometheus's

charitable act "allowed them to raise themselves above the condition of brutes" (Sulek, 2010a, pp.387–388). In ancient Mesopotamian cities, Byzantium, and further, "philanthropy was expected from all who had earthly blessings" (Muukkonen, 2009, p.689). This is not to say that there was only one meaning of philanthropy in that epoch. Already at this early stage, variations of the meaning existed within theological, philosophical, political, ontological, social, and fiduciary matters (Sulek, 2010a, pp.395–396). The use of endowments by philanthropists can be traced back to ancient Greece and the Roman Republic. Indeed, motivation to give has been common throughout the centuries in such religions as Christianity, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Islam (Prewitt, 2006, p.360). New states prospered, old states collapsed, and signs of the influence of religions on the conditions of states surfaced. In the Middle Ages, churches and guilds took care of the poor and elderly. However, the fact that "philanthropy has been framed as a private matter" (Muukkonen, 2009, p.689) has to be attributed to the rise of the welfare state.

Modern foundations

To understand the aspect of 'modernity' of foundations, we must visit the early 20th century of the United States. In the United States, philanthropic, voluntary, and non-profit organisations, as well as religious groups, played a major role in central historical American processes such as the American Revolution. It can be said that at the end of the eighteenth century, "indigenous philanthropy and voluntarism were still embryonic" (Hall, 2006, p.36). Additional factors such as immigration also played a significant role in raising and adding to the diversity of organisations in the third sector. The stream of immigrants brought new philanthropic endeavours to America in batches. German immigrants, for example, brought with them their own musical and associational traditions which also helped them to preserve and stay true to their cultural heritage (Hall, 2006, p.41).

The reasons why most of the historical literature focuses on foundations in the United States and parts of Europe stems from the prevalence, activity, and the wealth of American-centric foundations (Prewitt, 2006, p.355). American foundations as we know them today, such as the Rockefeller, the Ford, or the Carnegie Foundation, are products of the era of industrialisation at the beginning of the early 20th century (Parmar, 2011). On the one side, the societal and industrial conditions made possible the rise of entrepreneurs responsible for

discoveries in leading industrial areas, which in return allowed them to gather huge amounts of wealth (Zunz, 2014; Parmar, 2011). On the other side, these developments led to profound societal changes which were not deemed positive by everyone. For example, society had to deal with the industrial revolution which brought rising unemployment and social insecurity. With these societal changes came the need to invent and establish innovative and long-lasting programmes that were based on scientific research, thus marking a turning point in how charitable donations had been collected and distributed previously. Hence, an institution capable of drafting, organising, and managing these programmes throughout the process of implementation into policies was much needed. As "a new kind of institution designed to administer large philanthropic resources to various communities of recipients" (Zunz, 2014, p.22), the modern American foundation was the institution to undertake this task.

The new role of philanthropic foundations

Foundations have played a central role in shaping major parts of American society since the late 20th century (Parmar, 2011). Education, social welfare, public health care, and many other issues were addressed by a group of fortuned people who decided to give something back to society, by choosing a new and more effective approach to tackle the root causes of poverty, diseases, and other problems of this time, then giving their wealth to charity. Foundations do not aim to duplicate already existing projects or funding social welfare, housing or disability income on a national scale. Instead they "provide seed funding, fund demonstration projects, and provide funds to other organizations to experiment and innovate" (Knott & McCarthy, 2007, p.322).

Philanthropy is a concept whose origins date back to the early days of society and which has consistently been shaped by society, government, and innovations in research at the same time. Consequently, it appears that the historical role and function of what we today call the 'modern foundation' was developed during the late years of the 19th century, but which prevails trends for contemporary foundations and their creative work. These developments have at least by some researchers been perceived as being highly controversial regarding the legitimacy and concentration of such powerful, private institutions which are not democratically regulated or overseen, and in parts have strong relationships with

governmental agencies. The next section will look more closely at the concept of philanthropic foundations as part of civil society.

Modern Foundations: Criticism and Developments

The early rise of the modern American foundation is inextricably linked with Henry and Edsel Ford, Andrew Carnegie, and John D. Rockefeller (Zunz, 2014; Hall, 2006; Fleishman, 2009; Prewitt, 2006; Parmar, 2011). The 'big three' always refer to the Ford Foundation, the Carnegie Foundation, and the Rockefeller Foundation (Arnove & Pinede, 2007). While these foundations have played an essential part in shaping the United States, their existence and impact on society was not received without criticism. The existence and influence of private foundations have long been a double-edged sword, or as Harrow concludes for today's foundations: "philanthropy's aims, reach, and impact are under increasing scrutiny" (Harrow, 2010, p.121), which shall be underlined with a recent example.

With an endowment of currently 43.5 billion US dollars, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, founded in 1994, is the richest private foundation in the United States—and at the same time also worldwide (Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, 2015). The foundation is well known for its commitment to eradicate diseases by inventing vaccines for combating HIV, polio, and malaria, primarily focusing on developing countries. However, this noble cause did not stop the British newspaper *The Guardian* to collaborate with the climate change action network and online platform 350.org in calling for the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and the Wellcome Trust, a British charitable foundation, to divest from fossil fuels within five years,[4] after it was revealed that the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation holds assets worth 1.4 billion US dollars in fossil fuel investments.[5] An online petition was set up which addressed Bill and Melinda Gates as well as Jeremy Farrar and Sir William Castell of the Wellcome Trust directly and signed by more than 189,000 people and supported by scientists and celebrities within days. The campaign was accompanied by a social media campaign that

---

[4] "Keep it in the ground", *The Guardian*, http://www.theguardian.com/environment/ng-interactive/2015/mar/16/keep-it-in-the-ground-guardian-climate-change-campaign, accessed 5. June 2018.

[5] "Revealed: Gates Foundation's $1.4bn in fossil fuel investments", *The Guardian*, http://www.theguardian.com/environment/2015/mar/19/gates-foundation-has-14bn-in-fossil-fuels-investments-guardian-analysis, accessed 5. June 2018.

used the Twitter hashtag #keepitintheground and curated a continuously updated campaign site.[6] This campaign has led to a public debate on whether foundations should have investments in morally debatable commodities, such as carbon fuels, especially if it is contradictory to what the foundation stands for.

While the previous case is an example of a new form of public pressure triggered by a social media campaign, one of the oldest concerns and resentments against foundations is the accumulation of wealth. In other words, the "heightened expectations of what philanthropy may achieve have arisen as growing but unequal global wealth over the past three decades has provided the backdrop for a resurgence of philanthropy" (Harrow, 2010, p.121). For a long time, philanthropic foundations have been accused of being used as loopholes for a wealthy elite (Mills & Wolfe, 2000). However, the allegations brought forward aim at different shortcomings in the constitution and the management of foundations. Among the loudest voices are complaints about foundations lacking accountability and therefore being anti-democratic (Sievers, 2010; Hall, 2013), thereby being a "prime constructors of hegemony, by promoting consent and discouraging dissent against capitalist democracy" as Joan Roelofs (2007, p.479) puts it. According to Roelofs, fortune generated by 'new millionaires' at the dawn of the twentieth century created philanthropists who were "seeking to dole out their benevolence in a systematic manner" (ibid., p.481). Instead of trying to change the system that constructs inequality fundamentally, foundations benefited from capitalism. By using the international financial stock market to grow their financial assets, foundations rely on the neoliberal market system which they thereby reiterate and reinforce. Hence, so say critics, they very much reproduce the social inequalities they want to eradicate in the first place.

Foundations as a tool for the elite

This view resonates well with a common argument that foundations are merely a tool of a societal elite, who try to preserve their power with the aid of foundations. With democracy emerging in American society, once influential cultural, economic, or social leaders saw their

---

[6] "The Guardian invites you behind the scenes as we embark on a global climate change campaign", *The Guardian*, http://www.theguardian.com/environment/ng-interactive/2015/mar/16/the-biggest-story-in-the-world?INTCMP=keep%20it%20in%20the%20ground-VIDEO-THRASHER#top, accessed 1. June 2018.

impact in decline, they tried to find other ways to influence society according to their preferences – by turning to philanthropy (Mills & Wolfe, 2000). However, still, among charities, non-profits, and voluntary associations, foundations had been regarded as civic institutions, as "avatars of the common good that stand above self-interest and eschew partisanship" (Hall, 2013, p.1). Spanning a time period of more than 150 years in philanthropic history in the United States, Hall concludes two dilemmas linked to private initiatives in a democratic state still remain, as "unrestricted expressive and property rights are fundamentally incompatible with legal and political equality so long as government lacks the capacity to counterbalance the power of special interests" (Hall, 2013, p.17).

While Hall adopts a systematic perspective for his analysis, Arnove and Pinede (2007) took a critical look at the 'big three' foundations. According to their evaluation, the influence of the Carnegie, the Rockefeller, and the Ford Foundation cannot be underestimated, while the extent to which they have been able to eradicate human suffering should not be overestimated. Programmes established by those foundations could serve as an escape valve for "for relieving pressures and smoothing out the functioning of a social and economic system that depends, in great part, on charitable giving to alleviate the inequities and misery it generates" (Arnove & Pinede, 2007, p.422). Arnove and Pinede depict them as being "ultimately elitist and technocratic institutions" which while in recent years are becoming "more accountable to the public than ever" they are still "corrosive of democratic processes and preemptive of more radical, structural approaches to social change" (ibid.).

Foundations and non-profits

Despite the occasional scathing criticism, foundations are of great importance for the programmes of non-profits. As Laurie Lewis points out, "the civil society sector […] is a growing worldwide phenomenon" (2005, p.239) with philanthropy often recognised as the supply side of organisations for civil society (Harrow, 2010). This is not only true regarding the increasing commonness of philanthropy in countries such as South Asia or Latin America (del Mar Gálvez-Rodríguez … López-Godoy, 2014). For example, by donating money for long-term relief after natural disasters, but also because of the steady spread of philanthropic structures, practices, and collaborations on a global scale (Atouba & Shumate, 2015). In an article published in 2008, Delfin and Tang measured non-profits that had received grants by a

US foundation in 2000. While this study was restricted to environmental NGOs, results showed that they registered a "mildly beneficial impact on their organizations" (2008, p.621). The relationships between foundations and non-profits do not necessarily have to be close but can also be rather limited in cooperation. While some foundations rely on strong ties with governmental institutions and are eager to cooperate with them, others prefer weaker ties. In the case of childcare in the US, for example, foundations that fund direct services are not likely to engage in public policy. As Knott and McCarthy (2007) note, some foundations are of the opinion that they "can achieve their programmatic goals for children and families only with significant changes in public systems and public policy", not least because they think that "the government's policy-making machinery in the United States is inadequate to meet the needs of children" (2007, p.328).

Today, philanthropic foundations are a vital part of civil society and more important than ever. On the one hand, they provide support for a growing non-profit sector, and on the other hand, they can influence public policy with sometimes limited control over how and in which way those regulations and advancements pursued by foundations change the policies (Sievers, 2010). Non-profits especially embrace foundations because they guarantee financial support for their operations on the ground. The foundations' financial support "allows civil society to avoid overdependence on for-profit or governmental sources", thereby they become "more than a supporting element for democracy by aiding pluralistic forces, nudging the state in new directions, championing alternative voices, or supplementing the state or market in the achievement of public goods" (ibid., p.383). It is important to note that in many cases, especially in child care, foundations act as essential facilitators. They form networks of researchers, advocates, think-tanks, and professional associations which allows them to build "a powerful mix of research skills, communication capabilities, and ties to government agencies and political leaders" (Knott & McCarthy, 2007, p.344).

The criticism by Roelofs and others highlights that the power and influence of foundations have been questioned more than once over recent decades. Besides this criticism, official inquiries have accompanied the growth of philanthropy in the United States throughout the last centuries. The lack of accountability and the notion of a corrosive impact of private wealth on public structures, sensed by the public and politicians, among other things, led to the constitution of the Walsh Commission in 1912 (Hammack, 2006). At that time, the Walsh Commission was called into life as the United States Congress "had become

extraordinarily wary of the rising power of the new holders of unprecedented wealth, particularly John D. Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie" (Sievers, 2010, p.384). This fear has prevailed in different institutions in society and is still open for debate. Sievers concludes that a "pluralistic fragmentation" through the "disproportionate influence of private wealth in a democracy" may result in political gridlock and ultimately in the "failure to attain important public goods" (ibid., p.386). However, he also states that "more attention to the fundamental needs of civil society and the democratic state" might offer new opportunities for philanthropy to operate at the intersection of civil society and democracy and participate in democratic processes as "engaged civic actors" (ibid., p.390,396).

The Modern Foundation: A Contested Concept

The previous remarks show that there is a need to be precise and explicit about what is meant by philanthropy. The struggle to differentiate philanthropy, charities and NGOs from each other contributes to the vagueness of the term and ultimately the concept. A single definition or concept that is capable of fully describing what 'philanthropy' means does not yet exist. Jenny Harrow (2010) highlights, by referring to Thomas Adam (2004), that terms such as charity, philanthropy, NGOs, giving, or donation, are often used interchangeably, which indicates an insufficient reference to the current terminology. Lacking clarification and therefore posing a threat to the advancement of theoretical developments in the field of philanthropic work, Siobhan Daly (2011b) describes philanthropy as an essentially contested concept. She points out that a broad range of conceptual perspectives on the idea of philanthropy exists. However, while a possible conceptualisation can stress the point that philanthropy demands a voluntary action (Payton & Moody, 2008) on the one hand, one could also emphasise the point that philanthropy provides an asset to non-profits by contributing an income source – be it giving time or money on the other hand. Also, the emergence of 'catchwords' such as "strategic philanthropy, venture philanthropy and effective philanthropy" (Daly, 2011b, p.548) was certainly not beneficial to this issue.

Civil society, government, and the market

Difficulties arise in distinguishing traits of the concept when trying to separate civil society from the government or the market. According to Muukkonen (2009), organisations from

civil society can be understood as being part of and situated between the family, the state, the market, and religion. Moreover, while some organisations share more characteristics with the market, others might borrow more characteristics from religion. One major drawback of the approach is that it does not help researchers to borrow from these various traditions and use them accordingly to create a common language for this research field. Harrow suggests that foundations, as the institutional form of philanthropy in a western world, could be seen as a "sub-sector of nonprofits or civil society" (2010, p.123) but they should not be analysed as if there were merely no differences between them.

Foundations can also be distinguished by their mode of operation. Whereas foundations in the United States and Great Britain are primarily grant-making foundations, European foundations tend to be operating foundations, which means that they are actively involved in the projects they fund (Anheier, 2005, p.305). Another way to differentiate between non-profits, civil society, and the private government, would be through the use of the term 'private'. Mendel is of the opinion that what could be called 'private government' could be valuable for a more detailed terminology, thereby addressing what has been named the "mess of nomenclature", an expression borrowed by the Mintzberg (2009, p.718). Mendel notes that the absence of a rigorous concept of what the third sector is, hinders "our ability to provide information to decision makers through advocacy and to adapt to new political, economic, and social circumstances", something that "threatens the official status and institutional well-being of nonprofits" (ibid., p.719).

Muukkonen admits that even thirty years after a research field that could be named 'civil society studies' has been examined more closely, "there is still no international or interdisci-plinary agreement on the name of the field or its overall research objectives" and he continues that instead "there is a host of concepts that are used either synonymously or differently" (2009, p.684). As Muukkonen and others have pointed out, "concepts are not value free" and are "based on the root metaphors with which people in different cultures and disciplines (e.g., economics, philosophy, sociology, theology) frame their world" (2009, p.684). This is particularly the case for the relationship of private and governmental institutions and the influence of the market on those concepts, as newer research suggests that "market-based policies have significantly altered nonprofit behavior and structure" (Desai & Snavely, 2012, p.962), which reflects the influence of marketplace values on the non-profit sector.

Consequently, research on and practices within non-profits, charities, and other forms of philanthropic organisations remains fractured and inconsistent, underlining the complexity and contradictory nature of the concept of philanthropy. While philanthropy has arguably been shaped through the cultural and religious meanings ascribed to it over the past centuries, it has also been impacted by regional policies, such as state and tax legislation, and new platforms and means through which to 'do' philanthropy. Technological innovation paired with business thinking have led to the creation of new philanthropic forms which are challenging established notions of the meaning and purpose of philanthropy. For example, Philip Berber, a former technology entrepreneur turned philanthropist, strongly advocates for more business-like practices to inform the way in which non-profits operate and manage themselves, in order to make them more efficient and hence raise their "social" profit as a non-profit (Berber … Parker, 2011). He argues against the designation of "non-profit" as it implies that they are without benefit (because they don't make a financial profit). But through his concept of "social" profit, he challenges these organisations to adopt more business-like processes in order to be more efficient and effective, since they still produce 'profit' as a social good if not in hard currency.

When it comes to clarifying concepts, applying categories to them, in an effort to make them clearer can sometimes cause further problems. It can ultimately be seen as the cause for difficulties in defining. Attempting to provide definitional clarity to complex concepts such as civil society and the non-profit sector as way to precisely understand that complexity is thus important but most unachievable (Muukkonen, 2009, p.693). Thus, the distinctions between and the use of different descriptive terms have prevented the development of the non-profit sector being understood as a coherent concept (Daly, 2011b). One way of providing a clearer stance on the impact of a specific system is to evaluate a specific category of systems or a specific type. My study looks at community foundations, which operate at a local level, which therefore, offer a more targeted, if more narrow analytical focus, allowing a more complete analysis of a more manageable form of non-profit.

A Changing Third-sector: Non-profits and Trends of Marketization

In 1999, William P. Ryan, a consultant for foundations and non-profits in the United States, published an article titled "The New Landscape for Nonprofits" in the *Harvard Business*

Review. In his article, he argued that non-profits will no longer be seen as organisations that automatically provide best services to the public, but that for-profit organisations are increasingly eager to get their market share of the social services sector in the US instead, with for-profits getting more flexible, mobile and having more capital at hand. In response, a growing number of non-profits tried to start their own initiatives to challenge for-profits on their own grounds, for example in health care. As a result, resourceful non-profits were able to "get the capital and technology they need to deliver what the new government contracts demand" (1999, p.136).

What is described here is nothing less than the essence of the development of non-profit organisations becoming more business-like, a trend that started in the 1980s (Maier … Steinbereithner, 2016). But even before Ryan published his article in 1999, others were worried about the consequences of a decline in resources provided by the state and, at the same time, the increased responsibility that was loaded upon non-profits to save society (Bush, 1992). Bush argues that business methods could be employed to make non-profits more competitive against other non-profit and for-profit organisations but that "better organization, better communication systems, better salaries and benefits for its employees, and a higher degree of professionalization" should not come at the cost of the charismatic energy that has driven the sector from the beginning" (1992, p.407).

But what does it mean to become business-like for a non-profit? Dart (2004), for example, points out that "*business-like* is quite a general term, with few specific referents". Analysing a Canadian non-profit human services organisation, he points out that being business-like can vary as non-profits can look or become business-like through their goals, their service delivery, their management approach, or their organisational rhetoric. Recent years have shown an increasing trend of non-profits adopting to values and methods that have primarily been associated with the market – thus calling this trend the marketization of the third sector (Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004). This development, which is often referred to by the term marketization, summarised two, often opposing, trends in non-profits. While management and organisation studies promote the need for non-profits to adopt business models and principles, other researcher – on the contrary – criticise this development for "mission drift and loss of idealism" (Maier … Steinbereithner, 2016, p.65). Eikenberry and Kluver (2004, p.133) have traced four major trends of marketization: "(1) commercial revenue generation, (2) contract competition, (3) the influence of new and emerging donors, and (4) social

entrepreneurship". Not all of these trends are necessarily visible within one organisation at the same time. Using the framework of Eikenberry and Kluver, Yu and Chen (2018) have recently analysed the impact of marketization strengthening or weakening civil society in a comparative study. Comparing the United States and China, they found that "essentials of marketization characterized by liberalism, fairness, transparency, and openness" can substantially support the rebuilding of a non-profit sector in authoritative states such as China (2018, p.934).

Today, marketization and its forms of representation have found multiple ways in which they affect non-profits. This becomes evident, for example, through the marketization of care (Fine & Davidson, 2018; Andersson & Kvist, 2015). "Care is a social necessity for life" (2018, p.603) having its foundation in the mid-20th century of capitalist economies, according to Fine and Davidson. As they analyse the marketization of care for older people in Australia, Fine and Davidson point out that while marketization could potentially contribute to requirements of aged care, at the same time it poses the eminent threat that the need to be profitable could permanently change society's perception of care. Their finding can be described as being a "simultaneous pull between the financial imperatives of operating within a market economy and pursuing a social mission" (Sanders, 2012, p.181). Critics have pointed out that blending neoliberal market ideology with the third sector's mission to support and enrich democracy and citizenship might not turn out well and may indeed weaken civil society (Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004). But that has not stopped non-profits from adopting business practices that borrow from marketization, thereby driving the mediatization and professionalisation[7] of their organisation.

Being professional

A development congruent to marketization is the rise of professionalisation within non-profit organisations and their need to position themselves in an increasingly competitive sector (Graddy & Morgan, 2006). As foundations in the 20th century have adopted scientific research

---

[7] In the literature, marketization and professionalisation are often used interchangeable. In my work, marketization refers to the broader trend of marketization itself, while professionalisation refers to the changes in organisations that are made at the staff level.

methods to support their work, nowadays, under the umbrella of marketization, non-profits have adopted management strategies, approaches, and practices that call for the stronger professionalisation of an organisation (Eikenberry, 2009). In the political process, non-profits offer their institutionalised expertise and are increasingly included in institutional decision-making processes but this has forced them to adapt to "institutional norms and structures as well as to a policy field's language and terms of trade" (Lang, 2013, p.72). Multiple factors have been found to influence the adoption of business principles such as measurements of rationalisation. A study looking at charities in the San Francisco Bay Area in the United States found that charities that had more paid personnel and full-time staff showed higher levels of rationalisation than charities that had fewer full-time staff (Hwang & Powell, 2009). Moreover, individuals in management positions with a professional background in management and administration or individuals having received management training also pushed for stronger rationalisation efforts.

With the adoption of information and communication technologies, a new species has entered the professional workforce: the communication professional. Communication technologies – the new organisational assets the communication professional operates – play a vital role in the development of professionalisation, as they "have given rise to new sets of visual and narrative strategies to attract the attention, money and time of Western audiences" (von Engelhardt & Jansz, 2014, p.471). Researchers have explored the adaption of market logics by, for example, analysing the impact of emerging philanthropic ideologies and practices by looking at microlending platforms such as Kiva, highlighting a shift in the underlying ideologic framework and the impact of social media and the internet on the distribution of these ideologies (Bajde, 2013). Still, non-profit organisations have stepped up their efforts to attract communication professionals and utilise their skills to support a non-profit's mission through sophisticated communication and branding campaigns and cause-related marketing campaigns. Non-profits have turned to using branding strategies to raise their organisation's visibility in the media environment (Vestergaard, 2008). They have invested in organisational branding by approaching branding strategically, including low-cost marketing strategies that will work with limited budgets (Chapleo, 2015). However, the main aim and the driving force behind developing a market strategy within a non-profit organisation is the perceived need to differentiate themselves from other non-profit competitors in their field (Stride & Lee, 2007).

Non-profit organisations have adopted marketing and communication strategies in order being able to deal with a growing competition with for-profit and non-profit organisation, in a race to securing funding and fulfilling their mission. The need to raise money has driven them to adopt business principles that have led to an increase in the adoption of management practices, which promote a multiplicity of processes and strategies that are linked to marketization. While some argue that this is, put strongly, a betrayal of non-profit principles, it has also made non-profits more efficient and accountable. The trend to adopt business-like approaches and methods is also caused because of the need to attract businesses in the wake of the broader trend of corporate sponsor- and partnerships with non-profit organisation.

Corporate social responsibility and consumerism

One of the most notable changes over the last half century is the rise of corporate social responsibility (CSR) and its strong roots within corporate culture (Carroll, 1999). Besides supporting non-profits financially, corporations have set up programmes for their employees to participate in non-profits' work through corporate volunteering partnerships (Samuel … Schilling, 2013). For non-profits, strong ties with local companies can be seen as an opportunity and provide a steady stream of funds and volunteers on the one hand, but it can also make them more dependent on these companies and less sovereign.

Consumerism is employed as one such form of corporate social responsibility and describes partnerships of non-profits with multinational corporations such as Apple or Starbucks through campaigns such as the (RED) partnership programme established by Robert Shriver and Bono, where a small share of a consumer's purchases goes to a non-profit and its cause (Eikenberry, 2009). While some are critical of this development, others argue that the use of a business model to drive awareness for the social responsibility efforts of a company within a capitalistic world does not seem far-fetched, assuming that the ethical commitment of company is sincere and the financial contribution to the cause is made transparent (Amazeen, 2011). In this case, one could call the company's approach sensible as it commits itself to high ethical standards for its products, while having to be profitable and also adhere to market logics.

On the basis of using branding and marketing for corporate social responsibility campaigns, the recruitment of public figures and celebrities has become a new standard. Over

the last decades, non-profits have embraced using celebrities as advocates and ambassadors for raising awareness and attention, starting with ones like Bob Geldof and Live Aid in the 1980s (Branigan & Mitsis, 2014). In an article published in 2009, Nickel and Eickenberry argue that in times of fast capitalism, philanthropy has become increasingly associated with "celebrity philanthropy" or "charitainment" which involves some "media hype around celebrities giving and volunteering, raising money, or in other ways supposedly helping those less fortunate" (2009, p.975). While it can be said that the positive alignment between a celebrity and a non-profits cause can support the non-profit's credibility and raise donations, it is nevertheless also a sign of a broader development of humanitarian communication where the public is becoming "the ironic spectator of vulnerable others" (Chouliaraki, 2013, p.2). These developments in consumerism, 'celebritization' (Driessens, 2013), corporate social responsibility, and communication are strongly linked to mediatization and the marketization of non-profits. Multiple indicators illustrate processes of adopting to a market logic, such as the increased implementation of market language by non-profits, the development of brands or the creation of a business plans, as well as the adoption of management models and methods (Grafström … Karlberg, 2015). Although these developments are often explored within non-profits that operate on a national or international level, it can be assumed that community foundations in the United Kingdom and Germany are not exempt from this broader development of marketization and professionalisation of their communication activities.

Community Foundations: Mapping the Field

Community foundations are non-profit organisations that operate at a local level with the goal to advance community life. Over the last couple of decades, a growing number of community foundations were established in countries across Europe with most community foundations being concentrated in the United Kingdom and Germany. More recently, the movement of community foundations has gained a new foothold outside Europe and the United States, for example, in China (Weng & Christensen, 2018). Through a permanent endowment, community foundations support local communities by providing grants for projects related to education, human and social services, arts and culture, or health, among others. In their function as local and regional non-profit organisations, community foundations have also stepped up their effort through community leadership by, for example, summoning new

stakeholders to find solutions for local problems, developing and testing innovative new models, advocating for public policy, and capacity building (Easterling, 2011). However, as Jung, Harrow, and Leat (2018) have demonstrated only recently, although philanthropic foundations have existed for centuries, mapping the field is still a complicated endeavour.

While debates on the various new forms that philanthropy can take have led to mixed feelings about creative forms such as venture philanthropy, it is undoubtedly true that the increasing interest of private individuals to invest in society has contributed to the establishment of innovative philanthropic forms such as the community foundation. Community foundations have been known in the United States of America for over a century. Nevertheless, they are a relatively new phenomenon to other parts of the world such as Europe (Graddy & Morgan, 2006). Originally invented in the United States in the early 20th century, community foundations came to the United Kingdom only in the 1980s (Daly, 2008, p.221). In Germany, the first community foundation was founded by the Bertelsmann Foundation and supported by the American Charles Stuart Mott Foundation in 1996 (Vogel, 2006). The aim of a community foundation is to

> attract philanthropic donations from a variety of sources, ultimately with the aim of building an endowment and to use these resources to achieve the main objective of addressing community (and/or regional) needs in order to improve the quality of life for individuals within a specific geographic area (Daly, 2008, p.221).

In doing so, they provide an "independent source of funding for community organizations and groups" (ibid., p.223). However, as has been pointed out by Daly (2008), community foundations in the UK are striving for sources of income in order to maintain their funding commitments and the increasingly important role they play in supporting community development. Community foundations, "with their relatively unique attention to place and working relationships with leaders from multiple sectors" (Graddy & Morgan, 2006, p.605) are expected to enhance and enrich local communities. Through financially supporting local groups and initiatives, they can invest in several fields of action, such as human and social services, or arts and culture, to name a few. Thus, community foundations' projects cover issues ranging from the technical and financial support for indigenous groups such as the local Kichwa communities in Ecuador to building an olive oil press for small-scale producers by community foundations in South Sinai (Knight & Milner, 2013). Being a vehicle for the diversification of philanthropy and a means for small donations by private individuals to support and contribute to the work of local activities and people's agendas, the criticism of

philanthropy as being an instrument of an elite hegemony can be set aside in the case of community foundations (Daly, 2008, p.237). Indeed, the approach taken by community foundations has to be seen in strong contrast to self-proclaimed, wealthy individual donors such as John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie, or Bill and Melinda Gates, who have been the torchbearers of modern philanthropy in the United States.

As most of the literature on modern foundations focuses on foundations in the United States, it is important to acknowledge that European society and the institutions it created are distinctive and that "it is important to develop theory and research that addresses this distinctiveness" (Osborne, 2011, p.4). For example, research analysing the similarities and differences in the structure of the non-profit sector in France and Germany found that, despite the varied approaches to state government and regulation, both countries have more similarly structured non-profit sectors than one would expect (Archambault … Zimmer, 2014). They attribute this to a similar growth of the welfare state in both countries over recent years. More generally, researchers note a surge of interest in philanthropy over the past several years, which is in part due to public policy processes, such as the *Big Society Programme* in the United Kingdom (Daly, 2011a) and to various reforms of the legal framework for the establishment of foundations in Germany in the years following the millennium as well as the decline of the welfare state, increased trust in non-profit organisations, and an unparalleled accumulation of private wealth in Germany (Adloff, 2015).

Community foundations in the United Kingdom and Germany

Before it is outline how new media has changed philanthropy, and community foundations in the UK and Germany in particular, it is necessary to take a closer look at how the scale and structure of the community foundation sector in the United Kingdom and Germany has developed over the last decades. Despite their overall similarities, differences between community foundations in the United Kingdom and Germany exist. For example, while community foundations in the United Kingdom tend to be established at a county level, community foundations in Germany tend to be created at a city level. Therefore, the financial asset size of community foundations in Germany is often much smaller compared with the asset size of community foundations in the UK. This stark contrast in asset size is also noticeable when comparing community foundations in other parts of the world. For example,

the average grant making per community foundation is much higher in North America ($5,534,909) than in Europe ($269,646).

Distribution, characteristics, and programmatic priorities

According to the *Community Foundation Atlas*, a project supported by the Charles Stuart Mott Foundation, which runs a website gathering and distributing data on the development of community foundations in the world in 2013, about 1,800 community foundations exist worldwide (Community Foundation Atlas, 2014).[8] However, the distribution of community foundations around the world is highly skewed. While North America (N = 1031) and Europe (N = 650) together account for about 91 per cent of all community foundations, Africa (N = 30; 1.6%), Asia (N = 60; 3.3%), Oceania (N = 56; 3%), and South America (N = 11; 0.6%) account for only about 8.5 per cent. Community foundations are also unevenly distributed in Europe. Germany, with 375 community foundations, accounts for 57.7 per cent of all community foundations, followed by the United Kingdom with 10 per cent (N = 65), and Russia with 7.4 per cent (N = 48) (see figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1: Number of community foundations per country (with focus on Europe) (Community Foundation Atlas, author's own figure)
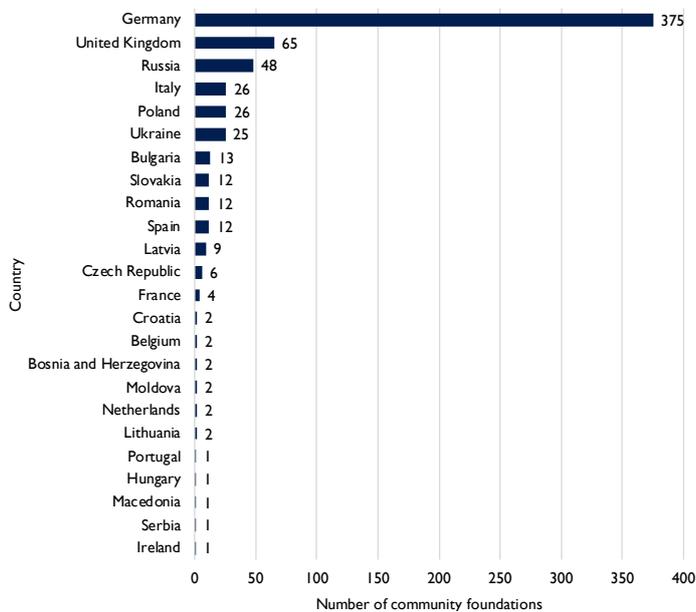
[8] Data was provided by the Charles Stuart Mott Foundation and covers the year 2013. According to the foundation, an update of the Community Foundation Atlas is scheduled for 2017.

Also, on average, community foundations in North America were founded in 1986 and South America in 1996 respectively, while community foundations in Europe were established in 2005, pointing to a younger and growing trend in Europe. However, there are exceptions to this development. In the United Kingdom, the first community foundation was established in Cambridge as the Cambridgeshire Community Foundation in 1914. In Germany, the first community foundation was established in Gütersloh, as the Bürgerstiftung Gütersloh in 1996. In general, the data provided point to a much younger community foundation sector in Germany, compared with the United Kingdom. Whereas the average year of founding is 1999 (median) in the UK, the average year of founding is 2006 (median) in Germany (see figure 2.2). The trend of community foundations has taken off with the start of the new millennium in the early 2000s but has slowed down recently. Nevertheless, with a total of 375 community foundations, Germany holds the most community foundations in Europe by a considerable margin.

Figure 2.2: Founding year of community foundations (Community Foundation Atlas, author's own figure)
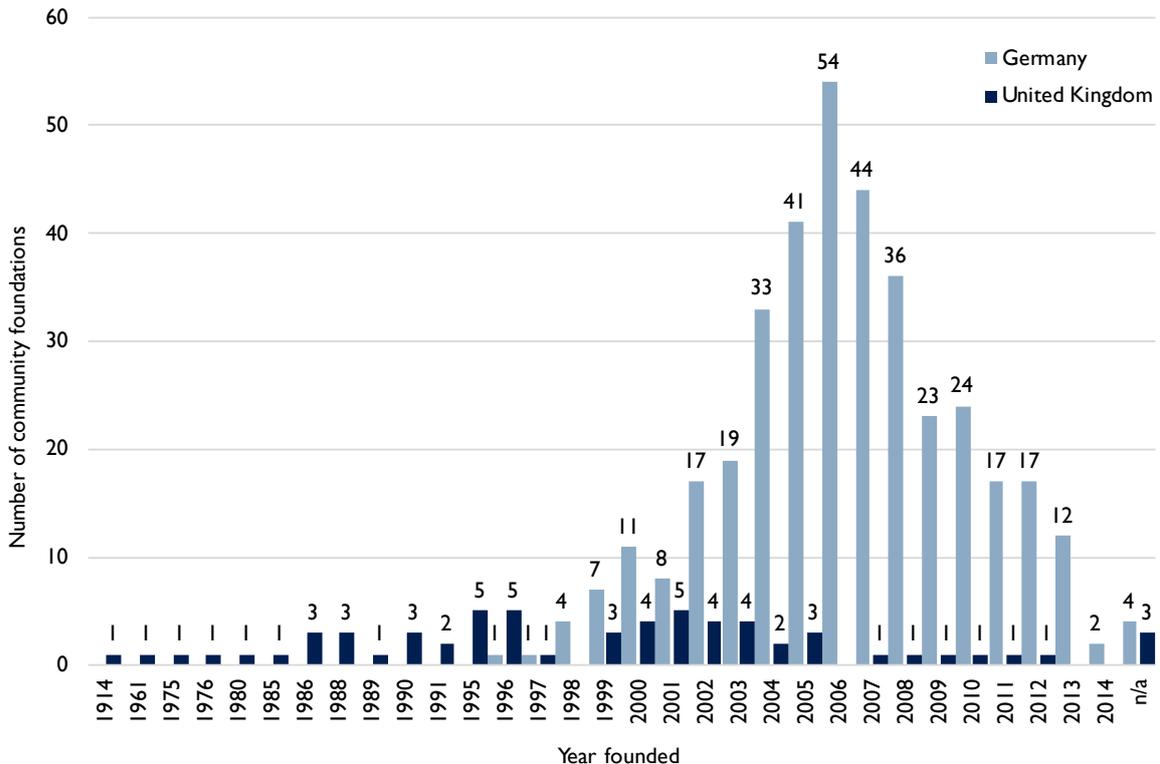
The number of staff working in a community foundation also differs significantly between regions, with foundations in Europe (Mdn = 9.8) having three times the number of employees working in foundations than, for example, in Oceania (Mdn = 3.7) or South America (Mdn = 3.3). These figures differ greatly, as the Community Foundation Atlas

website points out: "At one extreme are the 137 organizations with one paid staff member; at the other, a foundation with 280 employees – the highest number reported" (Community Foundation Atlas, 2014). The website underlines the movement character of the growth of community foundations. While it took 85 years to establish the first 1,000 foundations, 800 were established in the last 14 years alone. Within foundations, programmatic priorities were education, human and social services, arts and culture, as well as health (see figure 2.3). The variety of projects that community foundations invest in is broad and can also be tied to current events. For example, numerous community foundations in Germany have set up projects to support refugees, be it by providing them with language courses and including them in the local community. Community foundations in the United Kingdom have, for example, collected donations and set up projects to support relief efforts after the severe flooding that has occurred over recent years.

Figure 2.3: Overview of the programmatic priorities of community foundations (with focus on Europe)(Community Foundation Atlas, author's own figure)
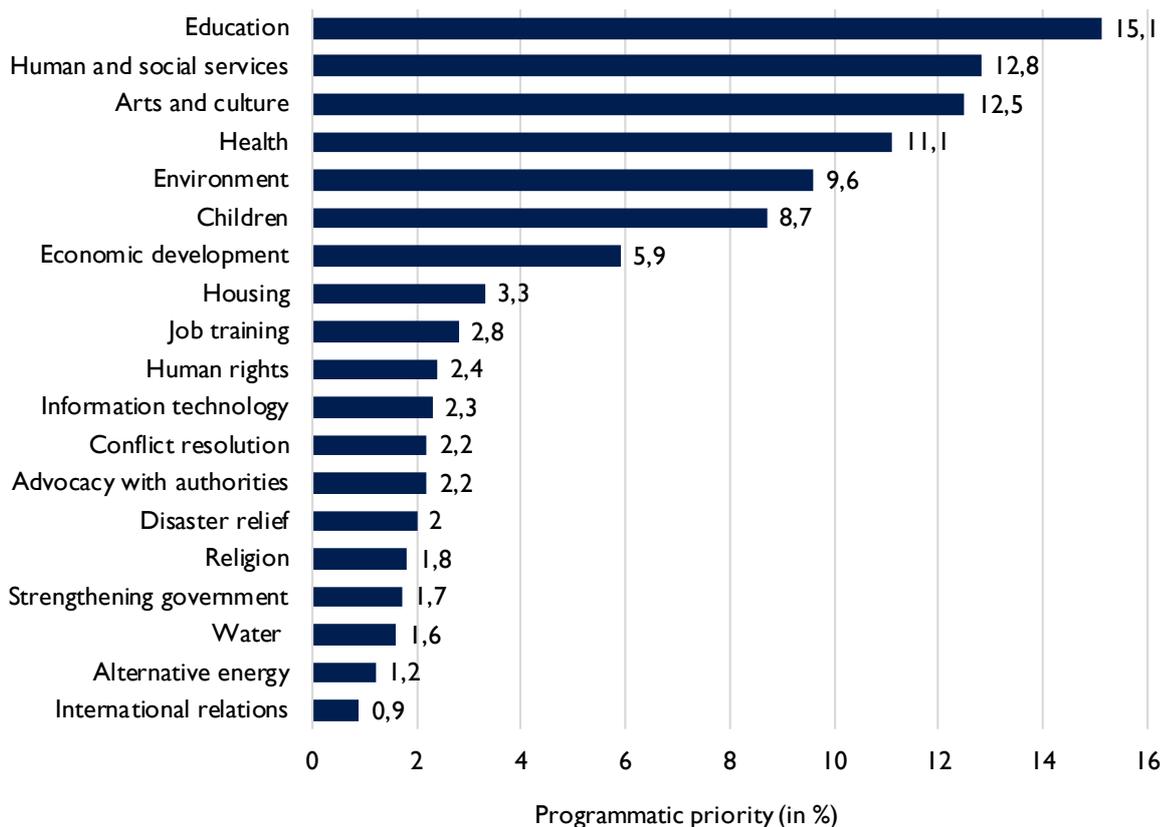
Certainly, a lot has changed since Prometheus stole the fire and brought it to humanity. The institutions that provide the structures and the operations for being a philanthropist have changed, thereby adapting to society, culture, and politics. Important developments such as the marketization and professionalisation of the third sector have changed the ways in which

non-profits operate. At the same time, information and communication technologies have led to the emergence of new fields of action for non-profits and foundations. Indeed, as will be shown next, the rise of information and communication technologies has deeply affected global civil society and philanthropy, with far-reaching implications for the daily work of non-profits.

The Media and Social Change

The media play an important role in facilitating and communicating processes of social change for development and for empowering people globally (Servaes, 2008). Over an extended period of time, non-profits' communication strategies were merely representative in that they communicated their values through media coverage and paid advertisement in national and international newspapers, television, or radio. This strategy has led to difficulties for them when attempting to access today's media in a global media landscape (Powers, 2016). Furthermore, with the rise of global humanitarian crisis such as global pandemics and terror, a massive surge in global refugee flows and natural disasters triggered by climate change, non-profits struggle to keep up with responding and informing about the numerous crisis. Moreover, with the growing competition between non-profits trying to get out their message, researchers have argued that the media increasingly shapes the practices of non-profits and that these practices in return influence an organisation's identity, leading to a rise in power of the media over an organisation's operations (Grafström … Karlberg, 2015).

Non-profits and the media

For a long time, non-profits have relied on the mainstream media for promoting global humanitarianism, leveraging support for emergency relief, raising funds, or lobbying and advocating for people in need (Cottle & Nolan, 2007). It is challenging for humanitarian non-governmental organisations to create attention for their issues in a global media ecology as they have to adapt to journalistic newsmaking strategies and are confronted with diverse media environments (Waisbord, 2011). Moreover, non-profits compete against each other for publicity while they rely on journalism to connect them with the wider public. However, this also provides opportunities for non-profits with the required organisational resources to step into the global public eye by providing on-the-ground coverage of international affairs, thus

filling the space of shrinking coverage of global operating news organisations (Powers, 2014, 2016).

The need to be visible in the media has its price, as it requires organisations to be approachable by the media, something which often makes necessary the establishment of a media relations unit or means at least having a dedicated media spokesperson. Voluntary organisations for a long time have had contact with media organisations such as newspapers, radio, and television and they have been eager to receive attention through their communication channels. A study exploring the communication work of voluntary organisations in the United Kingdom found that a large majority of organisations saw the media coverage they received as being positive and that these organisations had established some sort of press office or hired an external public relations person (Deacon, 1996). But voluntary organisations operating at a national level had to a higher degree invested in public relations and communications work than organisations operating on a local level. According to the study, larger organisations with higher annual budgets were more likely to produce press materials, run news conferences, or recruit marketing experts. Deacon (1996) points out that richer organisations were more likely to receive coverage on a range of issues and that a greater presence in the media was also linked to higher levels of investment in media work and professionalisation of their communications work.

These findings, already discovered in 1996, are also supported by recent research, carried out by Ronald Jacobs and Daniel Glass (2002) when they explored non-profit organisations in New York. They found that an organisation's income and the number of paid staff contributed significantly to receiving media publicity. With their study of the media representation of voluntary organisations in Canada, Greenberg and Walters (2004) support the finding that the annual budget has a strong impact on the media attention an organisation receives. Although media publicity is often deemed to be beneficial for a non-profit, an analysis of nine major newspapers in the United States, exploring the framing and agenda-setting functionality of non-profits portrayed in the media, found that articles are often not thematically framed and tend to be less favourable when examining the non-profit sector as a whole (Hale, 2007).

Information and communication technologies

While the media and newspapers in particular have played a major role for non-profits in receiving coverage in the last few decades, new information and media technologies have become more important over the last 20 years. Natural disasters such as famines or tropical storms are well suited for explaining how organisations make use of new communications technologies today, for example by asking for donations online, as humanitarian aid agencies must rapidly respond to humanitarian needs. However, while non-profits might be quick to respond to timely issues, they often underutilise the potential of interactive platforms and provide only basic information on their websites (Lang, 2013). In the meantime, communication intermediaries and platforms for action, such as moveon.org, change.org, or Avaaz for filing online petitions or JustGiving or GoFundMe for online fundraising, fill the void left by non-profits' inability to communicate directly to the stakeholders relevant to them. This is achieved by persuading users to sign petitions and subscribe to email newsletters in order to stay informed and be contacted again for similar causes. Over the last two decades, the media landscape has deeply changed, adding the internet and a variety of social media platforms as new media outlets for humanitarian agencies allowing them to communicate directly with the public.

However, there are multiple downsides to feeding and maintaining the constant readiness of public communication conduits for non-profits too. Creating attention in the global news media or on social media platforms requires organisations to have the resources, such as professional communications staff, to carry out this task. Though, lots of non-profits lack the organisational resources needed for successfully competing for attention in news media or on social media platforms (Thrall … Sweet, 2014). Thus, non-profits are facing stiff competition as they navigate their path through the vast digital media environment, setting up profiles and advocating for their issues in an atmosphere where users' attention becomes a scarce resource (Nah & Saxton, 2013). As a result, non-profits must make choices regarding the efficiency and applicability of the media they employ for supporting their mission.

Media and Information Technologies as Game Changers

Already in the mid-1990s, researchers from various academic backgrounds explored how new ways of information distribution might change our daily life by delivering tailored news right

to the interactive screens in our home (Negroponte, 1995), something which by today has become a modern day standard, with international tech companies such as Google (Auletta, 2010), Facebook and a few others shaping and selling what we get to look at and interact with on a daily basis (Turow, 2011). What was called 'utopian' rather quickly became a reality, seen from the perspective of technological innovation, with the advertising business at the forefront of harvesting the 'attention' of users, by employing technology to ever more exactly track a users' online movement (Wu, 2016). This development has shifted the focus on how people surfed the information highway and its more interactive successors – social network sites.

The power to transform contemporary society is rooted within the emergence of new communication and media technologies, as they have deeply altered the principles of space and time through which modern social life is shaped (Thompson, 1995; Surratt, 2001; Castells, 2010). In an article published in 1998, Kent and Taylor put forward the idea that the internet will play a major role for public relations in the future noting: "Virtually every industry, product, activity, and public pursuit is referenced somewhere on the WWW, and although not every organization currently maintains a Web site, it is not unlikely that in the near future many will" (1998, p.321). Over the last decades, information and communication technologies have seen an extraordinary rise in both distribution and use. Research has looked, for example, at how the internet is used to form virtual communities (Rheingold, 2000) or how it benefits the development of 'alternative media' to support political movements (Couldry & Curran, 2003). Yochai Benkler noted in 2006 that through far-reaching changes in technology, economic organisations and social practices, new opportunities are created that "make possible a radical transformation of how we make the information environment we occupy as autonomous individuals, citizens, and members of cultural and social groups" (2006, p.1f). However, given recent developments in society, politics, culture, the impact of communication and information technologies on our lifeworld is perceived to be ambivalent.

Optimists vs pessimists

New information technologies have often fuelled people's hopes and fears at the same time, although it seems wrong to fall into this overly simplistic dichotomy. For example, this thinking is mirrored through the ongoing debate on the political value of the internet which

has often been framed as being a debate between cyber-optimists and cyber-pessimists. In a positive way, online technologies and new media have been hailed for being supportive of democracy in that they offer ways for citizens to engage in discussions and participate in politics, for example via blogging, net-based activism, or online networking (Papacharissi, 2010). While the internet was heralded as being the medium that allows for greater participation – be it political or civil (Slevin, 2003) – it has at the same time spurred threads of supporting surveillance and provided authoritarian regimes with the necessary tools for suppressing freedom of expression and basic human rights (Morozov, 2011).

Even more, some say that it has nurtured democratic values and created political internet elites that "are not necessary more representative of the general public than the old elites" (Hindman, 2008, p.141) and that it serves as an 'echo chamber' (Sunstein, 2009) for like-minded people, thereby limiting the exposure their might receive from people who think differently from themselves. For instance, political blogs reinforcing shared views but at the same time making it harder to expose oneself to opinions that run counter to one's own beliefs. Some have argued not to ask whether information technologies are "good or bad" (Baym, 2010, p.150) for personal relationships but instead point out that they are ever more woven into our various social interactions and therefore have become part of our everyday life. Sherry Turkle (2011), while studying the changing relationship between computers and humans – or put differently "'digital natives' growing up with cell phones and toys that ask for love" (2011, p.xii) – , suggested that as a result, "we expect more from technology and less from each other" (2011, p.295).

What has been exemplified for blogs is also viewed to be ambivalent for the search engine which more than half of all internet users use on a daily basis: Google. As a result of changing their terms of use, Google was enabled to incorporate personal search patterns into users search results through a modified search algorithm, at this moment creating a personal 'filter bubble' (Pariser, 2011) per user. With the page rank algorithm, search results are calculated differently for every person, creating a personal bubble where users get swept up in a pool of user data without a real choice of opting out while they are served highly personal data, not least to return a high revenue when clicking on ads, which are, of course, streamlined to a users' individual search. As users receive individual results, filter bubbles create the equivalent to echo chambers on blogs: fragmented spaces that offer them more of what they like to hear

and see regarding their personal views, or what they are most likely to read and buy through a Google search.

Being connected can "help us find what we want, but not always what we need" (Zuckerman, 2013, p.6). He argues that while we can follow the news in distant countries and from different cultures, we tend to be more interested in what our friends and neighbours do. However, we would benefit more from these global connections by using the multiple ways to access different perspectives, listen to different opinions, and pay attention to the unfamiliar. To 'rewire' with the world, we have to use old and new tools to explore and understand. For instance, to give voice to the voiceless, the Global Voices project, founded in 2004 as a global blogging platform, offers news from underrepresented voices to numerous countries around the world in over 30 languages (ibid., p.121ff).

A few other facts surrounding social media networks and their parent companies have to be kept in mind when assessing their long-term impact. While it has been pointed out that social media can be used for good and bad and that perceptions on how social media affect and shape society and culture can often be divided into two factions, recent developments have to be considered too. The growing use of big data and algorithms to calculate not only what advertising we see, but also which insurance company is likely to take us on, have been highly disputed among politicians, journalists, and researchers alike. Some warn that tendencies do now tend to foster utopian views, leading us into a 'new dark age', steered and carried out by information and communication technologies and their parent companies (Bridle, 2018).

The rise of four major companies, Facebook, Google, Amazon, and Apple, which are responsible for most of today's internet traffic and revenue, thereby underpinning a new global elite of technology companies and their leaders influencing our everyday lives, is seen to be a major problem for our economy and society (Galloway, 2017). Moreover, with tech companies such as Google and Facebook, being essentially media companies, as over 90 per cent of their revenue comes from advertising, these media companies combine an unprecedented monopoly in the attention industry, imposing a vast economic and political influence over our lifeworld (Auletta, 2018). A perceived need to regulate and hold these companies accountable seems more necessary than ever, as fake news, accountability and trust issues, rising notions of a lack of understanding the conceptions of privacy standards, and a

hitherto unprecedented control over markets, is in the hands of a few globally operating tech companies.

In summary, legacy media and new media have changed the way we perceive and interact with society, culture, politics, and the economy. There are many other examples like the ones mentioned above. But to understand how they affect how people communicate and interact today and what that means for non-profit organisations like community foundations working at a local level, it is necessary to understand the changes that transformed today's media ecology and helped grow it to what it has become today.

The Rise of Social Media Platforms

Although social networks were launched in as early as 1997, the rise of social media dates to the public accessibility of the large social networks such as YouTube in 2005 and Facebook and Twitter in 2006 (Boyd & Ellison, 2007). Social Network sites (SNSs) did not come out of nowhere. They often built upon pre-existing networks with a regional, cultural, or political focus. SixDegrees.com, launched in 1997, was the first social network that allowed users to "list their Friends and, beginning in 1998, surf the Friends list" (ibid., p. 214). A range of networks such as Friends Reunited (2000), Friendster (2002), and MySpace (2003) were founded before Facebook was even programmed and made available to a limited number of persons on campus only. Social networks such as Last.FM, Dogster, or Flickr focus on specific groups of users, in this case, music lovers, dog lovers, or photo sharing enthusiasts respectively. By the time the wider social network hype had started, earlier networks such as SixDegrees had already shut down.

A definition of social networks

To separate social networks from other network-like web services, Boyd and Ellison (2007, p.211) suggest three criteria networks have to fulfil to be called social networking sites: (1) users must be allowed to create a public or semi-public profile within a given system, (2) they have to have a list of users with whom they are connected; and (3) users must be able to view and explore the lists of users set up by other users.

As this applies to numerous networking sites, only a few were able to reach a global audience and can show a growing audience over the years. Facebook and Twitter have been

able to build a global community of users (except, of course, in countries where they are being blocked, as is the case for Facebook and Twitter in China). A rapidly growing user base, extraordinary events, and opportunities for corporations to make money from users' activities which they freely share with the platform, have helped those two networks to thrive. For Twitter, the moment it gained public attention came when it was used by protesters and various political groups in the uprisings in the Middle East region to topple authoritarian regimes, most frequently referred to as 'the Arab Spring' (Castells, 2012). Consequently, Twitter has been used for various causes in political and civil protests around the world, such as protests against climate change (Segerberg & Bennett, 2011), the global Occupy Movement (Theocharis, 2013; Kavada, 2015), and the Anti-Fracking Movement (Hopke, 2015), to name a few. Moreover, social media platforms have shaped how political campaigns, parties, and politicians interact (Ross & Bürger, 2014; Bruns & Highfield, 2013) and the way the public discusses politics (Sorensen, 2016; Scullion … Molesworth, 2011).

A factor of success for social network sites such as Facebook, Twitter, or blogs is the assumption that these platforms allow content to go 'viral' (Wasik, 2009). This means that stories spread through the internet, allowing for the creation of ad-hoc movements such as 'flash mobs' by creating a 'buzz' around a certain issue, while bypassing the traditional media as gatekeepers at the same time (Gillespie, 2010; Holiday, 2012). This, in turn, is because the audience was tired of only *watching* and became increasingly keen on *interacting* with others globally. Don Tapscott points out that the so-called 'net generation' (another term for millennials), which includes anyone born between 1977 and 1997, grew up with computers and was shaped by the presence of technology from early on. To them, "the Internet is like the fridge" (2009, p.41). According to Tapscott's (2009) own research, these technologies have changed their brain structure in that they have a better hand-eye coordination due to playing computer games, and are better at critical thinking, whereas their skills to memorise have gone down. However, more importantly, they have different norms which are important for understanding how they will change the market, how they will work, learn, or plan their future. Millennials want freedom to do what they want, they love to customise their lives, they scrutinise companies' products and practices, they demand integrity, openness, and innovation, they expect play and entertainment in their work, relationships, collaborations and speed of communication are important for them too (ibid.). As a result, millennials use the internet remarkably differently to previous generations like the 'baby boomers', who were

born between 1946 and 1965, and who grew up with television. The net generation is more active in reading news online, watching YouTube, and commenting on blogs, than the generation before them.

The platformization of social media

While users have adapted to the new communication environment, social networking sites have embraced their users too. As millennials share their data with social networks, Facebook and the like are increasingly aiming at connecting their users with advertisers and developers, thereby firmly positioning themselves within a rapidly growing global market for user data. By developing a technological architecture featuring application programming interfaces (API) that allow developers to expand the network by including and mixing external data with users' preferences, these sites have transformed into feature-rich digital spaces, thus following a trend of 'platformatization' of social networking sites (Helmond, 2015). Platform functionalities such as Facebook's Like button or Twitter's Tweet button serve the intensive data platforms in that they enable the platforms to quantify and measure user engagement, track users' actions, thus generating a 'like economy' (Gerlitz & Helmond, 2013).

The prospect of measuring users' behaviour made social media platforms attractive for targeted advertising, hence raising interest from corporations. Recent developments see a return to old habits, as traditional media conglomerates are trying to increase their revenue streams through social media platforms. Michael Wolff (2015), an advisor and journalist, points out that the promises of the digital creative economy might soon be overtaken by established media conglomerates such as Time Warner, Disney, News Corp, or Comcast, which would put them in a strategy arrangement that has worked well for them for at least the last half century. Signs of this trend are already visible across the media sector in the United States. Traditional news organisations such as *The New York Times* suddenly became video content producers, thereby offering their readership a premium function. Wolff argues that while an amateurish consumer culture – which has also be described as 'participatory culture' (Jenkins, 2006) – was enabled by blogs and platforms providing free content, such as YouTube providing video or *Gawker* and T*he Huffington Post* providing celebrity news and gossip, the platform's potential to create a buzz around an issue is of interest to established traditional media corporations who neglected or underestimated the platform's relevance in advertising

and marketing for too long. In the meanwhile, media corporations have found ways to profit from the elaborated tracking of user behaviour on social media platforms, providing the users with tailored content and advertising (Wu, 2016). Besides the monetarization of amateur content through advertising, new premium models for video have developed in the form of platforms such as Netflix, by delivering content without advertisements.

However, with big corporations taking hold of the platforms on which users create and share their thoughts, emotions, and creative works, these companies facilitate an even stronger resemble of the established media industry, thereby exploiting the once (free) creative culture which emerged through participatory websites and networks. While this development puts into the spotlight the transformative nature of the internet and the multiple ways corporations are trying to benefit from it, Astra Taylor, a documentary filmmaker, points out that "technology alone cannot deliver the cultural transformation" (2015, p.10) to change the underlying social and economic force – people have to.

Trends in social media use

The number of individuals using the internet has risen in recent years and the number of people using social media platforms has increased substantially too. The number of social media users grew from nearly one billion users in 2010 to about 2.34 billion users in 2016, with an estimate of 2.95 billion active social media users by 2020 (EMarketer, 2017). Besides the fact that more people use social media platforms, they also spend a considerable amount of time using them. While users spent a daily average of 96 minutes on social media platforms in 2012, they already spent 118 minutes in 2016, an increase of nearly a quarter within four years (Statista, 2017).

As of April 2017, Facebook is the social network used most often worldwide. With almost two billion users, one in four people worldwide is using Facebook (see figure 2.4). The second most commonly used platform is YouTube, the video platform now owned by Google (Alphabet), with about one billion active users. WhatsApp, as well as Facebook Messenger, WeChat and QQ are messenger applications. Other popular networks such as Instagram, a popular social network now owned by Facebook, focuses on visuals, as do Tumblr and Pinterest. The share of internet users visiting social networking sites in the United Kingdom and Germany is 64 per cent and 41 per cent respectively (We Are Social, 2017). In the United

Kingdom the social media platforms used most often in September 2017 were Facebook (71%), YouTube (52%), and Twitter (33%) (eMarketer, 2018). For Germany, the numbers are slightly different, as they are measured over a period of one year (June 2017–2018), however, they show that internet users in Germany most frequently use Facebook (61.28%) followed by Pinterest (21.61%), and YouTube (6.83%) (StatCounter, 2018). With 4.49 per cent, Twitter only comes fourth.

Figure 2.4: Active users on the most famous social network sites, worldwide (April 2017, author's own figure)
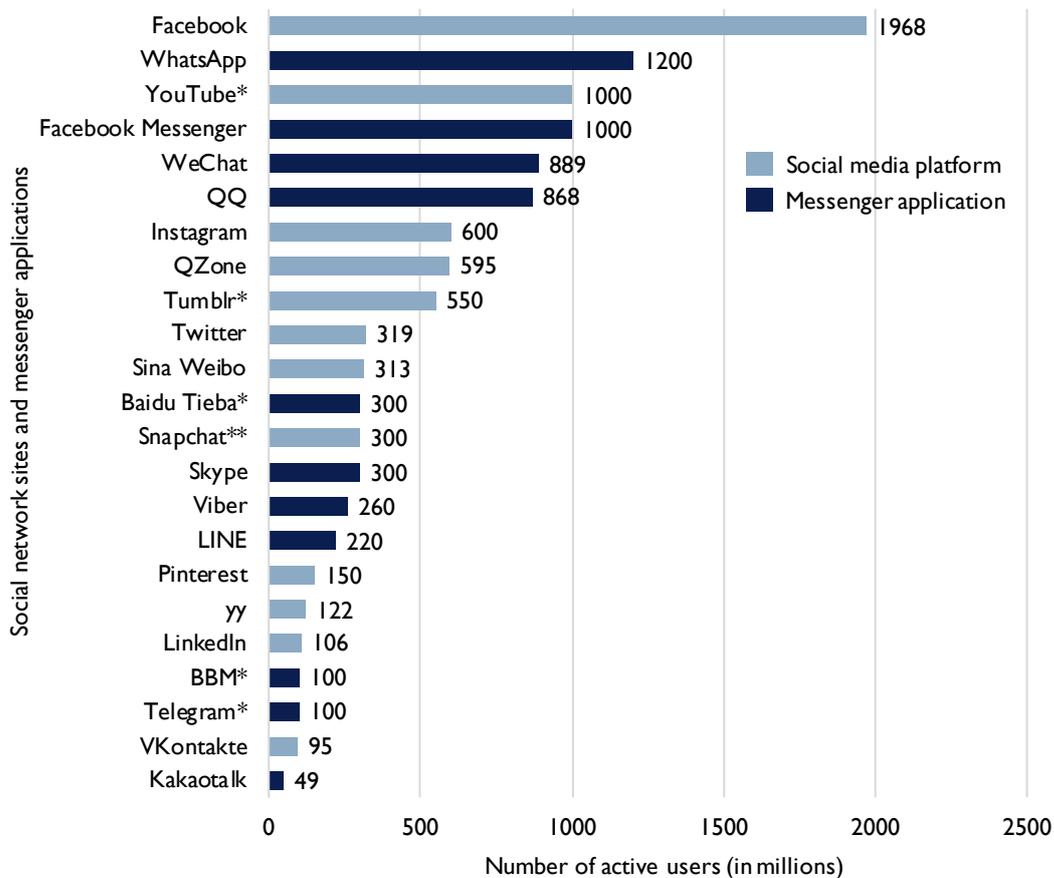
*Platforms have not published updated user gures in the past 12 months, gures may be out of date and less reliable **Snapchat does not publish monthly active user data, the gure used here was reported by Business Insider in June 2016, based on daily active users

As the use of social media platforms is still growing, opportunities for non-profits and charities to potentially engage with stakeholders will too. A recently conducted survey found that about an average of 15 per cent of internet users follow a charity on social media (Chase, 2017). While the number of users actively following a charity differs per region, for example, only 11 per cent in Europe and a moderate amount of 17 per cent in North America, but 25 per cent in the Middle East and Africa region, it shows that a substantial share of people engages with charities on social media platforms.

Traditional media use in the United Kingdom and Germany

While social media are on the rise, newspapers have lost readers in recent years but are nevertheless widely circulated. In the UK, thirteen national newspapers (e.g. *The Guardian*, *The Times*, *Daily Mail*) reach 24.9 million people every day through various channels (Newsworks, 2018). Even more important, according to a Newsworks report, 45 per cent (6.4 million) of all 18–34-year olds are still reached through newspapers. However, it is important to acknowledge the medium through which they consume the news. In March-April 2018, 13.3 million readers were reached by the traditional newspaper, but about 4 million read the news on the desktop and 12.4 million on their mobile device (ibid.). Taking cross-media publishing into consideration, newspapers in the United Kingdom have gained 11.6 million readers during the time from April 2017 to March 2018, signalling that have compensated for the loss in print reach. Germany is Europe's largest market for newspapers, having a daily reach of 40.61 million readers, according to the Bundesverband Deutscher Zeitungsverleger (2018). Besides offering online versions of their newspaper as so called 'epaper', German newspapers have heavily adapted to the internet age, having 698 newspapers with an online presence (local and national newspapers) (ibid.).

Cross-medial ways ahead

Non-profits have to tailor their content to the needs of a particular audience and the affordances of a cross-media marketplace, as journalism and legacy media are no longer the only media channels. Social media has enabled non-profits to circumvent traditional gatekeepers such as newspapers and television, as social media platforms operate through different media logics. As a result, non-profits increasingly adopt social media platforms for public outreach and public relations strategies. For example, social media campaigns such as Kony 2012 or WaterForward, initiated by Invisible Children (IC) and Charity:Water, have been highly successful in raising awareness for child soldiers and the all-changing effect of having clean water, by using established social media platforms such as Facebook (see chapter 4).

However, research into ways to amplify advertising campaign messages in the United Kingdom has shown that a mix of media outlets holds potential for rising share growth and raised customer loyalty (Newsworks, 2018). For humanitarian non-profits, social media has

shown to be an effective instrument for spreading the word and raising awareness for direct crisis response and campaigning. Non-profits have adapted to using social media and used their functionality for various purposes. These include advocating for their issues (Lovejoy & Saxton, 2012; Bürger, 2015; Auger, 2013), building sustainable relationships through dialogue (Nah & Saxton, 2013), seeking donation and crowdsourcing their initiatives (Waddingham, 2013; Amtzis, 2014), engaging new donors (Smitko, 2012), and campaigning for their issues.

Whereas mass media logics have operated as traditional gatekeepers, choosing what gets published based on news values and getting distributed using established pathways, in a networked media logic, users distribute content via their personal networks of like-minded peers (Klinger & Svensson, 2015). The way users interact with the platform relies upon its affordances, thereby tailoring and limiting the possible interactions to specific tasks, such as volunteering through 'microaction design' in the case of the micro-volunteering platform Sparked (Ilten, 2015). In a networked media logic, the user becomes the distributor and curator of news based on personal preferences and algorithms built into mainstream platforms such as Facebook and Twitter (Brake, 2014). While this cuts out the middle-men in traditional legacy media such as newspapers, users of social media platforms become gate-keepers themselves, as they actively direct the attention and engagement they devote to following up the content that gets shared and liked (Gerlitz & Helmond, 2013).

Conclusion

Already in the late 1990s, the new information technologies, websites in particular, were heralded as being excellent tools for non-profits to engage in public discourse (Kenix, 2007). This promise has not yet materialised. However, it is safe to say that non-profits have turned to using social media platforms for building public support and increased visibility as well as seeking donation and raising support for crises response (Muralidharan … Shin, 2011). Social media has changed the way international aid agencies respond to disasters, how they coordinate their campaigns, and thus essentially transformed their communications strategy (Smith, 2010; Guo & Saxton, 2013). As they adapt to new media channels and adapt their media practices, non-profits increasingly turn to social media platforms for acquiring publicity and building social media capital (Saxton & Waters, 2014; Saxton & Guo, 2014). This challenging hybrid media system provides them with a 24/7 always active environment for engaging with stakeholders, informing the public and raising funds (Chadwick, 2013).

Over the past decades, non-profits have undergone fundamental changes regarding the way they operate due to developments and trends such as marketization and professionalisation of non-profit organisations (Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004). As a result, the relationship between governments, the market, and non-profits has changed too. The broad adoption of practices of 'doing good' through corporate entities, for example, in the form of venture philanthropy, corporate social responsibility and corporate volunteering, points to the adoption of neoliberal market logics that are changing traditional modes of operation, thereby making non-profits increasingly 'businesslike' (Maier … Steinbereithner, 2016). At the same time, non-profits are becoming more professional in how they run their operations and how they communicate their issues to the wider public, using various communication channels and employing communication experts and public relations professionals (McKeever, 2013). While organisations have adapted to using traditional media and new media platforms, they have also become increasingly dependent on the media, as the media have become an important key factor for organisations for fostering legitimacy, build trust, marketing, and raising visibility for non-profits.

This chapter has critically analysed the roots of philanthropy in contrast to other non-profit organisations such as charities. Thus, we can state that the sector has extended over the last decades and assumes greater importance on the global stage. Despite the financial crisis which has seen a decline in financial assets of foundations, the number of community foundations in the United Kingdom and Germany has grown at a moderate level since the early 2000s. To shed light on how traditional and new media affect and change non-profits, it is vital to look at how communication professionals in foundations make use of the various media channels and platforms at their disposal. The following chapter reviews the academic literature on information and communication technology (ICTs) and social media within the third sector in order to provide a basis for the subsequent analysis of the communications strategies of community foundations in the United Kingdom and Germany.

Chapter 3.

The 'Networked Non-Profit':
Non-profits, ICTs, and Social Media

In recent decades, popular use and consumption of information and communication technologies (ICTs) and social media as a form of ICT has been on the rise (Perrin, 2015). This has had implications for the way in which organisations across a range of sectors operate (Kenix, 2008; Macnamara & Zerfass, 2012) including the practices and strategies of the non-profit sector (Saxton, 2001). At the same time, a substantial body of scholarship has emerged, looking, for example, at the ways in which non-profit organisations engage with stakeholders (Bortree & Seltzer, 2009), raise money (Saxton and Wang, 2013) or attract volunteers (Zorn … Henderson, 2013). Nonetheless, however diverse non-profits are in terms of their goals, size and other factors, Spencer (2002) argues that they tend to be "typically a step behind for-profit and government organizations in capitalizing on new technology" and fail to harness the full potential of new technical developments. Moreover, in 2007, Hackler and Saxton noted that, despite the rise in the use of information and communication technology by non-profits, there seem to be "several critical deficiencies in the typical non-profit's employment of IT" (2007, p.482) regarding the implementation of information technologies at a strategic level.

The purpose of this chapter is to take stock of what we now know about non-profits and ICT and social media to provide a nuanced analysis of why, how and to what effect non-profit organisations have adopted ICT and social media. Through the literature review, six functions referring to non-profits were found: (1) adopting media, (2) building relationships, (3) advocacy, (4) accountability, (5) giving and fundraising, and (6) volunteering (a description of

the literature review's methodology is included in the Appendix). This chapter explores the literature through these functions and situates the analysis within debates about the mediatization of societies, on the one hand, and the marketization of non-profit organisations, on the other.

Adopting Media

A number of researchers have analysed the implementation and adoption of information and communications technology within non-profits (Eimhjellen … Strømsnes, 2013; Hackler & Saxton, 2007; Kenix, 2008; Zorn … Shoham, 2011; Chang … Chang, 2010; McMahon … Lemley, 2015). In recent years, the focus has shifted from ICTs to how social media has been adopted within organisations in the third sector (Curtis … Sweetser, 2010; Nah & Saxton, 2013; Zorn … Henderson, 2013; Attouni & Mustaffa, 2014). Much of what is known about the adoption of ICTs, including social media underlines the influence of different organisational factors, that is of a variety of organisational and contingent characteristics of non-profits.

At first, researchers analysed how non-profits adopt ICTs to support an organisation's internal competencies at a strategic level by, for example, looking at non-profits' webpages (Yeon … Kiousis, 2007). It was found that understanding the potential of ICTs by non-profit leaders and management is crucial to an organisation's success and that it is essential to understand that "IT is much more than just the Internet or e-mail" (Hackler & Saxton, 2007, p.480). For example, Saidel and Cour (2003) used semi-structured interviews with executives, professionals and administrative support members within three large non-profits in the human services field, to assess the ways in which information technologies affect workplace processes, including the transformation of jobs, the migration of work tasks within specific units but also the job satisfaction of employers and the distribution of power within the organisation. They discovered that especially the work tasks of professional employers have changed. Executive directors, for example, now have to write their own memos, their own reports and also schedule their own meetings: tasks that have previously been taken care of by secretaries. Also, the influence of ICTs on task migration and expansion seemed to be manifold. With "spreadsheets, databases, and Web design and maintenance" they note that every employer within the organisation "must now be more of a technician" (2003, p.11f), something that also leads to the emergence of new job and career opportunities within the

wider sector. With a growing demand in technical skills such as software knowledge, non-profits find themselves in a situation where they have to offer training for their unskilled workers. On the one hand, training workers seemed to be a special challenge for non-profits as financial resources were often not available for additional IT training. On the other hand, those skills were recognized as being needed to be competitive in the sector.

The competition between non-profits seems to play a certain role in the adoption process of technologies on a national level, as Zorn et al (2011) found. They stated that the adoption cannot be predicted merely by using organisational characteristics but that organisations feel the need to mimic influential organisations based on their perceived social impact. A possible reason is "that organizations most likely to adopt and use ICTs were those who scanned their peer organizations for emerging technologies and technology-related practices and had the expertise to make sense of and use them" (Zorn … Shoham, 2011, p.19). Based on the measurement of six strategic organisational competencies such as IT planning, budgeting, measurement of IT effectiveness or the leaders' understanding of the strategic potential of information technology, Hackler and Saxton (2007) noted that charities with lower budgets seemed to have fewer computers with internet access and that training on how to use IT systems was also minimal, with only about 9 per cent of the budget available for this purpose. The absence of a strategic vision and the lack of technical expertise were seen as the two major challenges for non-profits in the future, as well as the need to orchestrate the strategic goals of ICTs, build capacity through training, and evaluate its overall effectiveness.

Different organisational factors such as strategy, capacity of a non-profit or the budget (Zorn … Henderson, 2013; Eimhjellen … Strømsnes, 2013; Nah & Saxton, 2013), the gender of employees, or the amount of trust in social media platforms (Curtis … Sweetser, 2010) were found to have an impact on the likelihood that a non-profit would adopt social media. A lack of resources and negative perceptions of social media tools and their potential benefits were revealed as reasons not to use social media (Zorn … Henderson, 2013). Furthermore, the budget of a non-profit seemed to play a certain role, especially in terms of embedding an understanding of social media practices within an organisation. While new reasons for rejecting social media have come to light, established factors such as the size of an organisation seem to have become less relevant according to recent studies. Nah and Saxton (2013) examined social media data from 100 non-profit organisations with a focus on organisational key factors, such as strategy, capacity, government and environment by

analysing the overall adoption of social media tools, the frequency of use, and the use of dialogic elements. They suggest that the size of an organisation, which was said to have a strong impact on the adoption of new technologies in general, seems to have become less of a driving factor.

However, investigating possible barriers to the adoption of social media, Eimhjellen (2013) found that an organisation still has to be of a certain size before it can recognise social media as useful. Furthermore, he suggested that a digital divide, linked to the age of the employees, seemed to affect the adoption process. Curtis et al. (2010) showed that gender also plays a role. They found that, on average, women consider social media to be more beneficial than men do, and that organisations with a public relations department are more likely to adopt social media practices. In addition, trust in social media tools seems to be an important component for adopting social media as well as using social media for public relations. It is important to note that besides internal organisational factors like asset size or having a strategic vision and capacity, external factors such as pressure from donors and competitors also influence the adoption of ICTs and social media. Nevertheless, external factors such as the reliance on public donations can drive non-profit organisations to implement new technologies (Nah & Saxton, 2013).

These findings have practical consequences for non-profits seeking to implement new media practices. Quinton and Fennemore (2013) explored the factors which contribute to or hinder the adoption and implementation of strategic marketing and the use of social networks by UK charities and found a set of drivers and resistors influencing the adoption and strategic use of social networks. For example, monitoring systems and the creation of a strong and informed leadership seemed to be drivers, whereas a non-profit's fear of losing control over the organisation's reputation or a lack of expertise seemed to be resistors. As technology has developed, so has research into its use. While early research mainly looked at the adoption of information and communication technologies such as computers in general or email as a service, research later broadened this view by combining internal and external reasons for adopting technolgies, such as an organisation's strategy or external pressure.

Building Relationships

The World Wide Web has been hailed as the new tool for building relationships with the public (Kent & Taylor, 1998). Over the last decade, non-profit organisations have increasingly adopted these new communication channels for dialogue with the stakeholders and the public. A study conducted in Norway found that while only 16 per cent of the surveyed voluntary organisations used the internet in 1998, this figure had risen to 79 per cent by 2009, with 89 per cent of the organisations having a website and 25 per cent having a profile on a social network site (Eimhjellen … Strømsnes, 2013). Platforms such as Facebook enrich and extend the orgsanisations' connections in terms of "information distribution, outward contact, and debate and discussion" (ibid., p.16). Researchers now suggest that this has led to the emergence of a new resource called 'social media capital', which influences stakeholder management via social media (Saxton & Guo, 2014).

Several studies have found a correlation between the field in which a non-profit operates and their use of social media (Waters & Jamal, 2011; Waters … Lucas, 2009). For instance, non-profit organisations dealing with public/societal benefit (44%), health (26%) and human services (15%) were the organisations most prominent on Twitter (Waters & Jamal, 2011; Lovejoy … Saxton, 2012). Meanwhile, organisations oriented towards religion (7%), arts and culture (4%), or education (4%) tended to use Twitter much less often. Organisations in this study shared updates, announcements, and important upcoming dates. More than half of the information they shared originated from their own organisation (54%): for example, links to their own website, their blog, newsletter, news releases, or research findings. There is also a correlation between the field in which the non-profit operates and how they interact with stakeholders. For instance, non-profits within the arts and humanities sector used discussion boards to a greater extent than others. Donating money was used more often by non-profits who focused on healthcare (26%) or education (22%) (Waters … Lucas, 2009, p.105). Still, the authors conclude that "non-profits have not incorporated the vast majority of the Facebook applications available to them into their social networking presence" (ibid.). Thus, opportunities to engage and inform people are often missed.

In addition to the field of operation, the location of a non-profit is salient too. Waters and Lo (2012) analysed 225 non-profit organisations' Facebook profiles in the United States, China, and Turkey. While US and Chinese non-profits focused on communicating their

success, Turkish non-profits did not always provide information on their achievements. Non-profits from all three countries used Facebook at a professional level and differences between the qualitative standards were by and large due to the general trend of professionalisation in the global non-profit sector. Professionalisation and internationalisation seem to support the use of social media to engage in dialogue with stakeholders. Waters and Lo showed that the broader "adoption of business principles, especially in terms of organizational performance and accomplishing goals" (2012, p.313) seems to be a trend within non-profits operating at an international level. But it is not only large non-profits that employ social media for engaging with the wider public; smaller non-profits also do so. However, the results are mixed, as smaller non-profits experience challenges such as an "ineffective measurement of social media performance" or "deficient organizational resources" (Hou & Lampe, 2015). The growing professionalisation within non-profits and the diffusion of social media urges non-profits to target stakeholders and be clear about the use of social media-based resources. In order to successfully organise social media campaigns, non-profits will have to find the right balance between facilitating strong and weak ties with stakeholders (Deschamps & McNutt, 2014).

In terms of the message content and the flow of communication, it has been found that non-profits' messages can be categorised according to specific key functions (Lovejoy & Saxton, 2012; Lovejoy … Saxton, 2012) and that communication is still one-way rather than two-way (Saxton & Waters, 2014). However, research has also found that two-way communication via social media is still the most useful approach for organisations who want to build long lasting relationships (Cho … Haase, 2014). By analysing tweets, Lovejoy and Saxton (2012) identified three key functions of tweets: (1) *information*, (2) *community*, and (3) *action*. Other non-profits have been found to use Twitter for similar functions, for example sport-for-development organisations (Svensson … Hambrick, 2015). Lovejoy and Saxton (2012) also found that while tweets coded as *information* simply referred to the facts about an organisation, tweets that coded as *community* covered a range of practices like showing recognition and gratitude, acknowledging current and local events, and responding to solicitations, i.e. tweets in which non-profits try to actively engage stakeholders in dialogue. Messages that fit into the category *action* attempt to promote an event, to lobby, advocate, or to ask for donations. More than half of all tweets fitted into the category *information*, one quarter into the *community* category, and only about 16 per cent into the *action* category. It

seems that even in times of social media and the 'produser' – *information* is still the prevailing paradigm.

Non-profits can be further categorised based on the functions social media performs. Most of the non-profits analysed fall within the category of *information sources*, while only eight of the 59 organisations were categorised as *community builders* and even fewer as *promoters and mobilisers*. Indeed, Lovejoy and Saxton conclude that, while recent literature has stressed the need for non-profits to foster dialogue, their use is often primarily for "promotion, marketing, and mobilization" (2012, p.320). This is also reflected in another article where the same authors found that two-way communication strategies such as asking users to participate in a survey or a TweetUp, or to sign an online petition, were rarely used (Lovejoy … Saxton, 2012, p.323). Moreover, they point out that there are only "minimal results that indicate [that] social media results in conversation and community building" (2012, p.316).

A set of different rules seems to apply in the event of natural disasters and campaigns. During the earthquake in Haiti, users linked their posts to a wider community of people who wanted to be associated with a common cause by using the hashtags #Haiti or #Hopeforhaiti (Smith, 2010). Interestingly, compared with non-profits, users often employed two-way communication, such as dialogic feedback loops, and thereby demonstrated a general openness. 'Communicational commitment' and a 'conversational human voice' were used to show a user's personal commitment by coupling "publicity with personal commentary" (2010, p.323). This led Smith to conclude that "users may be more interested in representing an issue and belonging to a community than communicating personal insight" (ibid.). The example suggests that there is a potential link between the relationships cultivated between non-profits and stakeholders and the purpose for which social media is used. This is revealed through the analysis of the role that social media plays in specific areas, such as in relation to advocacy, accountability, fundraising, and volunteering.

Advocacy

The use of advocacy by non-profit organisations – especially electronic advocacy – has a long history and is seen as a key function of non-profit work, particularly in the United States (Child & Grønbjerg, 2007). An extensive body of practical literature exists on how non-profits

can use ICTs and social media to communicate and advocate for their causes (Kanter & Fine, 2010). Academic literature has seen a rise over the last decade and covers research on a broad range of issues such as the use of social media by advocacy organisations, the use of social media to advocate in times of crisis (e.g. Haiti), or the utilisation of social networks for the promotion of democracy (Auger, 2013; Obar … Lampe, 2012; Weberling & Waters, 2012; Bortree & Seltzer, 2009). The interest in advocacy and the increase in literature can partially be linked to the rise of activism and political and environmental movements, as social media is often used in combination or along with protests and their organisation (Harlow, 2011; Castells, 2012).

By using the internet for internal organisation and media advocacy, a non-profit is now able to inform a global audience through different advocacy channels for global issues such as climate change, poverty, human rights, or child welfare (Paek … Cole, 2013). Common channels are now YouTube (for videos), Flickr (for uploading visual material for the press), and platforms such as change.org or Avaaz (for petitions). Digital advocacy tackles issues on both a national level – for example health care (Galer-Unti, 2010) and political advocacy (Merry, 2013) – and a global level, for issues such as climate change (Hestres, 2013) or digital rights (Breindl, 2013). In recent years, researchers have analysed how non-profits have used social media for the promotion of a broad range of issues (Obar … Lampe, 2012; Weberling, 2012; Auger, 2013) and concepts. They have also looked at how advocacy organisations validate the veracity of social media information (McPherson, 2012). Recent studies suggest that Twitter is a powerful communication tool for educating the public, even if it is unable to mobilise people to act themselves (Guo & Saxton, 2013).

The analysis of digital advocacy on social media has typically looked at how non-profits used social media to create a communicative space for discussion, inform others, and facilitate dialogue. A study by Bortree and Seltzer (2009) investigated social media strategies by environmental advocacy groups on Facebook and found that three strategies for creating dialogue with stakeholders namely the conservation of members, the generation of return visits, and organisation engagement seem to be significantly related. Consequently, the more returning visitors a Facebook page has, the more user responses are generated. Organisational engagement with stakeholders had the most positive effects – for example, increased network activity, network growth, and more user responses. However, the authors conclude that "most of the advocacy organizations in our study seem to adopt the position that the mere creation

of an interactive space via a social networking profile is sufficient for facilitating dialogue"
(2009, p.318). Arguably, these organisations do not use social networks to their full potential
by encouraging stakeholders to become more involved.

Accountability

Non-profits are faced with a growing demand for transparency (Dumont, 2013). The internet
has extended the repertoires of practices for being transparent by enhancing information
flows. Non-profit organisations have set up projects to monitor their accountability efforts as
a sector. For example, the project Glasspockets,[9] established by the Foundation Center,
collects information on foundations to make them more transparent (Stannard-Stockton,
2010). An exchange of information is now also possible between stakeholders directly. This is
something that Vaccaro and Madsen (2009) termed 'dynamic transparency'. Research on
organisational factors such as the size of an organisation suggests that these have a significant
impact on the dissemination of information (Gálvez Rodríguez … Godoy, 2012) but that
information disclosure by non-profits is very low in general (Gandia, 2011). Saxton and Guo
(2011) developed a model in order to explain the role of different organisational factors in the
creation of accountability. Using this model, they found that websites can be used successfully
for the disclosure of information but are not so often used for dialogue. Factors linked to
capacity, especially asset size and governance, positively influenced the adoption of
accountability practices (2011, p.288). This finding was first revealed by Gandia (2011), who
examined whether information disclosure has a positive effect on the revenue of a non-profit.
According to Gandia, this is true as "the decision to adopt an informative strategy that
increases informative transparency on the internet favors the obtention of donations in the
future and contributes to the maintenance of the demand for goods and services of the
NGOD" (2011, p.75).

The next step in researching digital accountability was taken by Dumont (2013), who
invented an index for measuring accountability online. She found that larger non-profits were

---

[9] Glasspockets.org, Bringing transparency to the world of philanthropy,
http://www.ssireview.org/blog/entry/a_revolution_in_foundation_transparency, accessed 16. July 2014.

"demonstrating higher levels of virtual accountability" than smaller non-profits, "with the exception of the accessibility component, [where] even large nonprofits scored low on engagement as well as performance, governance, and mission information" (2013, p.1062). By contrast, Tremblay-Boire and Prakash (2015) revealed that larger non-profits disclosed less information than smaller ones.

Giving and Fundraising

The questions of how fundraising, giving, and volunteering can be made more sustainable are of fundamental interest to the survival and social impact of non-profits (Waters, 2008). The growth of the internet for fundraising, termed 'e-philanthropy', became a hype in the 1990s. The hope was that the internet could attract a new group of donors (Sargeant … Jay, 2007). Just as the rise of social media for fundraising has created new outlets for information about organisations, the participatory culture of social media like Twitter has changed the way organisations communicate with their stakeholders (Smitko, 2012). Although in research, the use of social media for fundraising is a rather recent research topic. This section explores how non-profits use websites for fundraising (Ingenhoff & Koelling, 2009), how the role of membership in a voluntary association influences giving (Reddick & Ponomariov, 2013) and how crowdsourcing is used in urban projects (Amtzis, 2014).

A recent study found that individuals are influenced in their decision to donate by the cost of information, for example how cumbersome it is for them to retrieve the information that convinces them to donate (McDougle & Handy, 2014). Another study found that the general growth of the networked society has a profound impact on the individual donor (Miller, 2009) and that the mobile use of Facebook has to be seen as a paradigm shift in how individuals donate money (Waddingham, 2013). For example, Bryan Miller (2009) from Cancer Research UK emphasised that the 'network society' as well as changes in the information pattern of consumers may led to a shift in how people will decide on where to donate money and where not. A growing deficit in trust in established media sources and governmental institutions on the one side, may be countered by a system generating trust through online recommendation. Online peer-to-peer recommendations make it easy to share thoughts and ideas through a users' social network. Thereby, the non-profit reaches more individuals than they would through their own network. He recommends that non-profits

should therefore try to make sharing own messages and events as simple as possible. Moreover, they should analyse where traffic to their websites origins from. Through the example of justgiving.com, Miller shows, how the amount of traffic to Cancer Research UK has fundamentally changed within August 2007 and July 2008. While most of the traffic came from google.com in August 2007, by July 2008, Facebook accounted for more than 20 per cent of the traffic, compared with about 17 per cent from Google.

Saxton and Wang (2013) demonstrated that the 'social network effect' of platforms such as Facebook allows non-profits of any size to reach out for donors. On Facebook, instead of the organisational size, the size of the social network of a potential donor increases the number of charitable contributions. A further study showed that many social media users in general donated more online and offline (Mano, 2014). Mano also found that ideological causes can positively affect the number of online contributions, whereas donors to faith-related causes prefer to donate offline. As mentioned above, the decision to donate money seems to be particularly linked to information costs. McDougle and Handy conclude that "individuals with higher information costs tend to rely on fewer information sources than those with lower information costs" (2014, p.12) to contribute to a cause. This implies that non-profits should be made aware of the individual characteristics of donors and "target communication efforts using the information media that these individuals are most likely to utilize" (ibid., p.15) in order to increase their credibility. Non-profits should reconsider how they use organisational information what information would encourage their target audiences to donate. Even more importantly, non-profits have to figure out how they can use social media to address the Millennial generation (Paulin … Fallu, 2014). Sharing via social media that someone has donated money to a non-profit plays a key role in peer-to-peer fundraising through social networks (Castillo … Wardell, 2014). As the third sector is diverse in scope, studies also investigate how social media alters the funding of projects at a local level. Amtzis (2014), for example, explored how Nepali non-profits use crowdsourcing to allow residents to have a say in the development of projects such as urban vegetable parks, rural hospitals, or cooperative schools.

Volunteering

ICTs and social media offer a range of new approaches to volunteering thereby challenging traditional modes of volunteering, employability, and social inclusion at the same time. They provide opportunities for internet-mediated or virtual volunteering, e.g. supporting a cause via social media, editing a podcast, or mentoring students online. Despite the rise in opportunities, published research on the use of ICTs and social media for volunteering is rather limited. The few existing studies address possible advantages and disadvantages (Conroy & Williams, 2014) or analyse the motivations to participate in internet-driven volunteering (Paylor, 2012). Examples of advantages are more engaged volunteers and an opportunity for non-profits to expand their services in the future. There are also clear disadvantages, such as the growing concern about the use of private data. Moreover, the notion that virtual volunteering is 'impersonal' and therefore requires a bigger communication effort from the non-profit, might pose a threat to the use of social media in this regard (Conroy & Williams, 2014).

Nonetheless, micro-volunteering is a rising trend in the virtual volunteering sector (Ellis, 2012). This might be due to the reason that people are able to choose exactly when and for how long they want to volunteer. For example, volunteers can spend 30 minutes a week on proofreading documents or using their knowledge of a specialist subject pro bono. As noted above, there is little research that examines the motivations of virtual volunteers and the possible impact of their actions. According to a survey, virtual volunteers are mostly young – 78 per cent are between the age of 16-34 – and there are slightly more female than male volunteers (56%). People volunteered not because of the reward (only 4%) but mostly to "fill some spare time and [because of] the convenience of the activity" (Paylor, 2012, p.5). The ease and speed of completing the required task and the range of opportunities to micro-volunteer were also incentives. Most of the participants wanted to volunteer again in the future (94%) and share the idea of volunteering with their family and friends (83%).

Possible Future Research

There has been a substantial rise in research into ICTs and social media, especially within the last two years. This review reveals both important implications for future research and guidance for practitioners. However, researchers have to bear in mind that social media

undergoes constant change due to technical advances in the software industry. There are also difficulties in accessing and retrieving data from social media platforms due to restricted licence regulations and technical specifications. This can, in part, be tackled by interdisciplinary research projects that combine the specialised strengths of various disciplines. Disciplines such as computer science and the rise of Big Data research can fundamentally alter our understanding of research on social media (Boyd & Crawford, 2012). It is also integral that future research on non-profits, ICTs, and social media builds on previous research designs and integrates findings from previous studies. The 'information, community, action' framework to evaluate relationship building on Twitter is a good example of how this can be achieved (Lovejoy & Saxton, 2012). Another important point for future research is the development of a stronger theoretical framework based on empirical evidence. This would allow to forge deeper connections between disciplines and allow the development of a distinct 'communication perspective' (Koschmann … Sanders, 2015). Based on the results of this review, a set of points for future research can be derived. Further recommendations for research are based on the three thematic topics developed throughout the article.

First, authors point out that more research is needed that takes country-specific non-profits, their structure, and their cultural principles into account. The cultural impact on the use of social media should be analysed to gain a better understanding of how external factors influence social media use (Waters & Lo, 2012). Second, future research should be carried out to examine the *relationship* between an organisation's mission and its use of social media. It is also worthwhile exploring in more depth whether models of public participation might need to be updated according to changing patterns of media reception practices. In addition, more research could be conducted into the implications of theoretical frameworks such as the Unified Theory of Acceptance and Use of Technology (UTAUT) framework. This research should include variables of an organisation's human resources and public relations model, not only in the top 400 non-profits but also in small and medium-sized non-profits. Furthermore, theoretical concepts such as social capital or mediatization could be analysed further and supported empirically. Factors that drive the adoption of social media and those that hinder it could also be analysed within smaller non-profits and include organisational factors, as well as information about the typology of the non-profit. Third, as non-profits are faced with a growing demand for *accountability*, the application and testing of the accountability index developed by Tremblay-Boire and Prakash (2015) could be applied to representative, cross-

national samples. The reliability and integrity of indices that measure accountability online should also be enhanced (Dumont, 2013). Moreover, effects of combining offline and online accountability could be explored further. Fourth, regarding *advocacy*, little research has been conducted into the social implications of a third major social media site – namely that of YouTube. Future research could therefore focus on how offline and online advocacy come together, and on how organisations can improve their advocacy tactics and attract the right target groups (Guo & Saxton, 2013). Research could also look at how social media can be integrated into broader, transnational advocacy campaigns to contribute to agenda building and framing around specific issues. Fifth, in terms of research on *fundraising* the factors that influence the number of donations made through social media have not been explored sufficiently. Research on fundraising and donor relationships should look at how individual motivation and trust in a specific type of communication or setting is related to giving (Mano, 2014). Furthermore, practices that change the landscape of donating online, such as slacktivism or impulse donating (Saxton & Wang, 2013) should be thoroughly investigated, as they hold the potential for a rather significant change in the way in which individuals give. Additionally, newer opportunities to fund projects through online donations via crowd-sourcing are under-researched. A more thorough investigation could contribute considerably to the emergence of new non-profits (Amtzis, 2014). Finally, research on *volunteering* through social media is very limited. More research could be carried out that takes different countries and their predominant volunteering structures into account and analyses the benefits of social media. This would enable us to gain a deeper understanding of micro-volunteering, its potentials, patterns, management, and it effects on the broader policy of volunteering (Paylor, 2012).

Conclusion

Information and communication technologies and social media are changing society and research suggests that non-profits could use these technologies for driving social change. Existing research on social media and non-profits partially reflects the challenges in the sector and provides initial findings, but a lot of questions remain regarding the use and impact of ICTs and social media on non-profit organisations. This chapter contributes to the current knowledge by summarising trends and developments through the construction of three

thematic topics and the identification of opportunities for future research. It reveals how research on ICTs and social media has incorporated existing concepts and approaches and points out what is still missing. It identifies various opportunities for researchers to contribute to future interdisciplinary along the major thematic topics presented in this review. The expansion of research into those thematic topics would also allow for a deeper understanding of the interactions between the non-profits, society, and the media. The benefits of analysing the foundations, structure, and consequences of the adoption and use of technology is therefore greatly rewarding for the third sector.

From a practical perspective, there seems to be a need for non-profits to adopt techniques and practices in order to sustain and advance their impact on society, for example by training staff and modernising the non-profit on an organisational level in order to make it competitive. Non-profits could take advantage of opportunities to demonstrate their accountability online by making information and decisions public. Even though some non-profits have embraced social media, finding the most effective approach to using social media to build relationships, advocate, or fundraise is challenging. Nevertheless, there is a need for non-profits to tailor social media to their own needs. It is well worth the effort, as social media is very likely to be the key driver for a range of activities that non-profits will carry out in the next few years.

The current pace of developments of social media platforms and services limits the explanatory power of older research models. Thus, early research on Facebook, for example, might no longer be entirely valid, as the platform has extended its functionality and changed communications processes significantly over the years. Future empirical research could support more robust theoretical frameworks for analysing the communication of non-profits in the future. The next chapter presents my theoretical approach and offers a way to incorporate the functions which non-profits use into a theoretical framework for empirical analysis of the primary data collected.

Chapter 4.

The Mediatization of Non-profit Organisations

The media have changed how we interact with the world and at the same time, interacting with the media has also shaped the media themselves (Krotz, 2007; Krotz & Hepp, 2011; Hepp … Lundby, 2010). As communication media such as radio, television, and the internet have spread globally, thereby creating "new forms of action and interaction in the social world, new kinds of social relationships and new ways of relating to others and to oneself" (Thompson, 1995, p.4), it is no easy task to analyse and understand the complexity and influence of today's global media system on society and culture. As society becomes increasingly mediated we are witnessing a change in how media are experienced and produced in various forms and to various degrees. The rise of social media is seen as a major starting point for a new age of content production in various industries such as the creative industry (Taylor, 2015) or journalism (Hermida … Logan, 2012; Broersma & Graham, 2013; Paulussen & Harder, 2014). At the same time social media are seen as the key drivers for mediated social interaction and engagement and the growth of different social media ecosystems where users take an active role in co-creating content and products (Bruns, 2013).

The changes within the media system are far reaching and – as Sonia Livingstone (2009) notes – scholars are often eager to write introductory paragraphs that cover as much of the recent changes in media and society as possible in order to highlight the media's impact on various societal fields. But despite the complexity of social media, although they have encouraged online discourse, ranging from political discourse up to music and fan culture (Jenkins, 2006), social media have downsides such as online harassment (Lindsay & Krysik,

2012) and the exclusion of entire communities (Hargittai & Walejko, 2008). Over recent years scholars have warned that technically mediated communications via the internet or social media could create an 'echo chamber' of like-minded people (Sunstein, 2009) or a 'filter bubble' (Pariser, 2011) (see chapter 2). Social media can also help authoritarian states to monitor their citizens (Morozov, 2011) and have created the myth of a new, utopian form of digital democracy, possible only through online interaction and participation (Hindman, 2008). There are many more examples that support and make visible the disruptive and destructive influence of social media in a networked society which operates under a neoliberal market logic (Fuchs, 2012).

Questions about the prospect and consequences for society and the relevance of the media in other societal fields such as politics and culture, have been on the rise for years, too. The theory of *mediatization* allows us to analyse the processes and phases in which organisations adapt and adopt to the media. But research on the mediatization of civil society and the non-profit sector is in its infancy. Opportunities for theoretical advancement have been inconsistent and at the margins of the involved disciplines or at the intersections of research fields for a long time. However, over the last decades media and communication scholars have come up with important theoretical and empirical concepts and frameworks in order to understand how social and cultural fields are influenced by the media (Hjarvard, 2008). Mediatization studies offer a way for engaging into interdisciplinary dialogue (Hjarvard, 2012).

The aim of this chapter is to draw together some of those theoretical approaches and concepts to advance our understanding of mediatization and the non-profit sector. This study raises a set of questions that will benefit from the comparative perspective applied in this study. Why and how have non-profits adapted to the structure, processes, and rules of the media, and to what extent? What does the process look like and what are the future consequences for these organisations? Why do some community foundations go further in adapting their processes and structures of the media than others?

To answer these questions, I will use mediatization as assumed by Stig Hjarvard, Friedrich Krotz, Andreas Hepp and others as the basis of my own theoretical framework, which will be presented later (Hjarvard, 2014; Hepp & Krotz, 2014; Schulz, 2004). First, a contextualisation of the mediatization of institutions and organisations that are subject to the media and the changing media landscape is provided. Second, research on mediatization and

its application as an empirical concept will be discussed. This part will also touch upon contemporary criticism of the concept. Third, a framework for analysing community foundations through the theoretical lens of current mediatization theory will be developed. This framework will subsequently be used as the basis for the analysis following in chapter 7.

Non-profits and Communication Theory

The relationship between society and the media is a fundamental question for modern societies and has been subject to decades of research in disciplines such as sociology, history, politics, or media and communication (Thompson, 1995). Over the past few years, media and communication studies have developed various approaches to this issue, for example by exploring questions such as: what do the media do with people? Or what do people do with the media? Both approaches have been applied numerous times throughout recent decades, but findings were not able to fully explain the interactions between society, culture, and media. While scholars found ways to analyse and theorise communication processes, those theories have aroused the interest of non-profit scholars only within the last two decades, pointing to a gap between disciplines that would greatly benefit from talking to each other.

But there is evidence that non-profit scholars have sporadically tried to cast light on the ways in which media and communication processes influence the work of organisations operating in the third sector. For instance, Laurie Lewis highlights that "organizations [from the civil society sector] have gone largely unstudied in terms of important managerial and communicative issues" (2005, p.242) and that organisational communication scholarship should invest more in doing research and theory building. Recently, Sarah Dempsey called for a closer examination and theorisation of the links between non-profits, communication, and power (Dempsey, 2012). Given the relevance of non-profits for civil society, it is even more surprising that this has not been pursued earlier.

As the literature review in chapter 3 suggested, the extent to which non-profit and communication scholars try to answer timely questions on how non-profits make use of information and communication technology has increased since 2005. However, a noticeable upturn in research published on this issue has only appeared over the last three to five years. This has revealed a development that is closely linked to the rise of social media platforms and the growing mediatization of the everyday lifeworld of people in western civilisations.

Although both non-profit and communication scholars have developed theories and adopted empirical methods to outline and establish research questions covering the intersection of both disciplines, shared tactics such as joint concepts, constructed to cross disciplinary boundaries, have only recently been suggested (Koschmann, 2012; Koschmann … Sanders, 2015). Matthew Koschmann, who summarised recent research developments on non-profits and communication theory, underlines that "despite the importance of communication to the non-profit sector and the research done in our field, communication scholarship is noticeably absent from, and has had relatively little impact on, the interdisciplinary field of nonprofit studies" (Koschmann … Sanders, 2015, p.2). Others point out that although research on the communication of non-profits exists, "scant attention has […] been paid to how processes of mediatization develop within and influence CSOs and how the media and CSOs relate to one another" (Grafström … Karlberg, 2015, p.228).

One reason for this is that while communication theory is valuable in analysing contemporary topics of media practice such as a shifting perspectives of accountability and how non-profits adopt to it (Saxton & Guo, 2011; Tremblay-Boire & Prakash, 2015), the discoveries of such analysis often follows an instrumental approach and therefore depend on a functionalistic logic of communication which is, in the end, unable to advance theory from a distinct communication perspective, as Koschmann (2015) argues. There are, of course, theoretical approaches that have been applied and advanced research on the communication of non-profits. Examples are Pierre Bourdieu's social capital theory for targeting non-profit stakeholders (Glanville … Wang, 2016; Saxton & Guo, 2014) and Mark Granovetter's (1983) approach for assessing the strength and relevance of social ties in order to advance research on volunteering through social media (Farrow & Yuan, 2011). However, while these approaches are helpful in advancing specific issues at the intersection of non-profit and communication theory, they fail to provide a clearer picture of the relationship between non-profits and the media in general.

With mediatization, however, communication theory has brought about a concept capable of delivering in-depth knowledge on how the media have transformed the way non-profits operate and how they have adapted to and adopted the media's rules and processes. This has to do with a major shift in how media and communication scholars analyse interactive and networked forms of communication across multiple spheres and places. In her International Communication Association (ICA) presidential address in 2008, Sonia

Livingstone carefully described the move from a perspective where the media are only one part of a social analysis to a change in perspective and perception where everything is mediated, with "the consequence being that all influential institutions in society have themselves been transformed, reconstituted, by contemporary processes of mediation" (2009, p.2). Moreover, research on media use and media effects have to take into account the "circumstance that society and culture have become mediatized" (Hjarvard, 2008, p.106). As a consequence, "one cannot analyze the relation between politics and the environment, or society and the family, without also recognizing the importance of the media—all these spheres and their intersections have become mediated" (Livingstone, 2009, p.2).

Through intertwining meta-processes such as mediatization, commercialisation (see chapter 2, marketization and professionalisation), individualism, and globalisation, the media have become omnipresent in countries of the western world, a constant companion in our daily lives, and therefore "a basic reference point for children, friends, family, and work" (Couldry & Hepp, 2013, p.193). But as the dependency on the media as mediators for cultural and political products increases and an ever-growing amount of content gets mediated via technical devices such as mobile phones and recently even watches, allowing constant access to the Internet, on-demand television, and video streaming, traditional theoretical and empirical concepts which analyse the interdependencies between society, culture and media had to fail. As a consequence of research only answering narrow questions, approaches in media and communication studies have "failed to answer key questions about why media mattered so much (and increasingly more)" (Couldry & Hepp, 2013, p.192).

In the editorial of a special issue of *Communication Theory*, Nick Couldry and Andreas Hepp state that "something is going on with media in our lives, and it is deep enough not to be reached simply by accumulating more and more specific studies that analyse this newspaper, describe how that program was produced, or trace how particular audiences make sense of that film on a particular occasion" (2013, p.191). Thus, a new way for analysing the transformational processes, interactions, and consequences of the media, on society, culture, politics, and economics had to be developed. The next section will look more closely at the emergence of mediatization as a concept and its implications for assessing the impact of the media as an institution on our lifeworld.

The Emergence of Mediatization as an Interdisciplinary Concept

The concept of mediatization brings together theoretical building blocks, traditions, and influences from several disciplines (Couldry, 2004; Knoblauch, 2013; Hjarvard, 2008; Krotz, 2007). Needless to say that there is not one definition of mediatization, but that each definition underlines or stresses a specific aspect of mediatization as an analytical concept by providing a particular theoretical lens. In general, an important point is that mediatization is regarded as being a meta-process which – besides other meta-processes such as globalisation – transforms society and culture at a macro-level. The rise of the mass media and new (interactive) media was accompanied by other long-term developments which Friedrich Krotz calls *meta-processes* and which "describe and explain theoretically specific economic, social and cultural dimensions and levels of the actual change" (2007, p.257).

According to Krotz, three meta-processes, namely globalisation, individualisation, and commercialisation have influenced "democracy and society, culture, politics and other conditions of life over the longer term" (2007, p.257) in recent decades. Krotz argues that because people live in an ever denser and constantly growing network structure of mediated communication and because interactive media have become such an important factor in our lifeworld, the basis of how we acquire our knowledge about the social world is changing too. Therefore, the three meta-processes should be analysed in close cooperation and across disciplines and together with mediatization as the fourth meta-process. Krotz' notion of the relevance of mediatization is reinforced by the media scholar Stig Hjarvard, who acknowledges that "an understanding of the importance of media in modern society and culture can no longer rely on models that conceive of media as being separate from society and culture" (2008, p.106).

Mediation and/or mediatization?

A particular problem is in forming a coherent research framework and agenda which enables sharing research from across multiple disciplines and begins with distinguishing between the terms 'mediatization' and 'mediation'. Livingstone (2009) notes that words such as 'mediation' or 'medium', especially when translated to other languages than English, do not necessarily refer to a common understanding –it is more likely that the opposite is the case. For example, in Icelandic the word 'midill', which comes closest to the word 'medium', is

"used both for mass media and for a person who can communicate with the dead" (2009, p.4). These differences in the meaning of terms related to mediation or mediatization can also be found in other languages such as Polish, Portuguese, and various others. For mediatization research to be precise, there is a need to clarify and stress the differences between both mediation and mediatization as they describe two different things. Hepp points out that while *mediation* is "suitable for describing the general characteristics of any process of media communication" and is also a "concept to theorize the process of communication in total", *mediatization* "is a more specific term to theorize media-related change" (Hepp, 2013, p.616). Though both terms can be linked, with *mediation* referring to the process of communication and *mediatization* to a category for describing change. One finds this approach in a joint editorial written by Couldry and Hepp where they point out that "mediatization reflects how the overall consequences of multiple processes of mediation have changed with the emergence of different kinds of media" (2013, p.197). To name one example, videos on YouTube or face-to-face communication are 'mediated', whereas 'mediatization' means that we change our behaviour and adapt to a certain style or logic in order to be able to use a medium (Couldry, 2008).

Change can be analysed best through the dimension of time. As mediatization is a concept that allows for the analysis of historical transformations of communication, a time perspective has to be added in order to grasp a change of relations between the media and other societal fields. According to Krotz, *mediatization* means to describe "the historical developments that took and take place as a change of (communication) media and its consequences […] not only with the rise of new forms of media but also with changes in the meaning of media in general" (Krotz, 2007, p.258). Krotz has been criticised for this definition as being too technologically deterministic, however, he himself makes clear that "this should not be understood as a technologically determined process but as a man-made process, as mediatization changes human communication by offering new possibilities of communication, and in using them, people change the way they communicatively construct their world […]" (2007, p.259).

Therefore, understanding the meta-processes and the ways they change society and culture, through the transformational force of mediatization, is vital and allows for the development of a general research frame applicable not only in media and communication studies but also other disciplines. For that reason, Krotz's perception of mediatization as a

meta-process is indispensable in that it allows the adoption of a position capable of seeing the connections between different social fields while at the same time being able to delve deeper into the analysis of a specific setting. While Krotz's historical macro-perspective is helpful, it is not fine-grained enough for analysing mediatization processes at an organisational level.

A more recent definition of mediatization takes into account not only the historical developments, but broadens the approach and frames mediatization not only as a means of 'change', as Krotz put it, but stresses the 'interrelation' between culture, society, and media (Couldry & Hepp, 2013). Couldry and Hepp define mediatization as "*a concept used to analyze critically the interrelation between changes in media and communications on the one hand, and changes in culture and society on the other* [indicated in italics]" (2013, p.197). The interrelation between media, culture, and society lies at the centre of mediatization research. Stig Hjarvard defines mediatization as follows:

> By the mediatization of society, we understand the process whereby society to an increasing degree is submitted to, or becomes dependent on, the media and their logic. This process is characterized by a duality in that the media have become integrated into the operations of other social institutions, while they also have acquired the status of social institutions in their own right (2008, p.113).

Hjarvard's definition makes clear that while mediatization relies on the growing importance of the media, it is at the same time also dependent on society and culture in order to adapt to the processes and rules of the media. In doing so, the media have acquired their right to exist as a new entity at the intersections of culture and society. This is the point of departure for a more detailed look at the research tradition that has changed how we think about the media as influencers of contemporary society and the approaches that emerged over the recent years.

Theoretical Approaches to Mediatization Research and Criticism

Mediatization researchers follow two main research strands, with one group following an *institutional* approach, and the other one following a *social-constructivist* approach, leading to an important distinction between the two research approaches. According to Stig Hjarvard, early work in mediatization can be traced back to Swedish media researcher Kent Asp in the 1990s, who in turn points to the influence of the Norwegian sociologist Gudmunt Hernes who coined the term 'media-twisted society' back in 1978 (2008, p.106). Concerning the original thoughts that inspired the concept of mediatization, one can even go further back in time. In

an editorial for *Communication Theory*, Couldry and Hepp (2013) point out that first signs of a concept of mediatization can be found in the work of Ernst Manheim published in the 1930s, and more recently in the *Theory of Communicative Action*, an influential work by Jürgen Habermas in the 1980s. Despite these early signs, Couldry and Hepp regard the 1990s as the "formative phase of 'mediatization research'" (2013, p.196). Since then it was possible to more clearly distinguish between an institutional and a social-constructivist approach.

For a longer period, mediatization research could be distinguished along these two lines with scholars such as Stig Hjarvard following an institutional approach, while Andreas Hepp, Nick Couldry, and Friedrich Krotz follow a social-constructivist approach. While both approaches analyse mediatization, the differences in how they analyse it and the conclusions they are able to draw from it, are in the detail. This becomes apparent when taking a closer look at how Couldry and Hepp describe the term mediatization in relation to the social-constructivist approach:

> The term "mediatization" here is designed to capture both how the communicative construction of reality is manifested within certain media processes and how, in turn, specific features of certain media have a contextualized "consequence" for the overall process whereby sociocultural reality is constructed in and through communication (2013, p.196).

Thus, the social-constructivist approach is deemed to be in the better position for covering interactions within the context of particular cultural practices. The institutional approach however, with its strong link to the media logics concept, is deemed more beneficial for analysing interactions between or within institutions, such as PR agencies, governments, or non-profit organisations.

Media logic approach

Another approach which is often linked to mediatization is the *media logic* approach coined by David Altheide and Robert Snow in the 1980s. The *media logic* approach looks at how the media allocate their resources and how they work through formal and informal rules. Although Altheide and Snow never spoke of only one distinct media logic, it is often wrongfully referred to in that way, as Klinger and Svensson (2015) point out. Recently, Altheide and Snow's approach has seen a renaissance in order to reflect the profound changes in the media environment, the processes of globalisation, and the growing influence of mediatization and commercialisation on our lifeworlds. Ulrike Klinger and Jakob Svensson

emphasise that although media logics and mediatization are 'tightly intertwined' they differ in that "the theory of mediatization refers to a general tendency in which almost all parts of society are affected by the media, whereas the theory of media logics attempts to uncover to what in media platforms, their organization and practices, the institutions of society are adapting" (2015, p.1243). As a result, media logic depends on changes in how the media are disseminated and used.

With social media platforms offering new ways of connecting with the audience, media logics have changed too. Consequently, they developed further the concept of media logic as they argue that "social media platforms operate with a distinctly different logic from that of traditional mass media" (2015, p.1241). Living in a networked society (Castells, 2007, 2010), people are exposed to new media outlets offering and demanding new media practices at the same time. In a 'networked media logic', the modes of production have changed and so have the ways content gets distributed and the ways it is consumed (Klinger & Svensson, 2015, p.1246). These new social media platforms are neither neutral nor without consequences for everyday life, pointing to new online affordances of participation. Social media platforms have deeply changed "the conditions and rules of social interaction" (Dijck & Poell, 2013).

Institutional and social-constructivist approach

Having presented the two major approaches, the institutional and the social-constructivist approach, one can now turn to questions such as: what are the differences between them? Moreover, what are the consequences for empirical research? While the *institutional* approach understands "media more or less as an independent social institution with its own set of rules" the *social-constructivist* tradition by contrast "highlights the role of various media as part of the process of the communicative construction of social and cultural reality" (Couldry & Hepp, 2013, p.196).

Despite the variation, Couldry and Hepp (2013) note that there is a common ground to the further development of mediatization research, concurrently recognising that there is an urgency to conceptualise a new term for outlining empirical research of the interrelationships between media and communication on the one hand, and changes to culture and society on the other hand. However, where they differ is in the terminology they use to describe these changes and developments. Hepp, for example suggests the use of 'communicative

configurations' which he describes as "*patterns of processes of communicative interweaving that exist across various media and have a 'thematic framing' that orients communicative action* [indicated in italics]" (2013, p.623) in order to capture the 'moulding forces' (2010), which is the "specificity of a medium in the process of communication" (2013, p.619). Using communicative figurations allows for the synchronous (or diachronous) analysis of mediatization and 'mediatization waves', for example at times where new waves such as 'digitalisation' impact society. Media are moulding forces as they apply pressure on how we communicate (Hepp, 2012). That means that certain media pressure the production and distribution of a media product in a certain way. For example, content for television has to be produced in a specific way to make it fit for being presented visually. Another example would be the smartphone, where content has to be programmed in a way that it can be displayed on as many devices as possible by use the functionality of the device (e.g. GPS or the gyroscope to track movement) while being on the move.

Mediatization theory

The rise of mediatization theory and the question of how media and communication research should be conducted and will evolve over the next years has not been received without criticism by media scholars and sparked a lively debate over the last years. At the heart of the debate voiced by David Deacon and James Stanyer, lies the idea that: (1) mediatization implies some sort of media determinism, that media are "bringing change about on their own" (2014, p.1035) which poses questions about power and causation within the concept of mediatization; (2) mediatization presents "a presumption rather than a demonstration of historical change, projecting backwards from contemporary case studies rather than carefully designed temporal comparisons" (2014, p.1037); and (3) it is a concept too unspecific to form the basis of specific empirical research. A response by Hepp, Hjarvard, and Lundy argues that Deacon and Stanyer have mistakenly understood mediatization as "a media-centered approach for a media-centric one" (2015, p.314) and that they have not fully captured "how mediatization research engages with the complex relationship between changes in media and communication on the one hand, and changes in various fields of culture and society on the other" (2015, p.314). Instead, countering criticism, Hepp, Hjarvard, and Lundby pose that mediatization is "part of a paradigmatic shift within media and communication research"

(2015, p.315), pointing to already proven ability of mediatization research to successfully bridge disciplines.

Another response by Deacon and Stanyer (2015) underlines further criticism in the way mediatization research is conducted and the possible consequences for the future application of, what they call, a rather unprecise concept. The discussion has recently been commented on by Peter Lunt and Sonia Livingstone (2016), highlighting that in their view, mediatization is not a new paradigm, instead they conceive mediatization as a 'sensitizing concept', able to contribute an historical awareness of the concept throughout centuries or even decades. Moreover, they suggest that researchers could reconsider reinterpreting societal transformations from various domains within the broader concept of mediatization and its intersections with other meta-processes such as globalization or commercialization. Lunt and Livingstone also point out that some domains of society have a long history in employing various media as they are closely related to the public and are therefore exposed to the continuous need of being accountable:

> But in the domains of civil society, sport, politics, religion and education, each of which depends for its intrinsic operations on establishing a close relationship with the public, the door to mediatization and the potency of media logics could never be closed, however protective they might be of their professional norms, publicity being core to their success (2016, p.467).

It is not yet clear which perspective will dominate mediatization research in the future, as this relies upon the power of insights gained by using contemporary mediatization concepts in empirical research. It is also clear that the decision for one of the two distinct research traditions has deeper implications for empirical research and the insights that can be gained. However, there is some value in the line taken by Klinger, Svensson, and Hjarvard, that there is not one media logic but multiple media logics, that media logics are understood to rely on cultural and societal contexts, such as norms and practices, and that they are not linear. Therefore, media logics should be understood as norms, rules and processes that influence actors and are influenced by the actors, structures, functions, and resources involved in the setting at the same time.

It seems fruitful to understand mediatization not in absolute terms, which means to neither adopt an absolute stance for the institutional or the social-constructivist approach, but rather understand it as a *sensitizing* concept that "guides empirical research and the interpretation of findings rather than as either (ambitiously) a new paradigm or (modestly) a

middle-range theory in competition with others" (Lunt & Livingstone, 2016, p.468). It is surprising that Lunt and Livingstone do not reference an essay by Klaus Bruhn Jensen (2013) in which he rejected both research approaches, pointing out that it is uncertain "whether the mediatization literature could deliver a coherent, robust, and operational conceptual framework for a durable research program" (Jensen, 2013, p.218). Instead, he suggests paying close attention to ongoing digitalisation processes and the need to understand mediatization as an *inclusive* concept which is "a consensual, even commonsensical characterization of contemporary society and culture" (Jensen, 2013).

What becomes evident by observing the use of mediatization as a theoretical concept is that it is not a "one size fits all" theory. Although mediatization has become an ever-growing field of research, the development and, even more importantly, the *application* of mediatization to yield reliable findings that extend our understanding of the impact of media on society, remains to be proven. This is mainly for two reasons: first, although the amount of research on mediatization has grown over recent years, there is a growing necessity for using an empirical framework that allows for the comparison of findings within similar areas of research. Second, mediatization is a complex process which researchers, over the last few years, have tried to address by offering different theoretical sub-perspectives. This has led to an even larger collection of theoretical fragments which can be associated with mediatization (Bolin & Hepp, 2017). One consequence of this is that multiple theoretical strands have to be untangled and reorganised in order to become an even broader theoretical framework, with a number of researchers suggesting revisions to the contemporary research agenda, constantly juxtaposing clarification with pragmatism (Ekström … Jerslev, 2016).

From Mass Media Logic to Networked Media Logic

With the rise of the internet and the network society there is no longer one single media logic. Strömbäck notes that as the internet comprises different media types, formats, and contents, it is "not guided by any one logic, but includes many and competing logics" (2008, p.243). Back then, the rise of the network society was accompanied by the rise of social networks such as Six Degrees in 1997 or Cyworld in 2001, but was associated more often with social network sites which came later, such as Facebook in 2005 and Twitter in 2006 (Boyd & Ellison, 2007).

But this also means that these competing new media logics entail different norms and practices regarding the production, distribution and usage of media.

Schulz's framework for analysing the relationship between politics and the media was formulated in 2004 when social networks were at a very early stage of becoming accessible to a wider public (Boyd & Ellison, 2007). In his article, Schulz points out that the mass media "became an omnipresent symbolic environment creating an essential part of the societal definitions of reality" (2004, p.93), however, the logic they follow and the mechanisms by which they create a mediatized reality were "products of the television era" (2004, p.94). Given that the media environment has changed radically during the last 12 years, for example 85 per cent of adults in the United States are now internet users and about 67 per cent own a smartphone (Duggan, 2015), it is assumed that media logics have changed accordingly (Hjarvard, 2012). But back in 2004, with the internet was the dominant paradigm in media and communication research, Schulz suggested that "since the new media do not displace the old media, the mediatization effects of the latter endure in the new media environment" (2004, p.98). New media seem to reinforce some trends of the television era, such as a growing availability of information, intensive media consumption and media content increasingly created by media conglomerates.

Addressing the different logics of the various media platforms now available at the users' fingertips has until recently been absent from theoretical mediatization approaches. Another particular shortcoming of recent research on mediatization which contributes to this issue is the lack of a clear distinction of what researchers understand when they say 'the media'. Given that there is an obvious difference in the ways traditional media on the one hand, and new media such as social media operate on the other hand. Looking at state of mediatization theory from an organisational perspective, Thorbjornsrud et al. (2014, p.5) complain that:

> With the exception of Hepp (2012), who stresses the need to incorporate critical analysis of media technologies and the specific 'molding force' of certain media, the mediatization literature does not distinguish between media produced for the masses versus new social and personal media based on interpersonal communication.

In order to be able to separate the ways in which different media logics mingle, it is necessary to think about media logics as being distinct for traditional media (e.g. television and radio) compared with social media (e.g. networked platforms such as Facebook etc). The effort to differentiate both approaches has been undertaken by Ulrike Klinger and Jakob Svensson (2015) from a political communication perspective. They understand social media

as online platforms "where users can generate content, organize and access information in databases, inform and be informed by a network of selected others, which also becomes the general framework for presenting and interpreting information" (2015, p.1245). Therefore, social media offer other ways of producing, distributing and overall use of information, then the mass media (see table 4.1).

Table 4.1: Mass media logic and network media logic (Klinger & Svensson, 2015)

	Mass Media Logic	Network Media Logic
Production	Expensive information selection and content generation by professional journalists according to news values	Inexpensive information selection and content generation by (lay) users according to their individual preferences and attention maximizing
Distribution	Content selected by expert/professional gatekeepers – based on established news values – distributed to a paying fixed audience of subscribers	Users are like intermediaries, distributing popular content, sometimes like a chain letter, within networks of like-minded others
Media Usage	Location bound mass audience with limited selective exposure oriented towards passive consumption of information, based on professional selection.	Interest-bound and like-minded peer networks with highly selective exposure oriented towards interaction through practices of updating

In a networked media logic, users have become the producers of news, thereby challenging established modes of production within the media industry, where a handful of professional journalists curate the news. Journalists are no longer gatekeepers as every amateur can participate by posting up information on blogs and other social networks. As a result, the mechanisms for distribution news have changed too. On social media platforms, the 'logic of virality' (2015, p.1248) decides what receives attention; it is now not journalists who edit and filter. Social networks have strong group mechanisms which are formed by interests in specific issues for example. There is not one audience, such as the regular subscriber to a newspaper or journal, but a fragmented audience which consists of groups of like-minded people that can be spread across the globe, ignoring national borders, ethnic or religious affiliation. The next subchapter will look more explicitly at empirical research that makes use of mediatization as a theoretical lens.

Empirical Mediatization Research

While mediatization has seen its origin in the analysis of the interdependencies between politics and the media, it now offers opportunities for being adapted to other issues and societal fields such as religion and governments. Given the far-reaching consequences of a

society in which experiences are increasingly mediated, it seems reasonable to assume that, despite the different social and cultural contexts, findings from the empirical research on the mediatization of politics, governments, and public bureaucracies might very well be found in the non-profit sector too. Particularly as studies have shown that non-profits increasingly adopt social media channels in order to communicate, engage, and influence stakeholders, a development which could be observed in the political realm over the last decade. Furthermore, findings from studies on the mediatization of governmental institutions point to the relevance of internal factors such as managing structures and the overall professionalisation and leadership of media relations. For example, the 'mediatized leadership' Campus (2010) mentioned could also be found within non-profit organisations, as researcher have noted that the non-profit sector undergoes a process of 'marketization' (Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004).

Studies have shown that mediatization research can develop empirically-based insights into the mediatization of organisations, institutions, society, art, or education (Hepp … Lundby, 2015; Jensen, 2013; Hjarvard, 2013). As a consequence, the concept of mediatization has already been applied in various fields, as Stig Hjarvard points out in the introduction to his essential book *The Mediatization of Culture and Society*, in which he delivers an overview on the institutional approach to mediatization research. For example, the influence and impact of mediatization has been researched for domains and institutions such as war and religion (Hjarvard, 2013, 2008; Martino, 2013; Lövheim, 2016). Another study by Hjarvard (2004) looked at the mediatization of the toy industry. In recent years, the issues covered by researchers of mediatization has broadened even more. But first and foremost, research has explored the mediatization of politics where a large and growing body of work now exists with the origins of the mediatization of politics being in the late 1990s (Strömbäck, 2008; Seethaler & Melischek, 2014; Isotalus & Almonkari, 2014; D'Angelo & Esser, 2014; Strömbäck & Van Aelst, 2013; Mazzoleni & Schulz, 1999; Schulz, 2004; Schweitzer, 2012). Other research has explored the mediatization of corporate CEOs (Kantola, 2014), the mediatization of government agencies (Fredriksson … Pallas, 2015), public bureaucracies (Thorbjornsrud … Ihlen, 2014; Fredriksson & Pallas, 2016), social movements (Mattoni & Treré, 2014), education (Knauf, 2016; Friedrichsmeier & Marcinkowski, 2016) – and more recently – civil society organisations (Karlin & Matthew, 2012; Grafström … Karlberg, 2015; Vestergaard, 2014).

Figure 4.1: Number of articles including 'mediatization' in their title or abstract (August 2018, author's own figure)
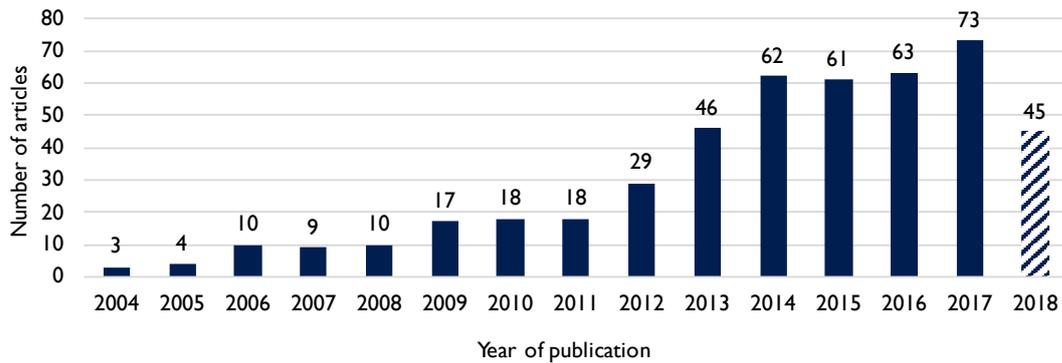
The research on mediatization has increased in recent years, leading Bruhn to acknowledge that it is "remarkable how many researchers with distinct theoretical backgrounds and focal interests have converged on the notion of mediatization over the last decade" (2013, p.218). This can be illustrated by reference to the number of mentions of mediatization as part of a publication title or in an abstract (see figure 4.1). A simple search for the term 'mediatization' for the time from 2004 to the present in the category 'social sciences' on SCOPUS returned 468 results.

Illustrating the prominence of the term mediatization in this way was also used by Deacon and Stanyer (2014) in their critical comment on mediatization. Although Hepp et al. (2015) point out that probably "some of the researchers whose articles are included in Deacon and Stanyer's sample will be surprised to learn that their research has become exemplary of current mediatization research" (2015, p.315), the body of work demonstrates a growing interest in research which associates itself with the term mediatization. But the increase is, among other things, also based on to the multifaceted meanings of mediatization and the sometimes loose use of the term as well as the use of mediatization as a scientific buzzword or, put differently, more like "a calling card than a concept" (2015, p.656).

The case of politics, governments, and public bureaucracies

It is useful to take a closer look at the four phases Strömbäck notes regarding the mediatization of politics, in order to better estimate the possible effects of the mediatization of non-profits. The study of the interrelation between politics and the media has been at the heart of mediatization research for decades (Strömbäck, 2008). However, mediatization is not a process unique to politics but, as Strömbäck points out, "all experiences from the micro level

of identity formation to the macro level of politics and society are purportedly increasingly mediated and mediatized" (2008, p.229). Adopting a process-oriented approach is important in order to "assess the degree of mediatization across time, countries, or other units of analysis" (2008, p.235).

Assuming that mediatization is a process, then for politics, the first phase is reached "whenever the mass media in a particular setting constitute the most important source of information and channel of communication between the citizenry and political institutions and actors, such as political parties, governmental agencies, or political interest groups" (2008, p.236). While the first phase is the basis for the other phases, in the second phase of the mediatization of politics "the media have become more independent of governmental or other political bodies and, consequently, have begun to be governed according to the media logic, rather than according to any political logic" (2008, p. 236). This is the point where the media logic becomes more important and where the media increase their influence on institutions. As a result, institutions and organisations that adapt to the media logic might have an advantage in creating visibility above others.

The third phase of the mediatization of politics reinforces the second phase. The media have become so independent and important that "political and other social actors have to adapt to the media, rather than the other way around" (2008, p.238). It is no longer the case that the media depend on the politicians, but that the politicians and their parties depend on the media in order to create a mediated reality that reaches their constituents and society through different media channels. They are dependent on the media as they do not have another way to reach out to their various stakeholder. This development leads to the fourth phase where "political and other social actors not only adapt to the media logic and the predominant news values, but also internalize these and, more or less consciously, allow the media logic and the standards of newsworthiness to become a built-in part of the governing processes" (2008, p.239). As a result, institutions and other social actors 'accept' and meet the terms of an 'inescapable' media logic in order to carry on with their missions. In order to illustrate the meaning of mediatization for the processes, norms and rules in politics, governments, and public bureaucracies, the following discussion looks at how election campaigns, mediatized leadership and political actors, as well as the European Parliament have adapted to the media.

It is particularly revealing to study the mediatization of politics during election campaigns, as it allows to explore how politicians and political parties adapt their behaviour to the requirements of the media in order to gain media coverage (Strömbäck & Van Aelst, 2013). Looking at electoral campaigns in Italy and France as two recent examples of countries where mediatization and personalization have rapidly increased at the political level, Campus (2010) showed that politicians such as Nicolas Sarkozy and Silvio Berlusconi create a new type of 'mediatized leadership' (2010, p.231), by using strategic marketing in order to develop their leadership image. However, this can not necessarily be said to be the same in other Western countries.[10] For Finland, Isotalus and Almonkari (2014) point out that not all politicians are equally skilled in the strategic navigation of the media for their own benefit but that politicians should not be regarded as being always in the victim's role. They highlight that although Finnish politicians have become more professional in media relations, they in part reject the requirement to be "constantly available to the media" and "being ready to disclose private issues" (2014, p.300). On the other hand, and with reference to Sweden as an example and looking at the perceptions of media influence by politicians and political news journalists, Strömbäck demonstrates that "both MPs and political news journalists in Sweden attribute rather great influence to the media, in particular TV, newspapers and radio, in politics and political processes" (2011, p.435).

Besides looking at how politicians themselves adapt to the media, the mediatization of politics can also be assessed by studying the ways in which the media refer to politics or the political public sphere (Zeh & Hopmann, 2013; Takens … Kleinnijenhuis, 2013; Flew & Swift, 2014). Elmelund-Præstekær et al. (2011) argue that the amount of news coverage of Danish MPs has risen from 1980 to 2000 and that politicians increasingly perceive the media as an 'autonomous political actor' where the media-savvy politicians in senior positions "can exploit their market power when interacting with the media" (2011, p.396). They show that this typically applies to media-savvy politicians already established and thus reinforces an already existing bias towards a politician's visibility. Research on mediatization can be conducted from different perspectives using different research methods. D'Angelo and Esser (2014) note

---

[10] As mentioned earlier, mediatization is a process linked to modernity and also almost limited to the western cultural sphere, where commercialization and the extensive use of media has a secured place in the everyday life of citizens and their governments (Strömbäck, 2008).

that research on mediatization and politics should, for example, employ more textual analysis of political news coverage and interviews with politicians and media personnel. This approach has been taken by Takens et al. (2013) who analysed whether news factors such as personalisation, contest coverage, and negative coverage contribute to a single or a shared media logic. They conclude that three of the tested factors significantly contributed to a single media logic, thereby indicating that "there is one logic guiding television news journalists and a slightly different logic guiding newspaper journalists" (2013, p.289), at least when building upon the television and newspaper coverage of Dutch election campaigns.

Focusing on election coverage is a reasonable approach as the media are more concerned with covering political processes at this point in time than in everyday journalism. However, herein also lies a weakness of contemporary work on the mediatization of politics, as it says little about politics in everyday life. Investigating the mediatization of political news reporting in US and UK evening news, Cushion et al. (2014) found that political news is more mediatized in broadcasters with public service responsibility than in commercialized ones such as Channel 4. They conclude that a "greater degree of public service obligation brings *greater* mediatized political news content" (2014, p.460). While this is an important finding, it runs counter to conclusions drawn from current research suggesting that market-driven media outlets make greater use of mediatization. Cushion et al. argue for more research that takes into account the form, structure, and style of news, in order to make more precise assumptions on the relationship between politics and the media in terms of news coverage (2014, p.460).

Besides the research fields already discussed, a growing and important one is the mediatization of governments and public bureaucracies (Fredriksson … Pallas, 2015; Pallas … Jonsson, 2014; Thorbjornsrud … Ihlen, 2014). Research conducted on Swedish government agencies suggests that while governments adapt to the media, this seems to be due to the overall management structures rather than to an outside influence of media pressure, as one might assume (Fredriksson … Pallas, 2015). Government agencies invest more in media relations if led by a career manager who considers that connections to the public via media outlets are vital, while agencies led by field experts "appear to be less prone to introduce media orientation into their policy documents" (Fredriksson … Pallas, 2015, p.16). Findings on the mediatization of the European Parliament reveal a similar picture, pointing out the professionalism of press officers in fostering media relations on the one hand, while seeking

not to abuse their role by facilitating an artificial 'attractiveness' on the other hand. Interviews conducted with press officers from the European Parliament suggest that "the POs' communication logics mirror the mediatization of society in significant ways, and […] that their insights into journalists' needs, professional standards, and work processes (media logic) is a key asset when they perform their role as publicists" (Laursen & Valentini, 2015, p.37).

This overall development is echoed by Thorbjornsrud, Figenschou, and Ihlen (2014), who explored how public bureaucracies have adapted to the media. They note that public bureaucracies have adopted to the news logic in several ways, for example by pitching 'good stories' when appropriate in order to "not only *follow* the news, but to *appear* in the news" (2014, p.411), deliberately planning and producing texts using "news media language and formats" (2014, p.414), or reallocating resources within the organisation in order to control and disseminate information more efficiently and more effective (2014, p.415). This means, for example, to employ more people with a background in media or public relations and attribute more importance to media by lifting the department to a higher stage inside the organisation, e.g. next to the central command. The next sub-chapter will look more closely at how the concept of mediatization is currently used in researching the non-profit sector.

The Mediatization of Non-profits

Only a handful of studies have analysed how mediatization influences civil society organisations and non-profits (Vestergaard, 2014; Karlin & Matthew, 2012; Grafström … Karlberg, 2015; Deacon, 2004). As a result, severe research gaps exist regarding non-profits and communication in a networked and mediatized world. First, while most research has focused on politics it has at the same time focused on elite groups and institutions such as politicians, governmental institutions, and major media institutions. Although this perspective is important, it ignores institutions that operate at a local level and do not necessarily use mainstream media as their preferred communications channel but local newspapers, community radio, ore new media such as blogs, Facebook, or Twitter.

A major issue is that research tends to be rather functionalistic and does not provide an overview or a framework that allows for the assessment of the broader implications of ICTs and social media for non-profits. Moreover, this research often lacks consideration of the non-profit's distinctive properties and functions as an organisation. Some scholars have been

critical of 'functionalistic' research on non-profits and the media, arguing that most studies that look at how non-profits adapt to new technologies or how they use media only scratch the surface of what is hidden in everyday processes, the adoption to rules and norms, or the available resources at hand (Koschmann … Sanders, 2015). Their argument seems plausible in that much of the literature remains fragmented and research frameworks are often not used consistently. The researchers also suggest using a meta-framework which could summarise research on stakeholders, strategy etc. While this approach is valuable, it falls short of providing a research perspective that is capable of analysing the influence of various media on non-profits activities, understood as the processes that non-profits adapt to in order to communicate with their stakeholders and how this affects their media strategy. Mediatization, on the other hand, offers a framework for exploring the ways in which the media influence non-profits or indeed any part of the third sector.

Scholars have applied the concept of mediatization to issues and organisations within the non-profit sector although there are still too few to be able to fully understand the media's impact and influence on non-profits' everyday business. This is also due to the diverse topics research on the mediatization of non-profits addresses. Neither is existing research on the mediatization of non-profits rooted in an existing mediatization research framework, nor can it provide a feasible narrative for future developments. However, studies on the mediatization of non-profits provide important insights into the current state of adoption and the possible future of the relationship between non-profits and the media ahead. The following studies shed light on the role of public relations in civil society organisations (Grafström … Karlberg, 2015), the changing patterns of mediated human suffering (Vestergaard, 2014), and the obstacles of campaigning in a mediatized and globalised world (Karlin & Matthew, 2012).

A recent study investigated the relationship between public distrust against humanitarian organisations and mediatization by analysing brochures from the Danish sections of Save the Children, the Red Cross, and Amnesty International for the purpose of "identifying shifts in discourses" (Vestergaard, 2014, p.509). Anne Vestergaard identified three main discourses articulated between 1970 and 2007. While the first two decades saw discourse which attempted to legitimatize NGOs and their work, this has profoundly changed in the last 20 years, where Vestergaard observes a "gradual erosion of cognitive legitimacy leading eventually to a radical loss of moral legitimacy" (2014, p.524). In the 1990s and 2000s, humanitarian NGOs tried to materially compensate potential donors by, for example, offering

audiences the opportunity to buy a phone for 101 kroner where the advertisement states that 100 kronor will go directly to the Red Cross. After the millennium, the audience was increasingly compensated morally by introducing "a new focus on the donor not only in terms of prominence, but even more so, in terms of the subject position it constructs" (2014, p.522). She concludes that due to the need to create public trust, humanitarian organisations become increasingly mediatized. On the one hand, they gain visibility and public attention, while on the other hand they lose moral legitimacy which has for the last years been "organized around a logic of exchange" (2014, p.524) – therefore leading to growing distrust in their programmes.

Analysing advertisements and campaigns of non-profits has proved to be useful to describe the effects of a global non-profits initiative. The Kony 2012 campaign is such a global case (Karlin & Matthew, 2012; von Engelhardt & Jansz, 2014; Kligler-Vilenchik & Thorson, 2016). In March 2012, the non-profit Invisible Children (IC) released a thirty-minute video which focused on Joseph Kony, the leader of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) – an army of child soldiers. Joseph Kony has built his army of child soldiers through the enslavement of children, torture, and other crimes, which had already started in Uganda in the late 1980s. Since then, his movement and the violence it brings has spread to other countries such as the Congo and the South Sudan, in attempting to build a state based on the Ten Commandments. The video which the non-profit Invisible Children uploaded to YouTube was to date (September 2016) viewed more than 101 million times. The perception and the campaigning of Invisible Children triggered a global outcry and put pressure on politicians and celebrities around the globe to publicly condemn and prosecute Joseph Kony, as well as join efforts to stop the practice of child soldiers. It is often overlooked that they had slowly built a local base of supporters and screened their film first in 2004, which was the eleventh film they had created (Karlin & Matthew, 2012). In fact, the non-profit had built an entire movement with people inviting others, posting on Facebook, sharing, tweeting, and blogging about the project or several years. By targeting specific audiences, keeping the message simple, working with celebrities and opinion leaders, branding, and actively asking people to engage with the campaign, the non-profit developed a network it had been building for over 10 years.

There is also the recipient side to this campaign: the million viewers who watched the video. Drawing on the theory of mediated distant suffering, Johannes von Engelhardt and Jeroen Jansz (2014) show that the campaign was successful in rallying support and that the

degree to which viewers of the video felt morally responsible increased with viewing time (2014, p.479). However, the second half of the video which focused on the movement – the 'us' – "mitigated to some extent the level of moral responsibility towards the suffering other which was built up during the first half of the video" (2014, p.480). Nevertheless, Invisible Children has been successful in communicating a simple task: make Kony infamous (Karlin & Matthew, 2012).

Well-known civil society organisations such as the Red Cross are often in the spotlight during crises. Knowing how to deal with the media in times of crisis is vital for non-profits, be it for the people in need or the organisation itself. Grafström et al. (2015) point to the marketization of civil society organisations (CSOs) – which means that CSOs are increasingly adapting a market logic and language – and argue that CSOs have increasingly adapted to the media in that they offer media training and are more likely to employ communication professionals. Using a case study of the Swedish Red Cross (SRC) from May 2010, Grafström et al. show how media attention, journalists, and media professionals steer and influence the public debate around the remuneration of the chairman of the board and illustrate "how the logic of the media permeates organizational activities and decision-making and how the SRC's organization undergoes a stronger form of mediatization as the news story develops, even after it has ended" (2015, p.237). Their research indicates that communication professionals in CSOs have a strong influence over the public image of an organisation which is communicated to the media. At the same time, by adapting to an external media logic, they internalise these logics thereby shaping and changing future media practices.

The expansion of an increasingly mediatized society in which NGOs have to adapt to the norms, processes, and rules of the media in order to raise awareness, is not necessarily for the better. Through adopting the media logic of global media, NGOs can lose part of their integrity as humanitarian organisations while trying to brand their organisations and fight for attention in the saturated media market (Cottle & Nolan, 2007). In short, this means that non-profits would have to professionalise their communications and need more resources to fight the news noise and raise salience and awareness. Being able to set the agenda therefore becomes harder for them to achieve and not at least depends on having established connections with the media, the required resources in order to pay for advertisements, and professionals that know how to operate public and media relations.

This is not only true for non-profits who want to appear in traditional media outlets, but also for social media. Some campaigns, such as the Kony 2012 campaign, gained traction by using the internet and social media to circumvent the media logic of traditional media outlets that, by successfully adopting to the logic of virality on social media. Strömbäck has pointed to the internet as a possible vehicle through which to raise attention but this is not without its problems: "Theoretically, it is possible to reach out to wider audiences through the Internet, but in the absence of coverage in the traditional news media, this possibility is seldom realized" (2008, p.243). Not every NGO campaign will go viral on social media and trigger a global debate as the Kony 2012 campaign did. Nevertheless, knowing in which way non-profits can adopt and be adapted to the media, traditional news media as well as social media, is therefore vital in order to assess the current stage of the mediatization of non-profits by exploring drivers and facilitators of this development and the contextual and organisational difficulties of it.

Exploring the Mediatization of Community Foundations

Given the growth in number of NGOs and the fact that they actively produce and mobilise information about their work (Waisbord, 2011), it is safe to say that NGOs both receive and contribute their information from and to the mass media and social media. Research on the mediatization of humanitarian NGOs shows that they have adapted to the media in order to build trust and gain visibility, for example through the creation and distribution of advertisements (Vestergaard, 2014). Non-profits, advocacy organisations, and interest groups in particular rely on the media in order to achieve policy change by distributing reports, petitions, and other advocacy materials (Hong, 2014).

My approach extends existing research on the mediatization of civil society organisations and non-profits in that it offers a process-oriented theoretical framework for guiding empirical research. Mediatization theory allows one to assess how the media as an institution have changed the way organisations have adapted and adopted to these changes. In order to set up a theoretical framework that is able to explore the mediatization of non-profits, two theoretical frameworks are combined and supplemented by the core functions of non-profits (e.g. fundraising, donor relationship and stakeholder management, etc). The four processes of mediatization as described by Schulz (2004) are used as the basis for the analysis, and the

communicative figurations by Hepp (2013) will be used as a supplement to describe more closely what has changed in the specific community foundation setting. Using a synchronous approach as suggested by Hepp includes analysing (1) the constellation of actors, (2) the thematic framing, (3) the forms of communication, and the (4) media ensemble of the communicative figuration. Additionally, in order to reflect on the changes of the media environment, the idea of the 'networked media logic', provided by Klinger and Svensson (2015), will be consulted in the analysis.

Figure 4.2: The study's conceptual approach to mediatization (author's own figure)
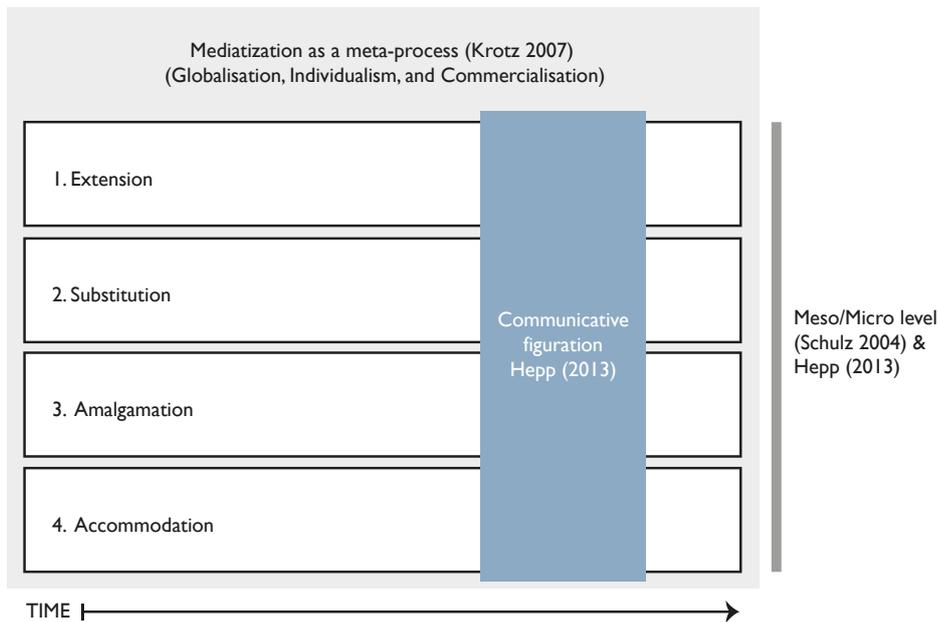
Figure 4.2 provides an overview on both approaches and how they are related to each other. The concept of mediatization as described by Krotz (2007) can be understood as to cover the idea of mediatization as a meta-process. I will now explain how both approaches are brought together and which insights they allow.

Setting the concepts in relation to each other helps to explain why it is sensible to use Schulz's (2004) approach as a starting point for gauging the mediatization of non-profit organisations. Hepps' (2013) approach of assessing the mediatization of a setting by focusing on a communicative figuration allows one to take a closer look at a specific thematic frame and explore it more in depth, while still taking care of controlling the context. In my case, this would mean to look at communications professionals (actors), their daily work as communications professionals in community foundations (thematic framing), the ways they use communication (forms), and the various media they use (media ensemble).

The benefit of Schulz's approach is that it is processual. For example, the year when community foundations in the UK and Germany adopted a specific communication channel, such as a website, is collected by using the content analysis (see chapter 5). By doing so, a continuum of adoption processes becomes tangible. The operationalisation through using the framework can provide the basis for future work and allows the research to be replicable and extended to a certain degree, making it applicable and transferable to other sectors. However, there is a limitation when using Schulz's approach. When Schulz developed his approach, social media platforms did not yet exist. Therefore, one has to consider the new ways of production, distribution, and perception that social media offer. This will be done by including the differentiation between mass media and networked media, as suggested by Klinger and Svensson (Klinger & Svensson, 2015).

The framework set up by Schulz can be heuristically applied to various contexts. In order to do that, he differentiates four sub-processes of mediatization: (1) extension; (2) substitution; (3) amalgamation; and (4) accommodation. According to Schulz, these four processes are a mere description of mediatization, not mutually exclusive – which means it is possible that one or more processes overlap –, and have to be regarded as "components of a complex process of transition" (2004, p.90).

According to Schulz, *extension* refers to the ability of the media to "extend the natural limits of human communication capacities" (2004, p.88). In the sense of that functionality, the media are able to "bridge spatial and temporal distances" (2004, p.88). For example, in order to reach a wider base of interested parties and potential donors, non-profits set up websites and create offline and online newsletters which can be seen as an extension of the reach of the non-profits' message (McMahon … Lemley, 2015; Yeon … Kiousis, 2007). Therefore they are able to increase both the extent of messages sent and "the encoding quality by improving the fidelity, vividness, sensory complexity and aesthetic appeal of messages" (Schulz, 2004, p.88).

Substitution occurs when the media "substitute social activities and social institutions and thus change their character" (2004, p.88). This could, for example, be when the media substitute forms of communication such as letters and conversations through new technologies such as SMS communication or email. Schulz points out that *extension* and *substitution* can sometimes go hand in hand. For example, non-profits could set up and print their own magazines and newsletters but also place articles and paid advertisements in local

newspapers or mainstream media, therefore allowing the non-profit to extend its reach and, at the same time, lower the number of offline events held.

The third process is termed *amalgamation*. It describes the process whereby the media not only extend or substitute non-media activities, but when they "merge and mingle with one another" (Schulz, 2004, p.89). In terms of Swedish government organisations this is exactly the case when "communicating policies and crafting policies become mingled, amalgamated, activities" (Fredriksson … Pallas, 2015, p.4). Non-profits, for instance, run campaigns completely online or merge on- and offline campaigns, a development that could be observed in the Kony 2012 campaign. Here, a local, national movement became international and eventually an entirely mediatized, global event with millions of views on YouTube, shares and likes on Facebook, tweets, and an extensive media coverage in traditional news media (von Engelhardt & Jansz, 2014; Karlin & Matthew, 2012).

A*ccommodation* is the process whereby the "mere fact that communication media exist induces social change" (Schulz, 2004, p.89). In this phase, the media contribute to the creation of jobs in the media industry. Meanwhile, economic actors, organisations, and others, have adapted and adopted to the ways the media operate. This means, for example, that political parties have adapted their production routines to the media logic of television programmes or newspapers or that politicians have adapted "to the rules of the media system trying to increase their publicity and at the same time accepting a loss of autonomy" (2004, p.89). However, Schulz points out that the media "also benefit from such transactions since they make politics more newsworthy and conveniently formatted" (2004, p.89f). In the case of non-profits, this could mean that they employ communication professionals to help them get their message out and foster stronger relations with the media during mediated events (Adolphsen, 2014; Grafström … Karlberg, 2015).

Table 4.2: Dimensions of mediatization, aspects, and non-profit functions (author's own table)

Dimension of mediatization (Schulz, 2004)	Aspects (Fredriksson … Pallas, 2015)	Non-profit functions (see Chapter 3)
1. Extension "Media technologies extend the natural limits of human communication capacities"; "[…] the media serve to bridge spatial and temporal distances"	• The media as channel for communication • The media is ascribed stronger effects (attention, persuasion, trust etc.) compared to other forms of communication (advertising etc.)	Adopting media Building relationships Advocacy Accountability Giving and fundraising Volunteering
2. Substitution "The media partly or completely substitute social activities and social institutions and thus change their character"	• The media as a source of information for the organization • The media as a display window	
3. Amalgamation "Media activities not only extend and (partly) substitute non-media activities; they also merge and mingle with one another"	• The media as a part of work assignments • The media as a part of the organization's activities	
4. Accommodation "[…] the media industry contributes a considerable part to the gross national product"; "It is self-evident that the various economic actors have to accommodate to the way the media operate"	• Products and practices are adapted to the media • Organizational structures and activities are adapted to the media	

My theoretical framework illustrated in table 4.2 draws together research approaches outlined in this chapter and extends and adapts them for analysing non-profits and their functions. It combines the broader framework from Schulz (2004), which allows for the definition and separation of the possible processes between institutions and the media. It is supplemented by the aspects of governmental organisations as discovered by Fredriksson (2015). While these will change due to the specific characteristics of non-profits, they nevertheless provide a starting point for further exploration. The third element in this table is the specific set of functions non-profits use (social) media for, which has been revealed in the literature review in chapter 3, and which permeates and is applicable to all dimensions and aspects of mediatization at the same time. As pointed out earlier, the communicative figurations advocated by Hepp (2013) will be used to produce a narrative around the ways mediatization becomes visible in the everyday setting of the communications professional at a community foundation.

By looking at the communicative figuration of community foundations in the UK and Germany, the theoretical framework allows me to 'zoom into' the mediatized world of

community foundations in two western countries which that have two different media environments. Looking at the ways the actors in these thematic setting use the media at hand will need a methodology that uses qualitative data in order to explore and capture the everyday processes and procedures employed in these settings. Furthermore, the methodology must be able to quantify the broader media ensemble per thematic setting in order to allow for cross-country comparison. Findings from my interviews will guide the analysis and support a narrative which explores the strategies and motives for engaging *with* and adapting *to* the media, while my content analysis of the websites contributes to *how* this process develops over time. Finally, the combination of both methodical approaches allows for assessing in what way and to what degree community foundations in the United Kingdom and Germany have become mediatized in recent years. Thus, the framework allows for comparing mediatization processes in a comparative perspective, considering the two countries and their distinctive non-profit and media environments.

Chapter 5.

Methodology

Research on non-profit organisations and the media has used multiple methods as has been shown through the literature review (see chapter 3). However, there has been a bias to use some methods over others, primarily content analyses and surveys over qualitative approaches such as interviews, experiments, and even focus groups. This has led to a lack of research which would be able to complement and explain more in depth the results of quantitative research interested in the broader use of information and communication technologies and media in non-profit and voluntary organisations. Given the methodology used, the focus of past research has often been on the content of messages, its patterns and its use. Qualitative research that would be able to offer first-hand explanations of communication strategies and communications professionals' motives for using communication has often been disregarded.

The use of qualitative research methods has been criticised for various reasons, such as being too "impressionistic and subjective" in interpreting research findings and "profoundly influenced by the subjective leanings of a researcher" (Bryman, 2012, p.405). Another criticism has been that qualitative research lacks transparency in that it is "often not obvious how the analysis was conducted – in other words, what the researcher was actually doing when the data were analysed and therefore how the study's conclusions were arrived at" (2012, p.406). However, as Bryman points out, there are also similarities between qualitative and quantitative approaches: both aim at reducing the amount of data, both try to explain the variation they found using their approach, both are based on a feasible research question, and they both try to make transparent the procedures they use and how they arrive at the findings

(2012, p.409f). This study aims to combine the strengths of both worlds, as it combines interviews with communication professionals with the content analysis of community foundations' websites by employing a comparative case study approach.

A Comparative Case Study Approach

While literature has touched upon questions of how non-profits use and adopt ICTs and social media, research was rarely specific on how the types of organisations influence the findings, and often did not take into account the sectors in which non-profits were active (Nah & Saxton, 2013). Other studies focused solely on a single organisation such as the American Red Cross (Briones … Jin, 2011), which makes it questionable whether these findings would also apply to the broader spectrum of non-profits such as community foundations that offer comparable services and operate at a local level. To evaluate how smaller foundations can be able to use and benefit from social media, this study looks at community foundations, which operate locally and have fewer resources. Moreover, the literature review in chapter 3 showed that the analysis of community foundations was neglected with research often being focused on larger non-profit organisations, for example, the Philanthropy 200 (Waters & Jamal, 2011) or the Nonprofit Times 100 (Lovejoy … Saxton, 2012).

This research combines qualitative and quantitative research methods to provide a fuller picture of the cases analysed. This study uses a cross-sectional research design with case study character (Bryman, 2012, p.68). The studies' cross-sectional approach is due to the comparative analysis of multiple community foundations in two nations. Cross-national research makes sense here as it allows to consider the differences in the media, the cultural, and the social lifeworld as well as organisational structures of community foundations based in two European nations. Describing the use of exemplifying cases, Bryman (2012, p.70) points out that using this approach is sensible for this study in particular:

> For example, a researcher may seek access to an organization because it is known to have implemented new technology and he or she wants to know what the impact of that new technology has been. The researcher may have been influenced by various theories about the relationship between technology and work and by the considerable research literature on the topic, and as a result, seeks to examine the implications of some of these theoretical and empirical deliberations in a particular research site.

The cases for each country can be described as being exemplifying cases with the aim to characterise the range of community foundations in each state while taking into consideration the localised media ensemble and the organisational practices that have developed due to mediatization. Research questions are the starting point for every project, and there are multiple ways of formulating reasonable research questions (Bryman, 2012, p.85f). The following three research questions derived from my research on community foundations, considering the findings from the literature review and allowing for later theorisation through the theoretical lens of mediatization:

RQ1: What communication channels and strategies do they use and what are their motives for doing so?

RQ2: How do community foundations adapt their structures, processes, and activities, to the media?

RQ3: What is the overall impact of processes of mediatization and marketization on community foundations?

Given the research questions, the methodological setting, the theory, and the literature review, it is expected that these questions allow for the exploration of differences and similarities between organisations and between organisations from each country.

Interviews

As pointed out earlier, studies that take a qualitative look at how non-profits and voluntary organisations make use of social media are rare; qualitative research on non-profit foundations and their use of social media is even more limited. Interviews are used to provide qualitative insights into a specific phenomenon and allow for well-grounded analysis and the advancement of additional quantitative research. Only one article seems to exist, published recently, that analyses foundations' use of social media, looking at foundations in only one state in the United States (Pressgrove & Weberling McKeever, 2015). Pointing out that "foundations have been largely overlooked in this research" (2015, p.310), Pressgrove and Weberling McKeever interviewed communication experts and top executives to examine how and why foundations use social media, the resources and measures they employ, and the barriers and challenges they experience.

Exploring communication strategies through interviews

Before social media was widely used, non-profits already had staff doing marketing and public relations work. However, only a few articles look specifically at media publicity of voluntary organisations (Gibelman & Gelman, 2001; Jacobs & Glass, 2002; Greenberg & Walters, 2004). Newer articles which used interviews to analyse the use of media within an organisation instead explored the uses of social media within those organisations (Branigan & Mitsis, 2014; Campbell … Wells, 2014; Phethean … Harris, 2013; Quinton & Fennemore, 2013). Other articles using interviews point out the relevance of resources, for example, regarding providing funding for educating and training the staff (Pressgrove & Weberling McKeever, 2015). Measuring social media is an essential issue for non-profits, however, regarding its use and implementation, research on measuring social media within non-profits is still in its infancy (Phethean … Harris, 2013). Researchers employed interviews to address barriers and challenges bound to the implementation of social media within non-profit organisations (Pressgrove & Weberling McKeever, 2015; Branigan & Mitsis, 2014; Briones … Jin, 2011; Campbell … Wells, 2014; Quinton & Fennemore, 2013; Zorn s… Henderson, 2013). In general, as has been pointed out in chapter 3, research on non-profits, information and communication technologies and the media has seen an increase with the rise of social media and its adoption and use by the broader public over the last decade.

The case for interviews

Although interviews were not frequently used as the primary research method, the literature analysed often mentioned interviews when it comes to opportunities for future research. For example, Nah and Saxton (2013) analysed the adoption of social media by non-profit organisations noting that a more extensive variety of methodological approaches is needed to judge their use and adoption. Smith (2010) calls for in-depth interviews to evaluate the social effects of social media and their role in distributing public relations in the aftermath of natural disasters and catastrophes. Waters and Lo (2012) analysed the impact of culture on the use of Facebook by US non-profits and note that for future research, interviews "may provide greater insights into the impact of culture as they are given the freedom to discuss culture and the motivations for using certain communication strategies to reach their audiences" (2012, p.316). Briones et al. (2011) conducted an interesting study by analysing forty employees from

various chapters of the American Red Cross, however, their research also has its limits as they only focus on one organisation which is, compared with the majority of non-profit organisations in the UK and Germany, well equipped with resources. Zorn, Grant, and Henderson (2013) point out that studies on the use of social media should be carried out in more than one geographic location and that research should compare organisations with high and low consumption of social media. Campbell, Lambright, and Wells (2014) analysed employees from human services organisations in six counties in New York and found that those used social media for marketing purposes in particular, but that current research on non-profits and social media lacks further analysis regarding the strategic advancement of organisational goals. Moreover, future research should put more emphasis on the type of non-profit, for example, whether it is active in social services, education, or healthcare. Campbell et al. also admit that the findings on social media may be time sensitive, something, that has hardly been mentioned by anyone else in the literature reviewed.

While multiple research questions have been addressed, some have still hardly been analysed. For example, what is missing in most of these studies is a critical dimension that includes ethical questions related to the use of social media, privacy concerns of users and organisations alike, and topics such as trust and credibility, which were found to be essential concepts related to the strategic communication of organisations. Considering growing concerns over state and company driven surveillance and swelling public perception of the potential harm and threats to privacy and security caused by for-profit companies and governments, it seems sensible to include questions that address these emerging topics.

Sampling strategy and interview guide

This study uses a generic purposive sample in which case the unit of the sample are communication and marketing professionals in community foundations in the UK and Germany (Bryman, 2012, p.418). Hence the participants selected for this study had to meet a set of criteria at different levels for being included. First, at an organisational level, foundations were chosen according to their country, as this study intends to look at differences in the adoption and strategic use of media in the UK and Germany. Due to the high number of community foundations in Germany compared with the UK, a ratio between both countries was used that reflected that ratio but that also allowed for an adequate number

of interviews to be conducted. As a result, four community foundations were selected in the UK and seven in Germany. Second, to take into account the inquiries that have already been conducted on the impact of resources on the adoption of social media within non-profit organisations (Zorn … Henderson, 2013; Nah & Saxton, 2013), community foundations have been selected according to the size of assets at their disposal (Anheier, 2005). Third, the community foundations have been selected to reflect regional variations in each country.

The interview guide has been carefully crafted to reflect the research questions and to allow for later qualitative data analysis (Wolcott, 2001; Bryman, 2012; Charmaz, 2006). The overview of the existing research and the theoretical lens presented in prior chapters provided the basis for the construction of the semi-structured interview guide with open-ended questions (Bryman, 2012; Silverman & Marvasti, 2008). This resulted in a set of 22 broader questions in this interview guide which can be sub-summarised into six thematic topics (see Appendix, table A.3). Following the comprehensive interview guide, a shortened version was created and finally used for conducting the interviews (see table 5.1). Questions were kept as open as possible, which allowed the researcher to be sensitive to issues that emerged during the interview.

Table 5.1: Shortened Interview Guide (author's own table)

Questions	
Intro	After the interview, I will send you two forms which I would kindly ask you to sign and return to me via email. I'm interested in what has changed in recent years, when it comes to the foundations use of media.

- Since when do you work at the foundation and what is your **personal background**?
- What does your **daily routine** as a communications officer (or marketing expert) in the foundation look like?
- What do you think is the **broader role of communication within the foundation**?
- What drove the foundations **decision to adopt certain channels** such as the website or social media?
- How important are **media relations** for the foundation? (or how important are relations with journalists?)
- How do you/do you **measure** your communication with stakeholders?
- Have the media **influenced** the foundations mission and or vision? How?
- So, from your personal perspective, **what has changed over recent years**?
- Have you experienced any **hurdles** in adopting to new media?

Participants for this study were recruited in two waves. A list of community foundations in the UK and Germany was identified from the Community Foundation Atlas, an online resource curated by the C.S. Mott Foundation. This list included all community foundations that were known to exist up to the point of access. The list was then transferred into SPSS for

further analysis. In SPSS, a random generator was used to select a random sample of community foundations in the UK and Germany. During the first wave, participants in German community foundations were emailed in January and February 2016. In order to recruit the German participants, in total 13 community foundations were emailed. Out of these 13 organisations, seven agreed to participate, four organisations did not respond, and two declined after being contacted. For the second wave, participants in the UK were emailed in May and June 2017. In the UK, in total nine community foundations where emailed of which four did not respond and one declined after getting in contact because of lack of time. Interviews with the participants were carried out consecutively. The email that potential participants received stated the purpose of the research and offered further information on the project and the use of the data collected during the investigation. Every email included (1) a document providing information on the study and the ways in which data gathered from the interviews will be used, (2) a personal consent form that allowed participants to ask for their name to be anonymised, and (3) an organisational consent form that allowed the organisation to be anonymised and which had to be signed by the executive of the foundation. In case the potential participants agreed to participate in the study, a firm date and time were scheduled for the telephone interview. All interviews were carried out via telephone. In the community foundations that participated, only one person was interviewed. Participants were happy to contribute and take part in the study, pointing out the impact for the sector that the results of the study would have once it is made public (a list of all participants is included in the Appendix, table A.8).[11]

All interviews were audio recorded using a digital audio recorder. Subsequently, the audio files were encrypted and stored on the researchers' university web space. The short interview guide (see table 5.1) was used for all interviews. In order to clarify issues, follow up questions such as 'How do you mean that?' and 'Could you please explain that a bit more?' were asked. Interviews lasted for about 34 minutes on average, ranging from 18 minutes for the shortest to 54 minutes for the longest interview. Notes were taken directly after every interview to record

---

[11] As part of this research, the researcher agreed to prepare an executive summary for the C.S. Mott Foundation after completion of the study. Moreover, short pieces for the blog of the Alliance Magazine are going to be prepared in order to give something back to the participants.

notable statements and first thoughts. All interviews were transcribed and transferred to
NVivo, a software package for qualitative data analysis.

Qualitative analysis

After the audio files and the transcribed interviews were transferred to the qualitative data
analysis package, the data was organised and read thoroughly multiple times. An iterative
thematic coding approach was employed to identify and isolate recurring themes and
concepts. Doing the analysis this way allowed for the material to 'speak' while it was possible
to pair the themes (coded as nodes) that emerged during the analysis with secondary data
such as the interviewee's name, the foundation, their education and professional background,
and their gender. However, not all secondary data was considered for this study. For example,
the gender of the interviewees did not contribute to a deeper understanding as no differences
between different gender types manifested during the analysis. Compared to the themes
identified, concepts were coded on a theoretical base, allowing for a guided analysis of the
theoretical framework developed in chapter 4.

Repeated readings allowed for the consolidation of the major themes and concepts. The
themes and concepts that manifested during the analysis were constantly compared with
already existing themes to avoid substantial overlaps and allow for a discrete interpretation of
the findings. To structure the findings section, the analysis has been written along the topical
relevance of the exposed themes and concepts. The relevant sections that emerged from the
material are listed in table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Themes and Concepts (author's own table)

Themes	1. Raise public awareness
	2. Seeking engagement, interacting with stakeholders, and getting your message across
	3. Media channels and formats
	4. Building a brand, strategic planning, leadership, measuring success, ties to journalists, positioning, and accountability
	5. Giving, fundraising, and volunteering
Concepts	1. Mediatization
	2. Marketization and Professionalisation

In addition to this broader framework for writing up the analysis, a more comprehensive
list of minor and major themes, concepts, and stakeholders has been developed for each
section (the full list of nodes representing the themes and concepts can be found in the
appendix, table A.9). Notes were made by hand after every interview and short summaries of

themes and concepts were prepared. Together with the content analysis, this procedure allowed for the close interpretation and analysis of the material using direct quotes and notes.

Content Analysis

The interviews offer a window into the role of communication, how communication channels and platforms are adopted, and how daily processes change within the foundations to reflect the wider media use within the sector. As interviews focus on the actions of their actors they provide rich information on the actions analysed. However, to assess whether these findings also hold for the large majority of the community foundations in the UK and Germany, a content analysis of the websites of all community foundations in both countries was carried out. Websites were chosen because it became evident during the interviews, that they form the centre of communications work in community foundations. This allowed for the prioritisation of certain analytical frameworks over others. For example, the interviews revealed that community foundations in the UK were more aware of building a brand than German community foundations. Subsequently, this led to the formation of a findings sub-section "Marketing the Community Foundation", focusing on aspects such as branding and communicating strategically, which both came up during the interviews and could benefit from a closer examination through variables included into the content analysis. Therefore, analysing websites and the multiple media and links they hold to other media resources, channels, and platforms seemed to be a sensible move. The combination of qualitative and quantitative research enriches the findings and allows for a more nuanced picture to emerge.

Drawing on the literature review and the interviews, six hypotheses emerged that could be tested using the content analysis. First, it is assumed that community foundations in both countries make extensive use of their websites in order to paint a coherent and broad picture of their organisation and their activities in order to inform their stakeholders, by providing basic information on their organisation such as their charter and mission (H_1). Second, to achieve this level of publicity and accountability, community foundations in both countries make wide use of different media formats, documents, and records by, for example, showcasing pictures of their organisation in action and financial reports (H_2). Third, interactivity has been hailed as one of the main achievements of the internet and social media platforms. It is therefore assumed that community foundations in both countries make

substantial use of interactive website functionalities that offer some sort of reciprocal action such as an opinion forum (H_3) and that they therefore connect their websites to the various social media platforms they maintain (H_4). Fourth, community foundations that have become mediatized are more likely to feel the need to offer distinctive functionalities which enable them to be contactable by media personnel. It is therefore assumed, that mediatized community foundations have a dedicated media spokesperson listed on their website (H_5). Finally, as community foundations feel the urgency to raise money and engage supporters to fulfil their mission, it is assumed that community foundations in both countries make strong use of online platforms for fundraising and volunteering (H_6).

Sampling strategy and data storage

As with the interviews, the sample for the content analysis was retrieved from the Community Foundation Atlas website. The sample included a total of 57 (13.4%) (see Appendix, table A.5) community foundations in the UK and 367 (86.6%) (see Appendix, table A.6) community foundations in Germany. Thus, all community foundations interviewed are also part of this sample. First, a data file was set up including all community foundations at the time the data was collected (September–October 2017). All data were securely stored on a university drive in compliance with the data regulation policy (including signed consent form and requests for anonymisation). Second, screenshots of each website included in the sample were taken as a precaution in case a website were to go offline during the analysis. Third, based on these screenshots and the online versions of the website, every case (every community foundation) was coded using the codebook (see Appendix, p.XIII). In case some information was not available directly on the website as plain text, annual reports, flyers, and other material from the website were inspected in search of the information needed. However, some information was hard to retrieve, such as the asset size.

Variables and codebook

The next step was to set up a coding scheme and compile a codebook. Three articles that analysed non-profit communication through using a content analysis of websites, looking at social media use and interactive communication features, and were therefore incorporated into my content analysis framework (Kenix, 2007; Yeon … Kiousis, 2007; Zorn … Henderson,

2013). Also, a framework which explores the internal and external communication features present at websites of political organisations was also added to my content analysis framework (Nitschke … Schade, 2016). Additional codes were added during a pre-test using a small sample (see Appendix, table A.2).

Codes were developed in order to store organisational information such as the foundations' name, a contact person, an email address, the asset size, or the country. The variables were grouped into three blocks: (A) Organisational Information, (B) Additional Financial and Organisation Information, and (C) Website (see Appendix, table A.4). The age of a website was assessed using the Internet Wayback Machine, provided by the Internet Archive. A list of all community foundations analysed, separated by country, as well as a comprehensive codebook for the content analysis is included in the appendix. Variables in block A could include numeric values and text, for example, in the form of email addresses or phone numbers. Variables in block B could include numeric values (such as asset size) or be coded as dichotomous nominal variables being coded "0" (no/absent) or "1" (yes/present) (such as "PR department"). All variables included in block C were measured as dichotomous nominal variables with a measurement range of "0" (no/absent) or "1" (yes/present). Financial data (asset size) was transformed from £ to € (24 February 2018 was used for the rate of exchange; £1 = €1.13614).

Following the coding, the data were checked again in order to eliminate any errors that might have occurred during the coding process. Descriptive statistics were produced and Chi-square (χ^2) tests for independence were calculated to assess whether differences found between both countries were statistically significant. Cramér's V (φc) values were calculated in order to assess the strength of significant correlations. Logistic regression analysis was carried out in order to assess of impact of the asset size (B1a) on other variables.[12] Results tables include the odds ratio (Exp(B)), the confidence intervals (CI(95%)), R^2, and the effect size (f). The R^2-values are reported using Cox & Snell and Nagelkerke. The effect size (f-Cohen) is calculated using $f = \sqrt{\frac{R^2}{1-R^2}}$, in which R^2 (Nagelkerke) is used for R^2. Due to the lack of up-to-date data on the asset size of some community foundations, differences have to be interpreted within

---

[12] For better practicality, variables included into the models are stated alongside the analysis in chapter 7.

the limitations given. Community foundations were only included in the correlation calculation if the year of the asset size data given was between 2013 and 2018 (additional details on intercoder reliability measurements and the statistical software used are included in the appendix, p.XXI and table A.7).

The following two chapters present the results and discussion by combining qualitative and quantitative analysis where possible. For example, communication professionals talk about the ways in which they use the website to inform the public as a means for publishing annual reports as an important asset regarding being accountable. Through the content analysis, it is possible to review whether arguments and assumptions made by the interviewees hold true for all community foundations or maybe only for a fraction of foundations or only community foundations in one country. While chapter 6 explores individual themes, chapter 7 looks more closely at the impact of these themes on the concepts of mediatization and marketization and discusses how they affect community foundations.

Chapter 6.

'We are local. We have a voice, that kind of thing':
Exploring the Communication Practices
of Community Foundations

Community foundations (CF) make use of a variety of print media products, new media platforms, and events to engage and connect with their stakeholders, raise money and support their local community. In this chapter, I will explore the themes which were retrieved from carrying out interviews with communication and marketing professionals[13] in community foundations in the United Kingdom and Germany. Additonally, findings from the content analysis of all websites[14] of community foundations in the United Kingdom and Germany support the themes. The analysis in this chapter is guided by two main research questions: (1) How have community foundations adapted to the media and which media practices have they adopted? and (2) Are there differences in the ways community foundations in the United Kingdom and Germany have adopted media practices and if so, to what degree?

At first, the theme 'raising public awareness' will be described to provide general insights into why and how community foundations communicate and what obstacles they encounter by doing so. Second, I will explore themes surrounding ways of 'seeking engagement',

---

[13] The term 'communication professional' or 'CP' is used most commonly throughout the chapter. This includes professionals with a background in marketing and refers more broadly to their current work of field – doing communications for the community foundation.

[14] All findings and tables in this chapter stem from my own analysis. Status as of September 2017.

'interacting with stakeholders', and 'getting one's message across'. Third, the websites of the community foundations, and the various organisational functions the website serves, will be described in more depth. Fourth, themes connected to strategic media and public relations functions such as 'building a brand', 'strategic planning', 'leadership', 'measuring success', 'ties to journalists', 'positioning', and 'accountability' will be explored. Finally, core functions of non-profits such as 'giving', 'fundraising', and 'volunteering' will be described.[15]

Moving the Community Foundation into the Public Eye

Raising public awareness is a vital task for communiation professionals (CP) at a community foundation (CF). Throughout the interviews carried out with CPs in CFs in Germany and the United Kingdom, the need to raise public awareness was a topic often brought up by the interviewees. It is a key theme that connects to other themes such as planning and carrying out projects, implementing the foundation's vision within the organisation and the community, measuring success, raising funds, being accountable, responding to peer pressure as well as dealing with a changing society. However, although the reasons why and when CFs make use of communication and decide to professionalise it within their organisation, the interviewees see it as a critical element to the foundation's overall success. New communication and media technologies have 'radically' transformed our contemporary society over the last decades (Benkler, 2006; Thompson, 1995). With the growing amount of mediated information accessible to individuals, their 'attention' has become a precious and scarce resource (Wu, 2016).

Harvesting this attention is the job of CPs in any organisation and CFs are not any different in this respect. Jürgen Reske, a communication professional with 15 years of work experience in the foundation and by professional background a bank employee and public relations specialist pointed out that raising awareness and gaining attention must be understood as being a fundamental principle of creating outreach in philanthropy:

What we try to implement, the participation of people works in general, and for this to work

---

[15] The name and the organisations of an interviewee are stated where the communication and marketing professionals have approved that their full name and their organisation may be disclosed. In other cases, the name and the organisation were anonymised. A table including all interviewees is available in the appendix.

properly you have to be present in the public eye, to invite people. You know the philanthropy triad? Donate money, doing good, and time (Jürgen Reske, CF Bonn, DE).

Indeed, in this regard, communication becomes a vital function of philanthropic work, as communication is linked to getting known in the community right from the outset of a CF. As many CFs in the United Kingdom and Germany were established within the last 15 years, CFs have grown up being part of a changing media and press landscape. In this media landscape, the prominence of the internet as a conduit for communication has become natural, while the perceived relevance and overall circulation of printed materials such as newspapers have seen a steady decline. Nevertheless, public awareness is often closely linked to local newspapers and media relations, as a communication professional of a German CF with five years of work experience points out:

> […] And that is why media relations as an issue has been very prominent and has been systematized, starting in 2013, more continuously in 2014, and more focused in 2015, where we came up with an issue being picked up by the media in, let's say, 80% of the cases (Interviewee 3, DE).

This sentiment is echoed by Alexandra Sprockhoff, the CP at the Community Foundation Luechow, pointing out that "the most important thing for a foundation, from my perspective, is that when we were founded in 2008, that means that when you start at zero, your media relations are pretty important for gaining awareness". One aspect which is mentioned by German and British CFs alike is that although they actively participate in public life through funding projects and engaging with the community, there seems to be a constant lack of visibility of a foundation's work: "In order to remind people of us, because after all, many don't know us or haven't noticed us, they ask themselves: what do they [the foundation] do? It is an arduous path to educate them to know you" (ibid.). Echoing this sentiment, the marketing manager of a UK CF with eight years of work experience points out that although the foundation already employs many communication channels and has one staff member working full time on leveraging the public profile, the harshest critics often come from with inside the foundation:

> A lot of the trustees, a lot of the board members, often are thinking, you know, we need to raise our profile, we need to raise our profile. And I've heard that that's a common theme over community foundations. But the Trustees always say, 'Oh, the profile's not high enough' (Interviewee 8, UK).

This concern is quite understandable as the need to raise public awareness is closely linked to raising funds and communicating with both long-term and one-off donors. The

information society has not only established new ways and mechanisms for raising money for charitable causes (Waddingham, 2013), but it has also changed the way donors retrieve their information on where to invest their charitable donation (Saxton & Wang, 2013). As a result, the CPs consider being in the public eye as having better opportunities for raising money – be it from individuals or corporations.

Beyond fundraising, another issue that was prompted by CPs especially in the UK is the fact that society is changing and that there is a growing need for foundations to step in where the state and government have withdrawn support for social groups which have been affected by the economic downturn. Foundations intervene by setting up support for those groups which in turn changes a foundation's mission and vision and consequently its communications, as Iain Riddell, the communications professional at the Community Foundation Tyne & Wear and Northumberland, points out:

> Food banks were something that we didn't really want to fund. A few years ago, I can remember us not wanting to use the example of a food bank in our yearbook. We just thought, 'Oh, it's not something that we want to do.' Whereas now, we've done a big push on poverty, and poverty was a big theme for the last year, and food banks featured quite heavily in that. So society is definitely changing that communications, because we're having to adapt our business to support and tackle these issues. And, because we talk about what we do, we're having to talk about that kind of issue as well.

Not only does society and its parameters change communication, so do technological innovations and media technologies. As has been pointed out in Chapter 3, non-profits have been slow to adapt to new technologies and tend to be "typically a step behind for-profit and government organizations in capitalizing on new technology" (Spencer, 2002). For non-profits to effectively utilise new technologies, it is vital that these are more than internet and email and that the managing directors understand their importance for an organisation's success (Hackler & Saxton, 2007). By examining how CFs adopt and adapt to these changes, we can better understand the role and impact of communication technologies in and the influence on our lives. Communication becomes a substantial part of a community foundation's day-to-day work and brings its own set of rules and modes to the table, as Shannon Roberts, the communications and marketing officer with six years of experience at the South Yorkshire Community Foundation, and a former professional journalist put it:

> You have to recognise that communications change every time and you have to stay within that trend. Twitter and Facebook were a bit of a no-brainer in terms of showcasing what we do and showing that we are part of the sector and that we are here. We are local. We have a voice, that kind of thing.

'Relationship-Building-Overdrive'

Since its early days, the internet has been hailed as the future tool for building relationships with the public (Kent & Taylor, 1998). Non-profits have increasingly adopted new technologies for disseminating information, outreach, and discussion, thereby creating social media capital as some researchers suggest (Eimhjellen … Strømsnes, 2013; Saxton & Guo, 2014). For foundations, the path to building meaningful relationships is an ongoing journey, where the need to be strategic and professional is perceived to become more pressing in an uncertain future of social and economic change. On their journey, community foundations encounter various barriers and challenges, such as local media monopolies and staff shortages. But despite these hurdles, CPs are positive about new opportunities to engage with stakeholders. Using social media platforms such as Twitter, they can inform the public, build communities of like-minded people, and persuade them to take action (Lovejoy & Saxton, 2012). But interacting with the *right* audience for a foundation is challenging for the CPs interviewed for this study, as they have a complicated message and very different types of audiences to adhere to. As CFs are organisations which are embedded locally, they try to maintain close relations with their local donors, newspapers, community radio stations, trustees, politicians, and officials.

Gerhard Silberer, a communications manager at the Community Foundations Lahr, with four years of experience and a professional background in business administration in the banking sector, highlights that communicating as a non-profit is much different to an organisation such as a bank: "Well, of course that is different at a community foundation, right? I had to realign myself to the public, for example, the mayor, the local council, and more in general, the interest in our work […]". Building strong ties with local politicians, officials, and businesses is of great interest for community foundations, much more than it is for banks. Using different media channels in their local setting enables the foundations to reach a wide audience. For CFs, being present in the local news and being able to connect with the local base is often closely connected to building relationships and being engaged with the community, as Shannon Roberts notes:

> Yeah, well I think our local level is incredibly important, that we maintain those relationships. I do spend a fair bit of time with the local papers, talking to them about what their agendas are and how they are taking stories and what kind of stories they want.

Because attention is a scarce resource, and media channels are available at their fingertips, it is vital for the CPs to tell their story to get their message across. For Iain Riddell, this is directly linked with the broader effort to engage and interact with stakeholders, as they are often perceived as not knowing what the local foundation does or, more in general, what the difference between a community foundation and a charity is. Thus, telling a story to connect with the local community serves raising awareness, getting your message across, and engaging with the local community:

> That philanthropy is a source for good, and that we can help people give their money in an active way that's very local and very grassroots, and that makes a difference. So the more, and the better relationships that we have with them, means the better we can tell our story.

Moreover, with smartphones and their usability having improved rapidly in recent years, CPs must no longer rely on journalists to get their message across. As media platforms and smartphones have become commonly used by the wider public, communication professionals have tried to make sense of them and integrate them into their routines (Zorn … Shoham, 2011). With different social media channels and devices being able to capture high-quality pictures and video footage, CPs become more independent of the local news but more dependent on their skills. Having a smartphone and the skills to use it supports the effort of getting one's message across, as Iain Riddell points out:

> Well I think if you look at the tools that we have available now, we can tell stories in a much better way. So previously, my mobile phone that I had, it had a camera on it, but it wasn't the best. I could take videos, but they were probably muffled, and you couldn't really hear them anyway. Whereas now, I have a mobile phone that's amazing, and I can take really good photographs, I can take amazing videos, and I can just capture a moment a lot better.

As new ways of media technology are adopted by CFs, the foundations have started promoting their message by using their organisational website and email newsletters, which have become more targeted and tailored to multiple publics, as Kate Parrinder, the marketing officer at the Oxfordshire Community Foundation, notes: "I have a quarterly schedule of enewsletters going out, so we use dot mailer for sending out different e-newsletters to different audiences". Instead of using local newspapers to reach new publics and extend their local base, foundations increasingly think about turning to media channels they can curate on their own, such as their website, newsletter and emails, or social media platforms such as Facebook.

However, the degrees of professionalisation between the community foundations varies considerably. While some staff have a clear idea about where to look for and find their local

supporters, other CPs have only recently begun to 'do' communications and public relations work. Although they assume that the public they find on the social media platforms are not necessarily part of their target group, as another professional with four years of experience in the foundation noted: "The board, the board of trustees, and someone from the management, who is technically versed and supports us on a regular basis, said that we should become active on Facebook. However, this is a different generation, a different target group" (Gerhard Silberer, CF Lahr, DE). However, being mentioned in the most prominent newspaper or medium is not always the most effective way to reach the target audience either, as Jürgen Reske of the Community Foundation Bonn in Germany points out:

> That means that you have to be visible in the public eye, in order to reach people interested in [the work of the foundation] in Bonn. That is crucial. And then there are other newspapers such as the *Tagesblatt* [a local newspaper], the *Schaufenster* [another local newspaper], which is for free and is published once a week on Wednesday, and which is now also published at the weekend. In my opinion, this newspaper is undervalued quite often. Because it is really astonishing how much positive feedback we receive through that, when we are looking for volunteers.

Relying on established media outlets such as newspapers to get a message across is hard work and success is not guaranteed. As a result, CFs themselves design and produce high-quality print materials and standardised reports to make their case. For example, the Oxfordshire Community Foundation has been rather successful with setting up a report named *Oxfordshire Uncovered*, published in 2017, which depicts the needs of the local community by providing the reader with a mix of numbers, facts, and case stories about people in need and the help and solutions the CF can provide:

> It [*Oxfordshire Uncovered*] shows where the needs are and that's been a really, really helpful thing for us to have to start conversations with people, whether they are donors or potential donors, partners that we want to work within the public and private sectors, just to build as many relationships as possible. That is what we are really doing at the moment [...] relationship building overdrive (Kate Parrinder, Oxfordshire CF, UK).

When it comes to getting a message across and interacting with the public, community foundations rely on their projects and their events to attract attention and then use the media channels they deem to be most useful to spread them. The next section takes a closer look at how CPs in community foundations use the multiple media outlets available to them to understand how the media environment has formed the foundation's communications strategy and how this, in turn, affects their core functions.

Media Channels and Formats

The exploration of themes such as seeking engagement, interacting with stakeholders, and getting your message across underlines the multifaceted use of various media channels. As an established body of literature has analysed the impact of organisational factors on the adoption of media technologies, it has been pointed out that some factors were found to be of particular relevance, such as an organisation's size or budget. However, when it comes to non-profits and the reason why they do or do not adopt certain media channels, organisational size and budget have become less important in recent years (Nah & Saxton, 2013; Zorn … Henderson, 2013). Thus, it is becoming more likely for smaller non-profit organisations to adopt social media platforms and other established media channels. Community foundations in the UK and Germany make use of online platforms, broadcasting on community radio stations and in local newspapers, as well as publishing their own printed materials. The following sections will analyse more closely which channels communication managers at community foundations use, for what purpose, and to what effect.

Newspapers

Serving the needs of newspapers to receive coverage has been the bread and butter for communications managers in foundations and charities for years. Moreover, although the relevance of social media has increased in recent years and foundations nowadays can disseminate their information and statements through social media and their websites, newspapers nevertheless remain a strong priority for CFs when it comes to raising awareness, engaging with the public or attracting donors. However, there are considerable differences between how CPs working in CFs in the UK and Germany perceived the relevance and impact of newspapers on a community foundation's mission and vision.

German communications professionals interviewed for this study noted that they rely strongly on local newspapers to connect with stakeholders and that publishing a story in a newspaper has a strong impact, as more people reach out to them after a story has been published: "Yes, we are often contacted by friends who say: You've been mentioned alongside the community foundation in the newspaper? What are you doing in the foundation? Often people do not know about what we do" (Gerhard Silberer, CF Lahr, DE).

Figure 6.1: Community foundations, such as the Community Foundation Hannover, offer press releases on their websites for journalists [the title in bold reads: Current press releases; below is a list of materials such as press releases and press photos sorted by date]

Not only do relatives pay attention but given the positive feedback many CPs receive, they also praise the strong base of readers most local newspapers and local tabloids seem to have. As a result, many German CPs believe in the importance of being covered in the press and therefore allocate more resources towards creating and nurturing relations with the local press as a vital part of their daily work. Thus, local newspapers have significant relevance for German CFs in respect of supporting their core functions, such as attracting donors and recruiting volunteers, as Joachim Sommer, communications manager at the Community Foundation Muenster and with a professional background in public relations, points out:

> Especially the press is of great importance for the community foundation. Because we have to talk about our work and because we have to recruit volunteers, but we also have to find donors, as you cannot only work with the endowment capital over the years – you need people that donate regularly. And for finding these people, media relations are essential. You have to tell about your daily work and about successful projects in particular, to keep the foundation in the public eye.

Press conferences and the local press

To secure the interest of the local press, community foundations in both countries employ a range of media relations methods such as holding press conferences and releasing press

statements (see figure 6.1). Over recent years, German CFs have strengthened their efforts to professionalise and systematise their communications, as one CP recalls:

> Well it has taken off in in recent years, there were a few events, […] where someone said: we have to send something to the press. But that was, I would say, rather hand-carved and done by someone who thought that he knows how to do that, but it was neither systematic nor professional (Interviewee 3, DE).

Press conferences have been an excellent opportunity for CFs to showcase their projects in the past as foundations try to gain a 'permanent presence in the media'. Events such as the 'Bürgerbrunch', a public brunch where locals can buy a ticket for of which the money goes to the foundation's cause or press conferences where changes in the board's formation are announced, have been helpful in gaining the media's attention. While some community foundations focus on an annual press conference, others plan to hold press conferences every two months. One CP points out that the media need a 'plug' to get a story started, which can be an event that they are interested in regarding their logic. Indeed, the examples underline the multiple ways in which German foundations are adapting to the media for receiving coverage of an event or a message by the local press. Although German CFs work relentlessly to gain the media's interest, it seems to be much harder for CFs in the United Kingdom.

Communication professionals in the United Kingdom paint a much bleaker picture of their relationships with their local press. One reason is that because newspaper circulation has decreased in recent years, the perceived importance of the press to connect with the public has decreased too, as one CP in the United Kingdom echoes it:

> They're not running, kind of, the local stories and I think the other hard thing is that we're often talking about ... We try not to talk so much about the need, or that there is an element of it. It's more about what are we doing to fix that need. And I don't think that they're that interested in good stories a lot of the time. So, I definitely think we're much more focused on digital now than we ever were before (Interviewee 8, UK).

Yet while it seems that the interest of the local press has declined over the last years and social media allow for new ways of direct contact with stakeholders, newspapers are still perceived to be of high importance. Moreover, there are still ways to engage them. For example, CFs engage in direct talks with the newspapers and journalists to strengthen their relationship and get a better understanding of each other's agenda. This leads to new beneficial connections for both institutions, as foundations will see their content published and newspapers can rely on them to deliver press releases, comments or smaller articles, tailored to the newspapers' needs. For example, one foundation has provided their local

newspaper with two 400-word columns a month, outlining their projects or providing a third sector perspective on a timely topic. Besides that, CPs produce content for the local newspapers that refers to their case studies or their annual report and issues from these reports that the professionals know that the media are interested in. For this content to be picked up in the newspapers, the way it is framed seems to be a relevant aspect too, as another professional put it:

> It's easy to lose sight of what's actually going on in your own community, and to look at the negatives. The general press is always […] The headlines are always negative. When you put something in front of them that says, 'You're next door neighbour is doing this and you don't even know', then they really respond really well (Iain Riddell, CF Tyne & Wear and Northumberland, UK).

Community radio

Although community radio seems to be a perfect fit for community foundations' work, as it serves a local public with information specifically relevant to the community's needs, only two German CPs mentioned community radio as a communication channel they have tried out. However, due to the lack of perceived relevance and feedback, the foundation decided not to invest in preparing material for the radio station anymore, as it is time-consuming and costly to prepare for broadcast, taking the specific requirements of producing a professional feature into account. Having tried to interest the public via community radio a few times, the professional was surprised that they received little response; which is even more surprising as the radio is said to have about 20,000 listeners every evening:

> Shorter pieces, that is something you only find on the community radio, which is broadcast in the evening via Radio Bonn/Rhein-Sieg [a local radio station], we've been on the show a few times with features spanning one hour and talking about different projects, but without any resonance (Jürgen Reske, CF Bonn, DE).

Local television

Similarly, CFs hardly attempt to get covered by local television channels. One professional said that although he had good contacts with people and groups within that local television station, the station itself is barely interested in the foundation's work. On the other hand, the communication manager points out that while he produced a feature for the local television station once or twice, the "effort [for producing a short feature] bears no relation to what can

be gained" (Jürgen Reske, CF Bonn, DE). The local newspaper, in this regard, is much more central to them.

Google search

Foundations have adjusted to the new media environment by optimising their media channels for people to be found online and to make it easier for them to engage with users. Google is perceived as being the state-of-the-art search machine for most of the public, and to get people 'head and heart in one go' for the foundation's mission, the communication manager tries to make the case by keeping their profile optimised on the search machine:

> I think it's very important for just keeping that profile up. Because if we're about to meet with a potential donor, no doubt they will Google us. And if they see that we have a strong […] presence, if they can quickly run down and then can see facts and figures, if they can see case studies, it gets that head and the heart in one go. And that is how people are checking out charities at the moment, isn't it? (Interviewee 8, UK)

Annual report

Community foundations tend to publish an annual report which allows them to talk about their grantmaking, the new relationships they have made with donors and supporters, and their ambitions and finances. For many organisations included in this study, annual reports are one of the most comprehensive administrative and intense work tasks they face during the year when it comes to communications work. While some CFs use a rather fundamental way of presenting themselves, others put much effort into organising and designing the annual report to look professional:

> I've been really conscious of our brand and making it look as professional as possible so particularly working with a graphic design agency to improve things like our website, our printed reports. I think that we've, not just because of me but because of choosing to work with them, we've seen quite a dramatic improvement in terms of how things actually look and therefore how professional we seem as an organisation (Kate Parrinder, Oxfordshire CF, UK).

While some foundations can invest in hiring a professional designer or an advertising agency, other CPs fill this gap with their design skillset: "I do all of our marketing materials. So our annual review, any leaflets that need designing to promote a specific project, or programme, or campaign. Sometimes we get a designer to do that if it's fitting, and that's appropriate. But often, I'll end up doing it myself" (Interviewee 8, UK).

Figure 6.2: Vital Signs is a report focusing on community needs and can support the annual report through its standardised framework. Vital Signs is not used in Germany

As the annual report ties up a substantial amount of the annual work of a communications professional, "using some of that information that is in the annual report" for other purposes is sensible. One communication professional notes that this can be part of an integrated strategy, where someone 'will extract the images' from the annual report and 'share them on social media'.

Use of case studies

Amongst the main ingredients for annual reports are *case studies*, because they allow the CFs to show the impact of their work. As the Oxfordshire Community Foundations publishes its *Oxford Uncovered*-report, other foundations prepare similar materials, not only for their annual report but also for their various media channels. This is because case studies allow them to wrap their success into a narrative that is transferable to other media platforms, for example the website, as one communication professional notes: "So if we have great stories and great case studies on our website, then emotionally that can make people understand what we do, and maybe want to give to us" (Iain Riddell, CF Tyne & Wear and Northumberlanderland, UK). Moreover, using projects and building narratives around them

supports the new way of work of CPs that must serve multiple media outlets. Given that different media channels demand different formats, the CPs highlight that the case study approach provides them with the needed 'modularity' of preparing materials for different purposes over a more extended period.

Leaflets and mailings

Apart from using the case studies for their annual reports and online, most foundations still prepare many printed materials such as leaflets and mailings. The task of producing print materials underlines the professional skills that are needed when doing public relations work or marketing for a CF. While some CPs can rely on professional advertising agencies to prepare the design and eventually produce the leaflets, others note that the whole process is often done in-house, with the managers writing the case studies, designing the leaflet and preparing it for production. Although it seems that in times of social media being omnipresent print materials are no longer needed, the arguments for developing something that stands for quality and delivers a haptic experience is still a desirable outcome and valued by stakeholders of the CF:

> In a very online world, people talk about the death of print and nothing will be available in print anymore. But I think actually, in that context having something really high quality and a nice printed thing that feels professional and looks interesting is even more important and it's a bit of a relief from the constant reading things on screens (Kate Parrinder, Oxfordshire CF, UK).

Another print product rarely mentioned but said to be valuable regarding the collection of donations were mailings. One CP mentioned that they used a printed mailing and personal contact to raise a high amount for supporting refugees in Germany. He stressed that this was done without using any "social media or crowdfunding-platform".

The website

The most important communication channel for community foundations is their website. The analysis of the websites of all British and German community foundations allows for a broad assessment of how communication professionals at community foundations in these two countries make use of the various functionalities which modern websites offer them in order to inform and engage with their stakeholders. All the tables presented in this chapter draw

from the data collected from the community foundations website analysis, while all the quotes are from the interviews with communication professionals (see chapter 5). A complete list of all variables used in the content analysis can be found in the appendix (see B, XIII). In order to support the hypotheses and questions stemming from chapter 2, 3, and 4, the tables in this chapter only relate to the research questions discussed in this chapter. Additionally, a full list of descriptive statistics for all variables is included in the appendix (see Appendix, table A.10).

The website is of central importance as, for most CFs, it allows them to present their foundation to the public, showcase their projects, provide information on ways to engage with the foundation or how to donate money, and much more. Previous studies have also pointed out that information originating from non-profits' websites, blogs, or newsletters account for up to half of all the information posted by them on social media platforms (Waters & Jamal, 2011). Even though websites have been a long-established instrument for public relations and marketing, foundations have been slow to adopt them; some of them have adopted them only very recently (see figure 6.3). While all CFs adopted their websites between 1997 and 2017, the average year when foundations set up a website was only in 2007 (n = 415, M = 2007.63, SD = 4.4). According to the analysis, half of all foundations set up their website between 2003 and 2012.

Figure 6.3: The establishment of community foundation websites in the UK and Germany (author's own figure)
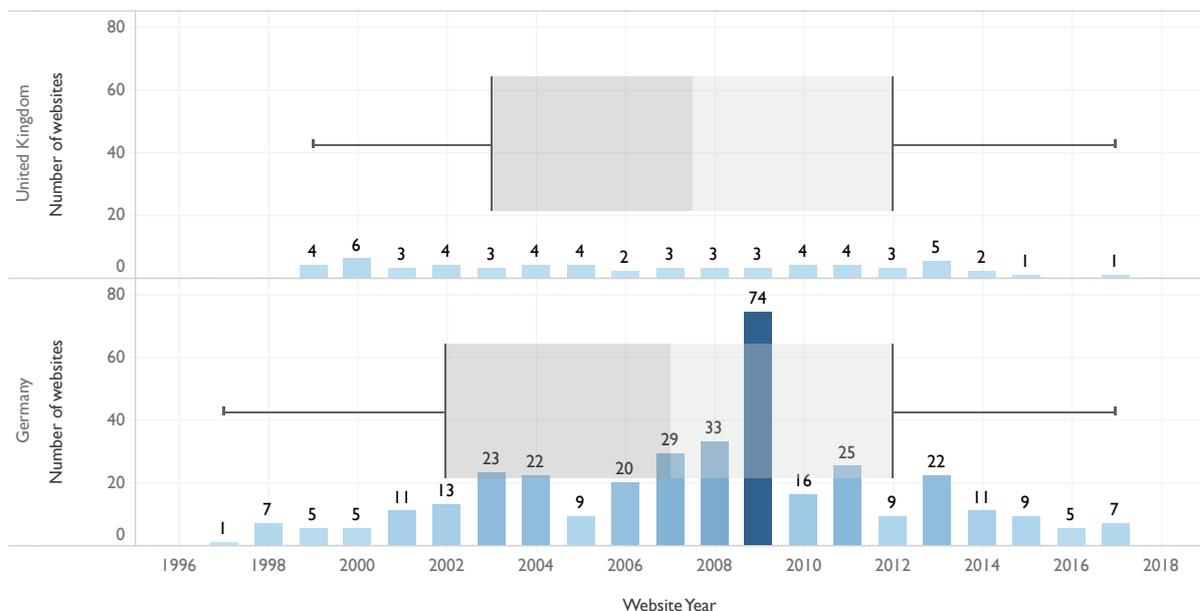
While about 94.2 per cent (n = 452) of CFs currently have a website, about 5.8 per cent (n = 26) still did not have a website in 2017. While today's online services suggest that setting up

a website seems to be quick and straightforward, CPs know that a lot of thinking and planning must go into setting up a website that serves the needs of the foundation. As a result, communication professionals interviewed for this study often pointed out that they relied on the help of an advertising agency for setting up the website and tailoring it to the foundation's needs. However, while some foundations fell back on advertising agencies to design their website, others set up the website on their own or with the help of interns.

Community foundations which use consulting companies to evaluate their communication channels and suggest ways of improving them often perceived the website as the most important flagship for their brand. Most of the CPs agreed that the website is the most important part of their communications channels, as it seems natural to them that "when you want to make public relations, you need a website" (Joachim Sommer, CF Muenster, DE). This is echoed by another professional, when comparing the relevance of having a website to having social media profiles: "Although opinions are divided when it comes to the role of social media, which I think often depends on a person's pool of experience and has to do with the connection you can draw between both, […] regarding the website there is no doubt about it [being relevant]" (Interviewee 3, DE).

Table 6.1: Community foundations provide varying degrees of information (author's own table)

	United Kingdom		Germany		χ2	
Variable	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*	*χ2-value*	*p*
Information on foundation history (C2a)	57	100	349	95.1	2.9	.09
Information on tasks and objectives (C2b)	57	100	356	97	1.7	.18
Information on organisational structure (C2c)	55	96.5	346	94.3	.47	.49
Information on managing director, board, executive (biography or profile)* (C2d)	55	96.5	194	52.9	38.7	.00
Information on members* (C2e)	53	93	142	38.7	58.5	.00
Mission statement* (C2f)	44	77.2	327	89.1	6.4	.01
Vision statement* (C2g)	39	68.4	108	29.4	33.1	.00
Charter* (C2h)	57	100	290	79	142.5	.00
Contact option (general) (C2i)	57	100	354	96.5	2.1	.15
Contact person given (C2j)	27	47.4	144	39.2	1.3	.24
Executive photographs* (C2m)	46	80.7	192	52.3	16.1	.00
Members addressed* (C3b)	54	94.7	68	18.5	139.8	.00
Intranet/Extranet option given (C3c)	7	12.3	43	11.7	.01	.90
New members addressed (C3d)	57	100	339	92.4	4.6	.03

Note: The row percentages in each cell are separate and do not add up to 100. Functions marked with an
asterix (*) indicate that the relationship was found to be statistically significant at p <.01 using the χ2-Test.

Community foundations in both countries use their websites to present information on the foundation's history, its tasks and objectives and its organisational structure (H₁). However, they differ when it comes to providing certain information such as more extensive

information on the board or members of their executives (χ^2 = 38.7, 1, p < .01, φc = .302) as well as providing pictures of them (χ^2 = 16.1, 1, p < .01, φc = .195) (see table 6.1). In both cases, CFs in the United Kingdom are more likely to provide this information on their websites. Given what professionals interviewed for this study said, this is probably the case because community foundations in the United Kingdom are more oriented towards businesses as donors. These types of donors seem to be more in need of having concrete information on the foundation board members and the foundation's vision (χ^2 = 33.1, 1, p < .01, φc = .279) compared with German CFs, where business ties are rather poorly developed and foundations trust in the acquisition of private individuals as their main source of donations. Interestingly, community foundations in the UK are also more likely to address their members on their website (χ^2 = 139.8, 1, p < .01, φc = .574) and provide information on them (χ^2 = 58.5, 1, p < .01, φc = .372), thereby supporting a long-lasting relationship (see table 6.1).

Table 6.2: Types and formats of information community foundations provide on their website (author's own table)

Variable	United Kingdom		Germany		χ^2	
	N	%	N	%	χ^2-value	p
Audio reports or material (C5a)	0	0	3	0.8	.47	.49
Video reports or material* (C5b)	26	45.6	33	9	55.2	.00
Newsletter* (C5c)	35	61.4	42	11.4	82.8	.00
FAQs (C5d)	24	42.1	164	44.7	.13	.71
FAQs (section aimed at media) (C5e)	0	0	1	0.3	.15	.69
Press review* (C5f)	8	14	154	42	16.3	.00
Calendar on organisational events (C5g)	16	28.1	110	30	.08	.77
News section* (C5h)	52	91.2	276	75.2	7.2	.00
Annual report or Financial report* (C5i)	30	52.6	87	23.7	20.6	.00
Feature stories written by staff* (C5j)	31	54.4	57	15.5	45.3	.00
Media kits* (C5k)	5	8.8	6	1.6	9.9	.00
Information on projects* (C5l)	57	100	307	83.7	10.9	.00
RSS feed (C5m)	3	5.3	8	2.2	1.8	.17
News alert service for media (C5n)	1	1.8	1	0.3	2.3	.13
Organisational staff speeches or presentations (C5o)	2	3.5	9	2.5	.22	.64
Photos of product or organisation in action* (C5p)	52	91.2	184	50.1	33.8	.00
Press release search engine (C5q)	0	0	6	1.6	.94	.33
Organisational logos for use in publications (C5r)	5	8.8	14	3.8	2.8	.09
Evaluation report for service beneficiaries* (C5s)	5	8.8	5	1.4	121.6	.00
Internal service review or evaluation report* (C5t)	35	61.4	5	1.4	11.7	.00
Testimonial statements* (C5u)	35	61.4	72	19.6	45.6	.00
Organisational perspective on current issues or trends* (C5v)	7	12.3	2	0.5	32.7	.00

Note: The row percentages in each cell are separate and do not add up to 100. Functions marked with an asterix (*) indicate that the relationship was found to be statistically significant at p <.01 using the χ^2-Test.

Although it was expected that community foundations in both countries make wide use of different media formats, documents, and records to achieve publicity and be accountable, community foundations in the United Kingdom are more likely to offer a broader range of

information on their projects, members, and their organisation (H_2). In providing 24/7 information for their stakeholders, websites of UK CFs are more likely to provide information through a dedicated news section ($\chi^2 = 7.2$, 1, $p < .01$, $\varphi c = .131$), the option to subscribe to a newsletter ($\chi^2 = 82.8$, 1, $p < .01$, $\varphi c = .442$), information on their projects ($\chi^2 = 10.8$, 1, $p < .01$, $\varphi c = .16$), and pictures of the organisation in action accompanying their news ($\chi^2 = 33.7$, 1, $p < .01$, $\varphi c = .282$). They are also more likely to put up well-written stories by the staff ($\chi^2 = 45.2$, 1, $p < .01$, $\varphi c = .327$), professional video reports and features ($\chi^2 = 55.2$, 1, $p < .01$, $\varphi c = .361$), media kits ($\chi^2 = 9.9$, 1, $p < .01$, $\varphi c = .153$), and testimonial statements ($\chi^2 = 45.6$, 1, $p < .01$, $\varphi c = .328$), which all point to a better understanding of the needs of journalists and media-savvy private individuals (see table 6.2).

As the website is often regularly updated, it is also used by CFs to respond to current events, such as the refugee crisis in Europe (and in this case providing help and information for refugees in Germany) or the multiple floods that happened across the United Kingdom over the last two years. In these cases, the website is being used a tool to provide an organisation's perspective on a current event ($\chi^2 = 32.7$, 1, $p < .01$, $\varphi c = .278$). Hence, CPs have pointed out that keeping the website up to date, both regarding the content and the underlying technology, allows them to raise their impact and visibility for stakeholders, as one professional put it:

> At the moment I'm working on a revamp of the website. Particularly bringing in more emphasis on our impact and our stories. I don't know if you've looked at our website but at the moment we're very much hearing the features of what we do here at the different options for giving, here are our services to groups but actually what we want to talk about a lot more is what we do with the money and what we achieve with it and the impact that we have to making much more of the case studies and the stories (Kate Parrinder, Oxfordshire CF, UK).

But not only do websites work as information repositories. They also allow them to be accountable to their stakeholders as the website comprises various information on the foundation, such as the charter, and information for grantees. Being accountable is of great importance for the community foundations, as it allows them to show how the donations are used. Community foundations in the UK are also more likely to provide an annual or financial report ($\chi^2 = 20.6$, 1, $p < .01$, $\varphi c = .221$), as well as publish internal ($\chi^2 = 11.7$, 1, $p < .01$, $\varphi c = .167$) or external ($\chi^2 = 121.6$, 1, $p < .01$, $\varphi c = .536$) evaluation reports (see table 6.2). While some CFs set up press events to attract attention, others rely on press releases and the implementation of a comprehensive press review. Public relations is perceived as the way of being accountable to the public, as one CP notes:

> When we have this project I always think that we have to report on it. Because the donors want that we report on the use of the subsidies. Or rather that we again note who donated the money. And that only works through public relations and news articles in particular, in my perspective (Sebastian Kellner, CF Saalfeld, DE).

This approach allows them to raise awareness and use the news article as 'evidence' for showing how the money was used. Community foundations use multiple ways to show that they are transparent and show accountability through their website. The broad range of functions the websites serve for the CFs underlines their significance and the value they have to the boards of foundations, as the board often drives the decision of setting up or modernising an existing site. Indeed, modernising is often mentioned as a possible step for allowing the foundation to become more "attractive, informative, younger, fresher" (Interviewee 3, DE). What is more, this is not perceived as necessarily being a 'change' but more of an 'adaptation' to a 'contemporary taste' of design. Because the old layout of a website is often mentioned as being too 'rigid', CPs have largely turned to using a website layout that is more 'flexible' and 'modular', as the professionals often have to work with and within the system on a daily basis. Some CFs have adopted a three to four-year update cycle for their website, as they draw on the support of a "designer to redesign the website" (Interviewee 8, UK). Having a modern design and utilising current technology, using content management systems (CMS) such as Wordpress, Drupal, or Typo3, for instance, allows them to create content that is accessible and allows for interactive features on mobile devices, such as mobile phone and tablets:

> So we moved to a modular format, which just gives us a little bit more flexibility so we can have a lot more impactive studies. We can, there's modules for news, and modules for events, and it looks better and it works a bit better on mobile. So it was quite an important change, but really it was just to have greater evidence of the work that we're doing, and the impact that we have (Iain Riddell, CF Tyne & Wear and Northumberland, UK).

Having a state-of-the-art website also makes it easier for them to integrate functionality to engage in discussion directly on their website. Interactive functionalities such as public channels for stakeholders to voice their opinion have been hailed as one the main benefits of websites, and it is assumed that community foundations make wide use of these functionalities (H_3). While the websites have been promoted as a revolutionary way to foster dialogue in the early days of the internet, CFs have not yet picked up these functionalities on a large scale. While most of them provide opportunities to contact the foundation via email (see table 6.1), few functions such as a comments functionality or forum or opinion polls are used. If employed, CFs in the UK are more likely to use comments ($\chi^2 = 12.6$, 1, $p < .01$, $\varphi c = .173$)

or opinion polls (χ^2 = 3.0, 1, p < .01, φc = .065). It is also surprising to see that none of the foundations used any form of petitions to support a cause (see table 6.3).

Table 6.3: Interactive functionalities at community foundation websites (author's own table)

	United Kingdom		Germany		$\chi2$	
Variable	N	%	N	%	$\chi2$-value	p
Comments or opinion forum* (C6a)	9	15.3	15	4.1	24.8	.00
Opinion polls* (C6b)	2	3.4	3	0.8	15.5	.00
Quizzes, knowledge tests, or games* (C6c)	0	0	5	1.4	13.2	.00
Ecards (C6d)	0	0	0	0	–	–
Petitions (C6e)	0	0	0	0	–	–

Note: The row percentages in each cell are separate and do not add up to 100. Functions marked with an asterix (*) indicate that the relationship was found to be statistically significant at p <.01 using the χ2-Test.

When it comes to the ways in which community foundations use websites, it can be said that CFs in the UK in general offer more information on the foundation's activities and are more likely to offer interactive features allowing them to be approachable and accountable. This can be explained by the perceived need of being within reach of their various stakeholders such as donors and business. The perceived need of being approachable vindicates their setting up of multiple communication channels with the website being their communication flagship, bundling and containing most of their content. However, the participatory potential that some scholars have ascribed to the evolution of the internet and its functionalities have not yet materialised in the case of community foundations, as they provide stakeholders with few opportunities to voice their opinions publicly on their website.

Using blogs

When it comes to the term 'flexibility' many of the CPs interviewed mentioned *blogs* as the new media channel to use to create narratives and be up-to-date. Indeed, the blog is often seen as an extension or addition to the website, as one manager notes: "So I used some of that information as blogs to go on our new section of our website. I have stuff on the social media that's got lots of sort of facts and figures about the need in [city] and what we're doing to address that" (Interviewee 8, UK). This view is also echoed by other professionals, pointing out that content created for the annual report or other communication products is often "reused and repurposed as much as possible online". Thus, the blog is mainly valued as it can handle various media formats and, through its archival functionality, for some CFs works as a living media archive, as one CP who frequently uses the foundation's blog highlights:

> We have a range of great and interesting messages on which we can report every week. Because of that, I'm forced to summarise topics and take a photo. Hence we have an ongoing documentation of our activities by the end of the year. So when I think about it, we have a whole range of events, and a range of texts, a range of photos, that's a marvellous effect (Jürgen Reske, CF Bonn, DE).

Newsletters

As blogs are often incorporated into the website, so are the opportunities to subscribe to a *newsletter*. The monthly or bi-monthly newsletter offers a way for people interested in the work of a foundation to receive updates tailored to their needs, including information on projects and calls for applications. As with websites, newsletters allow CPs to closely monitor subscriber feedback through applications such as Mailchimp. The way in which newsletters are tailored to different audiences varies greatly, as some foundations feel that it is sufficient to see all their stakeholders as one group, while others think more strategically about the various groups they're addressing by, for example, subdividing their stakeholders into grant applicants, donors and supporters, as well as business contacts.

Email

Newsletters are a comfortable way of receiving information for people interested in the foundations work, and the underlying technology, the *email*, is very much alive in the daily use at foundations too. Emails are used for organising events, informing both benefactors and beneficiaries. Moreover, while most of the community foundations in the United Kingdom and Germany have at least one social media channel, it is often pointed out that emails are still the most common channel for receiving feedback or correspondence with stakeholders. However, over recent years, foundations have increasingly adopted social media channels such as Facebook, Twitter, or LinkedIn.

Social media channels

Community foundations have picked up on social media channels over recent years. However, the decision to do so was not always a straightforward path. While it has been a 'no-brainer' for some, others had a more deliberate approach where they based their decision to adopt a certain channel on the grounds of extending their base to reach new stakeholders,

younger ones in particular: "We use Facebook to, let's say, recruit youngers for our upcoming projects. Especially for youth projects […] the focus is on Facebook" (Joachim Sommer, CF Muenster, DE). Although this strategic approach of using a network is employed by some, most of the German CPs interviewed are reluctant to use any social network platform. One of the reasons is that they assume that Facebook users do not necessarily represent their target group. Another one is that German communication professionals are struggling with the idea of finding their target group and also having not enough resources to curate the profile: "There is the problem we have with a very fluid student base and that's why we're not on social media at all. We have repeatedly been recommended to do that, but we have a shortage both in personal and time" (Interviewee 1, DE). However, even when the process of setting up profiles and actively curating them was a 'no-brainer' to some, the way the decision to have a profile was often introduced top down from an executive or strongly supported by an executive or board member, as one CPs notes:

> I was actually really lucky: my Chief Executive has always been really, really supportive and very forward-thinking in terms of social media, and digital marketing. When I first said I wanted to implement it. She said, 'Absolutely'. And I think a lot of people, and organisations would have thought 'No, no. That's just playing around. It's not worth investing time in'. And I'm really glad we did because that is the point of social media (Interviewee 8, UK).

As has been pointed out earlier, organisational factors such as receiving support from the management to implement information technologies and social media into the foundations' work routines were found to be supportive (Nah & Saxton, 2013). When CPs adopted a channel, they often incorporated feeding content into their daily routines. This included writing shorter news stories and planning them in advance, sometimes even for a week. While some of them do not seem bothered by the additional work, some have been reluctant to set up networks as the amount of work needed for curating the channel was unpredictable regarding the amount of time and resources needed and the fear of receiving negative feedback from an unknown audience, and in that case, how best to respond. Although only mentioned once during the interviews, the age of the CPs seems to be associated with a reluctance to adapt to using new media channels, as the manager in question grew up when social media did not exist and therefore, as he points out, it was initially 'quite difficult' to start with.

It has been assumed that community foundations seize the opportunity to engage stakeholders by connecting the website to their various social media platforms (H_4). The

differences between countries adopting new media technologies and those that do not became more evident when inspecting the implementation of these platforms into the foundations' websites (see table 6.4). While older networks such as the VZnetworks, which have their origins in the early 2000s and can be seen as the antecedents of later platforms and networks such as Facebook or Twitter, have not been adopted once, newer networks such as Facebook ($\chi^2 = 144.0$, 1, $p < .01$, $\varphi c = .583$) and Twitter ($\chi^2 = 315.7$, 1, $p < .01$, $\varphi c = .863$) have been adopted to a large extent by CFs in the United Kingdom, but only to a minor extent by German CFs. Although not at the same rate, newer social media platforms such as Pinterest ($\chi^2 = 6.5$, 1, $p < .05$, $\varphi c = .123$) and Instagram ($\chi^2 = 55.0$, 1, $p < .01$, $\varphi c = .326$) are more likely to be adopted by foundations in the UK than in Germany. Blogs are a rather better-established social network tool. However, as blogs offer various incentives for CPs to use, for example, content posted on blogs belong to the foundation, giving greater control over how the content is framed and offering an efficient way to increase the visibility of a blog/website for search engines, they enjoy consistent popularity within CFs in the UK ($\chi^2 = 58.4$, 1, $p < .01$, $\varphi c = .371$). While CPs have pointed out earlier that the creation of videos becomes quicker and less time-consuming with smartphones, very few foundations have turned to using video platforms such as YouTube ($\chi^2 = 62.0$, 1, $p < .01$, $\varphi c = .383$) on a regular basis.

Table 6.4: Social media channels connected to community foundations websites (author's own table)

Variable	United Kingdom		Germany		χ^2	
	N	*%*	*N*	*%*	χ^2-value	*p*
Connection to Google Search (C4a)	0	0	0	0	–	–
Connection to VZ-networks (C4b)	0	0	0	0	–	–
Connection to YouTube* (C4c)	14	24.6	5	1.4	62.0	.00
Connection to Twitter* (C4d)	52	91.2	9	2.5	315.7	.00
Connection to Blogs* (C4e)	11	19.3	2	0.5	58.4	.00
Connection to Facebook* (C4f)	51	89.5	56	15.3	144.0	.00
Connection to LinkedIn* (C4h)	21	36.8	1	0.3	134.1	.00
Connection to Pinterest* (C4i)	1	1.8	0	0	6.4	.01
Connection to Google+* (C4j)	3	5.3	1	0.3	6.9	.01
Connection to Instagram* (C4k)	8	14	1	0.3	45.0	.00
Recommend option (C4l)	1	1.8	6	1.6	.01	.94

Note: The row percentages in each cell are separate and do not add up to 100. Functions marked with an asterix (*) indicate that the relationship was found to be statistically significant at p <.01 using the χ2-Test.

Still, the professionals interviewed have voiced growing interest in using videos in the future. This aligns with the prediction that, according to a marketing report by Freedman International, producing shorter videos for social media such as Snapchat might be a good

approach as attention spans become shorter and content becomes even more consumed on mobile devices (Freedman International, 2018).

A major difference when it comes to social media use between both countries is that community foundations in the UK are more likely to adopt business networks such as LinkedIn (χ^2 = 134.1, 1, p < .01, φc = .562). A possible explanation for this might be the prevalence of engaging with local business regarding corporate social responsibility projects, then in Germany, where including local businesses into ones fundraising efforts is still in its infancy on the local level.

When it comes to picking the *right* network to use, community foundations often adopt the major networks – Facebook and Twitter – but have slightly different views on why they choose to use one over the other. While Facebook is often perceived as being a way to extend a foundation's user base, it can also be perceived as being a way to consolidate the initial founding members and keep them up-to-date, as one CP pointed out:

> So, on Facebook are the people we already know. That means that are our donors, for example, or people who received funding from us. […] In this case, we don't have to make them aware of us, they already know that we exist. They just want to be kept up-to-date. The newspaper is more important for us regarding new contacts, get to known in other circles. Make people aware of us that have not been aware of us so far (Alexandra Sprockhoff, CF Luechow, DE).

This narrative is picked up by other professionals noting that Facebook is 'more about the community aspects' and 'more personal' than using Twitter or the local newspaper. While one CP pointed out that while Twitter is a faster platform, Facebook is slower, and therefore convenient for their approach, others regard differences between the two networks rather in need of creating different content for each of them:

> If you look at Twitter now, Twitter started off as just being a lot of text, whereas now Twitter's moving towards a lot more video and photography content. And the same with Facebook. You've got the rise of Instagram, and the rise of Snapchat, things like that. People are digesting information very differently (Iain Riddell, CF Tyne & Wear and Northumberland, UK).

Moreover, some managers point to the fact that choosing the network is also based on the kind of people they want to reach. Instead, others think of using all of them to 'broadcast the same sort of thing' to various stakeholders and social networks at once. Creating the content or having the resources and time to do that is one of the major pitfalls for CFs, in Germany in particular.

While social media is perceived as the future of communications by many interviewees, setting them up and curating them requires more time and staff. Data from several studies have shown that organisational resources have a strong influence on the ways in which new technologies and social media are adopted within non-profits (Waters & Lo, 2012; Hou & Lampe, 2015). Not having enough staff is a challenge commonly voiced by the communication managers in both countries, as social media activity often comes on top of their regular work such as drafting press releases, planning events and maintaining the website. However, there are temporary solutions to staff shortages. For example, some German CFs use interns, often students who have various social media profiles on their own, and another mentioned cooperation between the CF and the marketing department of the local university. Another CF uses one-year volunteers, pupils who have only recently finished their A-levels and take a gap year in a social institution.

Figure 6.4: While few German community foundations integrate Twitter or Facebook feeds into their websites, this is a much more common phenomenon with community foundations in the UK.

Although CFs noted that this helps them to get a glimpse of what is possible with social media, one common problem is that once the gap year or the internship is over, the CF has to find someone who fits into this position and is able to continue the work of the previous

intern and preserve the knowledge which, according to the CPs, can mean an uncertain and bumpy road ahead. No matter the way foundations make use of social media, most of them believe this is the way forward, or as one puts it:

> It was a long time ago now that we set up Twitter, and Facebook and I think we were just very aware that that's where the future was heading. So, we knew we wanted to be there. We didn't want to adopt it late. And we knew it was an opportunity to communicate with our audiences, whether that's the donors or the grant applications, […] (Interviewee 8, UK).

For one German CF, this future came more quickly than expected, as it accidentally deleted its website and now only uses its Facebook page as the only online presence. Instead of setting up a new website, they decided to use Facebook for all their needs. According to them, its "easy to handle" as well as "quicker and timelier" (Alexandra Sprockhoff, CF Luechow, DE). Moreover, she points out that the administration process for Facebook is easier to handle for multiple people and content, such as pictures, can be quickly uploaded. When thinking about the future of the CFs, one CP adopted the pragmatic view of pointing out that CF are built to last, and that future generations of donors are going to be on social media. To grow its endowment, the foundation has to go where future donors will be in 20 years, when they sell their businesses and decide to donate their wealth: "The people that will be selling their businesses and that will be thinking about their philanthropy will be people that were on social media and are on social media. […] So I think that's a key part of why we use social media, really" (Iain Riddell, CF Tyne & Wear and Northumberland, UK).

Checking and updating the profiles a CF owns has become a weekly routine for most of the CPs. Besides the more dominant social networks Facebook and Twitter, community foundations, especially in the United Kingdom, tend to curate a LinkedIn profile too. Moreover, this is for good reasons, as one professional notes:

> LinkedIn was a little bit later. And the reason we adopted that one is, obviously, because it is very business-driven, and we have a lot of corporate donors, and even if not the corporates the people running the business, you know the individuals involved in the businesses may be wanting to give. […] And I think LinkedIn is much more about the potential donors (Interviewee 8, UK).

Therefore, adopting social media platforms is often seen as picking another communication channel for extending the outreach of a foundation. CPs curate LinkedIn differently compared with other social media platforms. While some of them tended to broadcast 'the same sort of things we put on Facebook and Twitter' in the beginning, they now start to think of it as an 'interactive networking tool' instead of a one-way information

outlet. This is because LinkedIn tends to be a business network, thereby allowing for connecting local businesses with local charities. Within CFs that own a LinkedIn profile, the executives of the foundations seem to be the most active individuals using it. As CPs have to support their executives with content for the networks they use, the CPs have realised that on LinkedIn it is essential to show 'leadership' within their local charity sector. As a result, they have changed their strategy and want to do more in terms of more "dynamically connecting with people rather than just broadcasting from our page".

While some social media platforms were adopted widely, others such as Instagram or Snapchat have hardly been adopted. Few CPs mentioned Instagram or Snapchat, but when they did, they clearly acknowledged that these would be possible future channels they might adopt as they are perceived as becoming more important for them, and that the number of users has increased over recent years – professionals find that "Snapchat is getting used more and more". But it is not only because the number of active users keeps growing, but because the CPs acknowledge the need to tailor the content to the communication channels used, or as one professional puts it: "People are digesting information very differently". As people tend to engage with content that appeals more to their affections, Iain Riddell notes that networks such as Instagram and Snapchat demand video over text and pictures, which has become easier to produce with the rise of mobile phones which allow them to take "really good photographs, […] take amazing videos, and […] just capture a moment a lot better", which all contributes to creating a story in order to engage people more effectively in a foundation's cause. The professionals also voiced the opinion that they have to "make sure that we utilise it properly and we have a presence" although because of the limited capacity of time and funds, they are not able to use it to its full potential.

As media channels cultivate new media formats and become more widely adopted by individuals, CPs attempt to adapt to the trends or, as one professional notes: "[…] you know, we're very focused on trying to create videos because we know that that's where things are heading. We're trying to be as digital as we can be. So, it's just trying to think ahead a bit more, rather than just one day" (Interviewee 8, UK). Since producing professional-looking videos can be expensive, the CPs take these tasks upon themselves, trying to "make some kind of animated, free animated videos". Although curating social media channels is a time-consuming activity, CPs have found ways to reduce the amount of constant work and plan in advance. For example, one CPs mentioned the use of the social media monitoring tool

Hootsuite, to set up and schedule content for at least a week and sometimes even a month to avoid putting oneself into the situation of thinking: "oh I'd better go and post something today".

What becomes evident is that while CFs in Germany and the United Kingdom set different key priorities when it comes to choosing and using the media to support their mission, most of them adapt to the media to a certain degree by adopting practices and routines that increase the likelihood of receiving media coverage or increasing their visibility on social media. Although community foundations in the United Kingdom and Germany focus on different ways of building relationships, as they are constantly figuring out how to best reach their stakeholders through the various media channels, their actions and motivations demonstrate a strong sign of the perceived need and reliance on these mediated connections. And while UK CFs show stronger tendencies of professionalisation, German CFs nevertheless perceive the urgency to act in a changing media landscape. The next section takes a closer look at the techniques they have developed to market their causes to various stakeholders.

Marketing the Community Foundation

The ways organisations and institutions market themselves have shifted substantially over recent years, with organisations creating products and services tailored to the values of their customers and an ever changing customer path in an increasingly digital economy (Kotler … Setiawan, 2017). At a time in which countless media products are constantly bombarding individuals through different channels and formats, community foundations have adopted media channels and strategies that have hitherto mostly been developed by professional advertising agencies for their multinational clients (Pope … Asamoa-Tutu, 2009). This state of affairs has fundamentally changed in recent years, with advertising and public relations agencies now advising non-profits, for profit or pro bono, in order to leverage their own profile. Non-profits have increased their own efforts to professionalise their communication so as to tap into the potential benefits that social media offer. But until now, the number of CFs that have permanently integrated professional communication staff is still low. In September 2017, only 37 (or 11.4%) out of 424 CFs in the United Kingdom and Germany had a PR department or a dedicated PR spokesperson listed on their website. With 45.6 per cent

(χ^2 = 112.5, 1, p < .01, φc = .515), the number of CFs having a PR department or spokesperson is significantly higher in the United Kingdom than in Germany, where the share is only 3 per cent.

This lack of employing professionals has not stopped community foundations and other non-profits from adopting certain strategies and finding ways to circumvent shortages in staff and skills. The attention economy (Wu, 2016) has made it necessary for non-profits to adopt media practices which lead to a growing influence of the media on the organisational operations of civil society organisations (Grafström … Karlberg, 2015). As a result, non-profits have adopted a journalistic mindset (Waisbord, 2011) and integrated marketing and advertising methods (Quinton & Fennemore, 2013) as well as public relations strategies (Pressgrove & Weberling McKeever, 2015) into their daily routines. These developments have left their mark in the form of how CFs now try to *sell* their cause to potential stakeholders. Recent years have seen a rise of community foundations' adapting to the media by leveraging and shaping their communications to make them look modern and be recognised by their stakeholders. For the CFs, being recognised within the local community is the most essential communication goal, as one CP notes:

> One of the things difficult is being challenged quite a lot about our profile. Obviously I want to raise our profile as much as possible but there is only so much you can do without doing huge high budget marketing campaigns so this is something that you'll find with all community foundations I think is that, particularly in this country, people don't know what a community foundation is and that's quite a big pressure on marketing people, I suppose, because you're feeling like you want to do your best and try and raise the profile as much as possible but you're struggling against a general lack of awareness of what community foundations are and what they do. [...] That is quite a hurdle, I think, historically and into the future (Kate Parrinder, Oxfordshire CF, UK).

Branding

To solve that problem, communication professionals have turned to public relations and marketing techniques such as branding. They have employed advertising agencies that have evaluated the foundation's communications strategies, in case they already had codified rules or advised them to use a corporate design. For example, one CF was advised to create a new logo and set up a new website in order to become more attractive, not only to visitors but also to search engines, which are the primary sources for directing internet traffic. Establishing a brand and being recognised as an organisation becomes an essential asset in times of

increasing competition between charitable organisations, as one communication professional points out that people "people just don't recognise it [community foundations] as a brand" Kate Parrinder, Oxfordshire CF, UK). The urgency to build a brand and branding communications material is not only reflected in direct quotes, where CP literally mentioned branding as a strategy, but it is often an intrinsic part of other communications efforts. For example, setting up a press conference often requires material to be prepared beforehand. This material reflects the community foundations as a brand. They prepare materials which reflect their values and presents them in the most positive way. This can be interpreted as a strong sign of the growing professionalism that is now characterising the sector in both countries.

Leadership

The approach to modernise a foundation's communication was often linked to the vision of having – or taking – a leadership role within the community, allowing them to "more dynamically connect with people rather than broadcast from your page" (Kate Parrinder, Oxfordshire CF, UK). The professional use of communication allows them to raise their profile and strategically position themselves within the community. Exploring the use of information and communication technologies within foundations in the United States, Pressgrove and Weberling McKeever discovered that leaders take their role as advocates for social media serious, as they strive "to provide resources and opportunities that meaningfully motivate social and behavioral change in their communities of influence" (2015, p.322). Moreover, they point out, executives are not daunted by the associated risks and challenges of using social media, such as losing control over the message. Both positioning and being strategic regarding one's communications practices were often brought up during the interviews. In terms of positioning, CPs pointed out that using communications is required from the very beginning of the foundation's work and that it has to be implemented on a regular basis. For example, recurring communication activities such as annual press conferences have been named by German CFs as a preferred action for succeeding in this long-term goal.

Communicating strategically

Another way of supporting the community foundations' missions is to communicate strategically. *The Holmes Report*, a yearly report on global changes in PR, points out that communicating strategically and leadership skills are required to ensure future success in a world where the changing media landscape, new technologies, and greater access to data are perceived to be the biggest drivers of change (Pawinska Sims, 2018). Implementing professional approaches such as strategic planning is somehow limited to UK CFs, as German CFs rarely employ more elaborate approaches to strategic communication. The need to communicate strategically is due to the different stakeholders which CFs in the UK and Germany aim to address. Community foundations in the UK are in general financially better equipped and are more likely to provide local communities and projects with grants, rather than to lead projects themselves. The Kent Community Foundation, for example, states on its website:

> Kent Community Foundation has distributed over £30 million in grants and now provides financial support to hundreds of charities and deserving causes throughout the county each year. Last year we distributed 560 grants to the value of £2.25million to small, local charities and individuals, where a modest sum of money can make a significant impact.[16]

Following this statement, the foundation lists organisations and companies with whom it has co-operated and worked with. The statement published by the Kent CF is thus a good example of the ways in which CFs in the UK are working. While some German CFs have a professional marketing approach, CFs from the United Kingdom more directly express the relevance of strategic communications, pointing out that they "think a lot more strategically now, and plan a lot more" (Interviewee 8, UK). This strategic approach translates into concrete measures such as setting up a weekly schedule for social media posts but also doing some research on a specific issue and translating this into a campaign. This includes, but is not limited to, the need to think about foundations' 'audience', 'messages', and the 'objectives' of the communication, as one professional put it:

> We've got a new fund opening soon […] so I'm planning to have to do the comms for that and what kind of PR we need to do, what the messages are about that, what the objectives for the campaign are, telling people about it, getting more donors on board potentially to contri-

---

[16] "Impact and Influence", Kent Community Foundation, https://kentcf.org.uk/impact-influence, accessed 5. May 2018.

bute to that fund, making sure that everything […] all the communications are coordinated, so we have all the same messages on our website, social media and any emails that are going out and [inaudible 00:05:37] as well hoping that will get us quite a lot of leverage in particularly the local press (Kate Parrinder, Oxfordshire CF, UK).

When it comes to using campaigns, the degree to which CFs use communications can already be seen as being quite elaborate. Indeed, campaigns require a certain level of strategic communications that is described by one communications professional as being 'completely integrated'. This integrated approach allows the communications teams to produce content that can be scheduled, formatted and reused for multiple media outlets. However, it requires forward thinking, planning and regular monitoring of the impact of these measures.

Measuring communication

Investigating foundations in the United States, Pressgrove and Weberling McKeever found that these foundations integrated social media and technology into their mission-based strategies, albeit that communication experts and executives "are still learning how to measure the success of their investments in these media as it relates to advancing their organizational missions" (2015, p.323). Although CFs have learnt new ways to measure their performance on the web and social media, they are still novices when using methods such as counting the number of likes a Facebook page has as well as relying on word-of-mouth to receive feedback. What is more, CFs often have neither rigorous procedures nor the personnel to carry out regular monitoring. For example, one of the German CFs uses volunteers to produce their weekly press review. While one could argue that there is room for improvement, at least CFs acknowledge that they do not measure and communicate strategically to their full potential, noting that currently 'it's not really a good measure' and being 'quite guilty' about not doing enough. Yet some have already developed or are in the process of setting up routines which look at metrics and key performance indicators (KPIs) which allow them to track and gauge what a website or social media visitor might be interested in, as one CP mentioned:

> So, that gives me lots of really good detail. Obviously, social media has good analytics as well about how often people are clicking on things. Or liking things or looking at things. And if they're going, you know, how often they've been shared and things like that. So there's lots of stuff out there. Lots of data, but we're trying to join the dots at the moment. Which I think is the next, sort of, step for us (Interviewee 8, UK).

Gaining insights into users' behaviour and experience is a topic that is connected to optimising one's online presence, be it the website, on Twitter, or on LinkedIn. Google

Analytics is used by some of the managers to monitor their websites, being key to some of them for assessing "which content works, and what we should do more of". While not all CPs make use of Google Analytics, those who do see it as a 'powerful tool' which not only offers insights into "how many people are coming" but also track a user's journey: "I've got Google Analytics, which are great so I can see, you know on our website, how many people are coming, their journey. How long they're staying on for. Where they're coming from" (Interviewee 8, UK). Another professional mentions that while they do not use Google Analytics to its full potential, they "occasionally would look at some of the top funds, [...] but we wouldn't really drill into that" (Iain Riddell, CF Tyne & Wear and Northumberland, UK).

'Put Yourself in Their Shoes'

Most of the interviewees have stressed the importance of being in the public eye. Therefore, developing strong relationships with the local press is of major importance for the work of a community foundation. Communication professionals are spending "quite a fair bit of time" in order to foster relationships with the local press, as one professional points out: "Well I think our local level is incredibly important, that we maintain those relationships. I do spend a fair bit of time with the local papers, talking to them about what their agendas are and how they're taking stories and what kind of stories they want" (Shannon Roberts, South Yorkshire CF, UK). Many interviewees have highlighted the relevance of the local press for different reasons. For example, more than one CF has a partnership with the local newspaper by having their executives contribute to the newspaper on a weekly basis by providing a non-profit perspective on current local or national issues such as disaster recovery plans after the heavy flooding in the United Kingdom in 2016 and the refugee crisis in Germany in 2017.

Table 6.5: Ways to engage with the press on community foundations websites (author's own table)

	United Kingdom		Germany		χ2	
Variable	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*	*χ2-value*	*p*
Contact person (press and media)* (C2k)	19	33.3	17	4.6	52.3	.00
Opportunity for press personnel to register* (C2l)	2	3.5	1	0.3	7.3	.00
Press and media addressed* (C3a)	22	38.6	29	7.9	44.0	.00

Note: The row percentages in each cell are separate and do not add up to 100. Functions marked with an asterix (*) indicate that the relationship was found to be statistically significant at p <.01 using the χ2-Test.

Drawing on mediatization theory and the interviews with the communication professionals, it has been assumed that community foundations have adapted to the media

environment by providing the contact details of their media spokespersons on their website (H$_5$). CFs have set up ways for the press to engage with the foundation by addressing them directly through their website, for example by offering a dedicated page for providing media related information. However, while the CPs working in German CFs have stressed the relevance of the local printed press over the need to adopt social media, few of them have implemented ways for the press to directly engage with them. CFs in the United Kingdom are more likely to have a contact person for media relations (χ^2 = 52.3, 1, p < .01, φc = .351) listed on their website or provide an opportunity for a press person to register (χ^2 = 7.3, 1, p < .01, φc = .132) than German CFs. Interestingly, foundations in the UK are also more likely to address the press or media on their website (χ^2 = 43.9, 1, p < .01, φc = .322) by offering them information tailored to their needs. This is surprising as paying court to the local press has been mentioned by German CFs regularly and because maintaining a continuous relationship strongly supports the likelihood of being represented in the local news more frequently (see table 6.5).

Once a local newspaper gets to know the community foundation and their work better, they are more likely to cover their topics. However, most CFs struggle to build this relationship in the first place and to maintain it afterwards. Nevertheless, communication professionals in community foundations are convinced of the importance of local newspapers. Moreover, while some of them admit that readership of newspapers is in decline generally, local newspapers are still important as these "papers are quite well read" (Shannon Roberts, South Yorkshire CF, UK). This is an opinion that is shared by almost all interviewees. Consequently, CPs try to establish and retain strong bonds with local newspaper and journalist in particular. The managers have different ways of achieving these stronger ties. For instance, press conferences are said to be a good way to attract local journalists as well having an extra-professional relationship with the journalists working at the newspapers, as one CP notes: "Well it definitely makes work easier when you know the people, we then use the contacts we have and that works pretty well. And then you usually just need to call and say: we have something, do you want to come over? Or, please come over. And that works" (Sebastian Kellner, CF Saalfeld, DE). Foundations benefit in many ways from having strong ties with local journalists. For example, one of the community foundations in Germany is allowed to place ads in the local newspaper for free.

Even though some services are cost-free, nurturing relationships with journalists is often said to be labour-intensive, confronting CPs with the need to set priorities when it comes to the question of what work to prioritise. CPs point out that fostering strong personal relationships is quite time-consuming, as put forward by several managers:

> What we find in the North East, is that quite often journalists will change, so we'll create a good relationship with someone, and they'll get us, finally, and tell our stories in a good way. But then, that journalist leaves, and then we'll have to start all over again (Iain Riddell, CF Tyne & Wear and Northumberland, UK).

> I think the staff teams of most of the papers in our area have really reduced, so a lot's changed of keeping on top of that because a lot of the time you'll make a relationship with someone, you start a partnership up and then they'll move on. So maintaining that relationship despite who you're speaking to ... So getting a reputation with the paper themselves as an entity almost, rather than just an individual who works there. So it's talking to the editors rather than just sending stuff in. Getting them to know us as a charity locally rather than just the one that sends in press releases every couple of weeks (Shannon Roberts, South Yorkshire CF, UK).

Underlining this notion, community foundations believe that the costs and benefits of retaining these relationships are out of proportion when it comes to producing more work-intense pieces for media outlets such as local television or radio stations. Moreover, the interviewees point out multiple concerns regarding maintaining long-term relationships with the press. The often-mentioned problem is that longstanding ties with journalists are cut off because they leave the newspaper due to a job change or retirement. Sometimes, a relationship with a local newspaper is neither good nor bad, but rather not much of a relationship at all and needs to be built from the ground up. In some cases, the media systems' flaws, in this case newspapers in particular, have a negative impact on the relationship between the CPs and newspapers. For example, one manager noted that the city where he operates has a media monopoly, as the local radio, television, and newspaper all belong to the same publishing house:

> The problem in [city] is that we have a strong media monopoly, the [*newspaper*], and they are just very picky about they cover and what not. So there is very little competition, there used to be the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* too, but it left a long time ago. And then there's, uhm, radio and television, but that's all in the publishing house of the [*newspaper*]. That's almost a 100% monopoly (Interviewee 1, DE).

Another problem is that CPs are concerned about the general understanding of the work CF do when talking to a journalist or editor. While some newspapers reject outright stories from non-profits and charities, others are unlikely to publish a story because of the mechanisms of how local news work. Interviewees complained that quite often the positive

side of a story retreats to the background as the negative impacts of the story are placed in focus, aiming at shocking people and raise attention for the newspaper. As a result, even large foundations in the United Kingdom complain that although they do a lot of media work, they are not yet a household name. However, there are ways to improve the relationship with the local press, as two CPs say. The first advantage is to have a local official, such as the mayor of the city, on your executive board or the board of trustees. Local officials usually already have relationships with local panellists as they communicate administrative and political messages. While CFs are apolitical, having a local official, civil servant or politician on the board seems to increase the impact of the CF on the press. The second recommendation mentioned by CPs was to write exactly what a newspaper or a journalist needs, which means writing a story that includes the foundation's message and is already tailored to the format while also complying with the newspapers' affordances.

In these changing conditions, traditional media products such as annual reports and leaflets are increasingly popular, as they provide the reader with the feeling of a quality, thought-through communication product. The differences in media use by UK and German CFs can be explained by the different media environments and target groups they approach through their local media work. As German CFs were found to have stronger ties with local newspapers and journalists, as they are more relevant to them for reaching their stakeholders, German community foundations have established and nurtured these local connections that are assumed to have the most positive effect on supporting their work on the ground. British community foundations, on the other hand, have heavily invested in the adoption of social media channels as their stakeholders, and in this case local enterprises and companies in particular, expect them to be more contemporary.

The communication professionals spend much time on tasks to foster engagement with the foundation, both via social media platforms and traditional media. Meanwhile the perceived need to put more effort into maintaining strong relationships with the local press has declined in recent years and the foundations' websites and their own media channels and platforms have taken over this formerly vital task. However, there seems to be a difference between the perceived value of maintaining these relationships, as German CFs rely more on stronger ties with traditional media entities than their British counterparts. This results in a different allocation of available resources, with German CFs relying less on social media platforms and more on personal and media events such as press conferences and public

events. As a result, German CFs make little use of ways to engage the press through their website, but they make extensive use of maintaining strong ties with the local press via personal relationships with former professionals instead. However, relying on local journalists gives them less choice and generates a strong dependency on the media.

Giving, Fundraising, and Volunteering

Since terms such as 'e-philanthropy' (Sargeant … Jay, 2007) have been used for describing non-profits' efforts to use the internet for collecting donations, the development, functionality and ease of application of fundraising platforms has come a long way. Organisations can choose between a range of stand-alone platforms or website-plugins to make use of donations' functionality through social networks such as Facebook, thereby using the social network effect to potentially reach more people with their donations appeal (Saxton & Wang, 2013; McDougle & Handy, 2014). Over recent years, the pressure on CFs has mounted to work as substitutes for previous state support for vulnerable social groups. Indeed, CFs in the United Kingdom interviewed for this study point out that the issues they fund today have been originally been funded by the state. Consequently, this requires foundations to "fund a lot more harder-hit organisations" and deal with much more poverty. Hence, CFs have had a greater demand from people coming to them and asking for funding, leading to a change in how they tell their stories.

To take up these new tasks, community foundations must come up with new sources and ways of fundraising, as they are restricted to using the interest gained on their assets or raised money for a specific cause for their projects. This is an issue of significant importance to German CFs operating at city level and having a smaller asset size than CFs in the UK. Compared with German CFs, British CFs which operate at a country level have a much larger asset size and therefore more funds available (see chapter 2). Given the low level of interest rates over recent years, foundations' assets yielded smaller returns. As a result, the need to acquire more funds is understood to be a critical aim and is therefore embraced by CEOs and communications managers too, as the quotes by two CPs for two different German CFs underline:

> [...] Foundations groan because there is no or almost zero-yielding interest, and that is ultimately the means with which we fund the foundations work. That means as with most of our foundations are doing the same, without any donations [...] no actual foundation work.

> What we already notice is the difficulty that you have to keep drumming up support, but it's actually, the amount of donations is increasing and also the increase in funds, so you would, or at least you could say that it becomes more relevant. [...] So media work is important (Interviewee 3, DE).

> So the print press has a very high priority for the community foundation. Because, of course, we have to report our work to recruit volunteers, but on the other hand to find donors, because over these many years you can not only work with the foundation capital, you also need to have regular donors. And for that the media work is essential. That means you must talk about your everyday work but especially about successful projects in order to always keep the community foundation so present in public (Joachim Sommer, CF Muenster, DE).

Most, but not all, community foundations recognise the need to appeal for donations. One CP emphasises that for CFs "it is essential to be recognised" to ensure that people donate their money and their time. Indeed, CFs are familiar with using local newspapers for recruiting volunteers and appealing for donations. Local newspapers offer them ways of both showcasing their work and recruiting volunteers and money by doing so. For German CFs, local newspapers are of notable relevance when it comes to finding volunteers.

Overall, it seems that German CFs rely on printed materials such as direct mailings and local newspapers, rather than using social media for these activities, for extending their potential donor pool. However, while one CP described using a traditional direct mailing for successfully raising a considerable amount of funds, fundraising by using methods of online crowdfunding have only recently begun at some German community foundations.

In Germany, donations to non-profits had a volume of 5.2 billion Euros in 2017, according to a report published by the Deutscher Spendenrat e.V. (2018). The value of donations has decreased by 1 per cent compared with 2016 as has the number of persons donating. At 22.7 per cent, direct mailings are still the most important medium to raise donations. However, at 6.8 per cent, 6.6 per cent, and 2.1 per cent respectively, social media, traditional media, and the internet in general account for about 15 per cent of triggered donations. When it comes to crowdfunding, at least 37 per cent of the individuals surveyed by Deutscher Spendenrat e.V. had heard of the term and 6 per cent had contributed money using crowdfunding in 2017, with individuals belonging to the Generation X (30–39 and 40–49) being the most frequent donors. In the United Kingdom, the total amount of giving was £10.3 billion (about 11.5 billion Euros) in 2017, almost double the amount of German donations in 2017, according to a report published by the Charity Aid Foundation (2018). While the number of individual donors remain largely unchanged, the amount of donations has slightly risen compared with 2016 (£9.7 billion). With 55 per cent giving cash, this is the most

common way of giving in the UK, followed by buying goods (43%) and buying a lottery ticket (40%). However, online giving comes fifth with about 26 per cent. These numbers suggest that giving is higher in the UK in general as is donating online, with 26 per cent in the UK compared with about 15 per cent (in sum) in Germany. This allocation of ways of donating is also reflected in the way community foundations prepare for receiving donations via their website and funding platforms.

As community foundations feel the urgency to raise donations for funding their mission and attract volunteers to support their activities, it is assumed that community foundations in both countries make strong use of online platforms for fundraising and volunteering (H_6). However, the overall use of online fundraising or online crowdfunding at German CFs is rather small compared to British CFs. Still, community foundations in both countries use their websites to raise funds and reach out for volunteers. While most of them use their websites to showcase information on where to donate money to, several others have also integrated third party applications for collecting donations on their website, such as GiveWell, JustGiving, or PayPal.

Table 6.6: Ways of giving, fundraising, and volunteering implemented on their website (author's own table)

Variable	United Kingdom		Germany		χ2	
	N	%	N	%	χ2-value	p
Join now option (C7a)	49	86	323	88	.19	.66
Volunteer option* (C7b)	33	57.9	56	15.3	54.1	.00
Solicits donations online* (C7c)	43	75.4	21	5.7	187.1	.00
Solicits donations offline* (C7d)	14	24.6	356	97	233.0	.00
Online-store or merchandise (C7e)	2	3.5	9	2.5	.218	.64
Joblistings* (C7f)	23	40.4	10	2.7	97.3	.00

Note: The row percentages in each cell are separate and do not add up to 100. Functions marked with an asterix (*) indicate that the relationship was found to be statistically significant at p <.01 using the χ2-Test.

On their websites, CFs provide opportunities to join the foundation, be it as a one-time donor or a volunteer. In both countries, ways to give and volunteer are used rather differently. The biggest difference is that while CFs in the United Kingdom are much more likely to solicit donations online ($\chi^2 = 187.1$, 1, $p < .01$, φc = .664), German CFs are much more likely to solicit donations offline ($\chi^2 = 233.0$, 1, $p < .01$, φc = .741) by providing a bank account on their website. This functionality is seldom used in the UK, where three quarters of all foundations have a function implemented in their website that allows them to receive donations online.

German CFs are also less likely to ask visitors of their website to volunteer than their British counterparts (χ^2 = 54.1, 1, p < .01, φc = .357). Additionally, British community foundations are also much more likely to offer job listings on their websites (χ^2 = 97.3, 1, p < .01, φc = .479) (see table 6.6). With CFs in the UK being more likely to offer full and part-time jobs to visitors to their websites, this last point in particular can be interpreted as a robust signal of a stronger trend of professionalisation in the UK community foundation sector.

As shown before, foundations also make use of multiple social networks to connect with donors. Moreover, CPs are keen to highlight that to engage people, it is vital to be on social networks. However, they also pointed out that some networks seem to be more effective regarding collecting donations compared with others. For example, while Twitter and Facebook are used to engage people and to communicate, LinkedIn is more likely to be used for connecting with donors, as professionals believe that expect donors are more likely to be on LinkedIn rather than Twitter or Facebook, as one CP put it:

> Facebook is much more for the grant applications. I think Twitter is about raising our profile, generally with the public. And I think LinkedIn is much more about the potential donors. It's just about making sure that we are where people are, if that makes sense (Interviewee 8, UK).

This strategic approach to targeting donors resonates well with overall findings that foundations increasingly think of their stakeholder as different target groups, where some are more likely to give money, others, such as young people for example, are more likely to give time. This view is echoed by another CP noting that people on social media are "not necessarily the people we work with". Communications professionals, therefore, tend to separate the information they put out into target groups such as donors or grant applicants. One possible explanation why German CFs have been slow in adopting online crowdfunding is the perception that their stakeholders are not necessarily on social media, and that money will be less likely to come from this diverse group of individuals.

> I think that's a bit of my personal perception now, we're actually living off other people's money here. But who are the people who give the money? Rather not the ones who typically frolic in social networks, rather not the ones who know something about crowdfunding, if you know what I mean. That's why the traditional media theme plays a role, of course, it's important with young people, so to speak, to interest young people, but when it comes to collecting money, the main source of income is another target group. That's how I would interpret it. Therefore, this is another point that speaks more for traditional media, but without losing sight of it [crowdfunding]. So we've worked on the topic of online donations a bit, we put it into the files, not very far away, and it is easy to get it back out (Interviewee 3, DE).

Against the common wisdom that the more well-off funders will not be on social media, research has shown that social media users in general are more likely to donate more, online as well as offline, and the effect of sharing a message through a social network that someone has donated plays an important role in increasing peer-to-peer fundraising (Mano, 2014; Castillo … Wardell, 2014). As CFs often do not have the knowledge to set up crowdfunding projects themselves, they will partner with non-profit organisations, such as the Berlin-based betterplace lab, for testing the waters regarding crowdfunding. As an experienced company, the betterplace lab has built a reputation for advising non-profits in Germany regarding their use of social media and related non-profit activities such as crowdfunding, having themselves set up a platform for starting crowdfunding projects for non-profits. Community foundations in the United Kingdom also do not necessarily count on social media for fundraising but rather for engaging people and getting them interested in volunteering for the CF. While German CFs think less about using social networks for fundraising, they use social networks for recruiting volunteers as they often rely on them for their operational projects. For example, foundations upload calls for volunteers for specific projects. In this regard, Facebook seems to support the foundations' mission and the recruitment of young people in particular, as one manager notes:

> We use Facebook especially, let's say, to recruit youths for specific projects. So these are these youth projects, so for example for the project 'old and young', that's for 'Betriebsrally' [no direct translation; a project that allows youths to visit a company for a day], so to appeal to teens, there's focus on Facebook. And the daily press, one has to say that of course is read by people who are, let's say, a little older, not necessarily the very young (Joachim Sommer, CF Muenster, DE).

Besides recruiting young people for specific projects, they also work as volunteers for curating the social media channels of the CFs. Having professional knowledge as daily users, some CFs have started taking up young people that do a volunteer year of social service (FSJ). For instance, having young people as voluntary communication staff at the foundations has strengthened the use of social media at the community foundation in Münster. Activities carried out by the volunteers range from curating the social media profiles and accompanying and supporting events to creating the weekly press review. While this sounds like a good thing to do it has obvious drawbacks in the long run. As the volunteers often only stay for one year, their knowledge about how a social media channel is curated leaves with them.

This fact points to the broader problem of using volunteers for maintaining daily communication activities. Communication professionals using volunteers for their daily work

have noted that communication becomes less reliable when significant activities are under-taken by volunteers, and that, overall, planning communication activities and events becomes harder for the foundation. While the need to fundraise for projects is strong in both countries, only community foundations in the United Kingdom make use of opportunities to include online fundraising services on their websites. However, German CFs still rely on word-of-mouth and traditional bank transfers, thereby missing possible social network effects through online services. German communication professionals did not seem to embrace the idea of using online fundraising platforms, whereas communication professionals in the UK have adopted a more pragmatic view and follow the money by highlighting that they have to be where future donors will be – on social media.

Conclusion

Once community foundations have adopted social media channels they become implemented in daily routines, with leadership being an important factor for the adoption and implementation of social media channels by the community foundation. Feeding information about foundations' social activities onto a website and into social media has become a daily routine for communication professionals. The perceived need to adopt new media channels and platforms and to adapt to new media practices can be explained by the internal and external pressure that community foundations receive as they have to adapt to a changing media and market environment, while they increasingly have to intercept the retreat of the state on the local level. It is not clear, however, to what extent special characteristics of community foundations, such as the programmatic priority, influence the extent to which a CF adopts a certain media channel.

Being constantly challenged to produce material for their channels, communications professionals often feel under pressure to raise one's profile in order to be in the public eye. At the centre of the daily work of CPs is the task to use communication for building links with the local community, be it private, public, or business. Social media platforms offer new ways for connecting with stakeholders and for advocacy and there is a trend to adopt social media platforms for the 'local good'. However, this trend is mainly limited to CFs in the UK. While German CPs seem to embrace the idea of using social media in the future, misconceptions of user groups and narrow knowledge of how to employ these tools limit their continuous use within the organisation. In the UK, however, community foundations have embraced the idea

that the future is digital, by providing most of their materials, be they annual reports, electronic newsletters, or pictures of events, in digital formats on their websites. Being digital includes marketing the community foundation in the digital realms through branding strategies and elaborated marketing techniques.

Social media provides community foundations with new ways to tell their story through different channels. Communicating strategically and measuring communication can be understood as being contemporary approaches of the UK CFs for supporting their missions. This development is accompanied by a trend to professionalise the communications of CFs as they apply ways of leveraging their publicity and recognisability through the use of branding strategies and leadership. However, this trend is mainly limited to CFs in the UK. This could be partly due to the fact that CFs in the UK have a stronger tendency to adopt marketing techniques which involve techniques to leverage the visibility of their public work in order to appear more professional to attract potential donors. The adoption of these techniques has also led to an increase in the adoption of giving and fundraising platforms to support their missions.

The implementation of marketing techniques can thus be interpreted as being a strong sign of the professionalisation of UK CFs, as these techniques aim at making the CFs more capable of raising awareness in a competitive media environment. German CFs on the other hand have shown few signs of adopting marketing techniques as they are less likely to set up public relation departments and employ media staff. This can be attributed to the different media environment and the lack of perceived necessity to communicate strategically by the communication professionals. For German CFs, the undertaking of running a community foundation is often connected to doing something voluntarily after you have had a successful career in business. Therefore, much of the German community foundations are managed by a board consisting of former local entrepreneurs that have the time to get involved into voluntary work.

Chapter 7.

Mediatization, Marketization, and Community Foundations

The Mediatization of Community Foundations

Nowadays, when we think about mediatization, it is impossible to mask out the substantial technological changes that have developed in parallel. Waves of mediatization as a result of technological change offer important points for researching mediatization (Hepp, 2013). In the case of this study, CFs are understood to be social institutions that are exposed to the media environment, its forms, norms, and rules. While community foundations (CF) can be described as small institutions, compared with a more universal understanding of the term institution, they are also subject to the everyday practices of organisational communication and influenced by our mediatized social world. The specific setting of the CF as an institution in society is also found in other countries, but the variation in the media environment in each country and region also has to be considered when investigating mediatization. For example, the mass media market for daily tabloids is different in the UK to the German market. Nevertheless, both western countries have been subject to the broader technological phenomenon of digitalisation. From the perspective of mediatization theory, it is interesting to look at how organisations have changed by adopting and adapting to the new media ensemble.

The analysis in this chapter will look more closely at the changes in the mediatization of community foundations in both countries through the lens of mediatization theory, exploring the long-term changes of media. While the comparative case study approach lays the groundwork for this comparison, the theoretical framework set up in chapter 4 now allows for

more in-depth analysis of how the non-profit functions used in community foundations which were explored in chapter 6, can now be understood from a theoretical perspective. Additionally, logistic regression analysis is used to explore the questions developed and hypothesised in chapter 4 and 6. Investigating and comparing the communicative figurations of CFs in a cross-national perspective enables us to assess what the current media practices of communication professionals (CP) in community foundations could mean for the broader role of CFs in a mediatized society.

Adapting to the media

When I introduced the mediatization concept in chapter 4, mediatization research often meant exploring the impact of mass media on institutions and everyday life. Today, mediatization research has to include technical apparatuses such as mobile phones, watches and wristbands, running operating systems that allow for different forms of reification. That means that these devices have a set of actions, new ways of carrying out tasks, and therefore shape new ways of communicative patterns. By doing so, they become 'moulding forces' as they contribute their functionality and become institutionalised within organisations over time. For example, community foundations introduced computers in their workplace to use them for specific tasks. Communication professionals adopted the practices needed to operate the computers and their practices of using the computer in return shaped the way tasks were carried out in the organisation.

Over the long term, this has changed how information and communication technologies are used in CFs and also changed the tasks organisations carry out using technologies. Smartphones and social media are other examples of devices and media platforms influencing organisations and their practices on various levels (Miller, 2014). However, the development of having connected technical devices all started with the adoption of the internet and internet-ready devices within CFs. Over the last 20 years, most community foundations in the United Kingdom and Germany developed websites as their information repositories. Today, they have become the centrepiece of their communication strategies, triggering a substantial shift in setting priorities when it comes to communications work. Leadership plays an essential role as executives who are supportive of adopting new media channels raised the likelihood of long-term commitment of adopting a specific channel. Communication

professionals interviewed pointed out that support by management was crucial for raising awareness for the use of ICTs within the foundation. Having a board member or an executive who knows the media sector was also influential in establishing and integrating media practices within an organisation.

There are many ways in which community foundations in the UK and Germany have adapted to the media to various degrees (see table 7.1). When media work as *extensions*, they allow ideas and information to travel through more communication conducts than before. When we assess the frequency of community foundations' making use of new communication channels over recent years, we can conclude that CFs in the UK indicate stronger signs of mediatization, as they employ more channels than do German CFs. Moreover, they adopted these channels to ensure that they can build stronger ties with their stakeholders in the future. While German CFs have preferred to strengthen ties with the local press and authorities, UK CFS are beginning to detach themselves from local media and are increasingly adopting social media platforms. In both countries, community radio stations and local television did not seem to play a relevant role in building relationships or raising awareness. Local events, such as press conferences, however, are used by German community foundations and seem to attract the local press successfully.

A prominent theme mentioned by interviewees is that communication professionals have been asked to raise the public profile of the foundation through leveraging media relations with the effect of becoming more visible to the local community. The tendency that German community foundations instead rely on traditional rather than new media becomes evident here as well, as German foundations have been found to be more likely to upload press reviews to their websites, thereby attributing a particular importance to these reviews. Only 10 per cent of UK foundations offered press reviews on their website compared with about 50 per cent in Germany. Newsletters are another media form used to substitute face-to-face interactions. According to the interviewees, newsletters serve as *extensions* and *substitutions* at the same time in that they allow for the distribution of tailored information to different stakeholder groups. Like group gatherings, newsletters could be used for both distributing information and by providing a channel for feedback. Thus, the media *substitute* face-to-face conversation through formalised press reviews and newsletters produced for the media, adhering to media norms and processes of production and distribution of information. This is not a trivial matter, as it seems that the number of press reviews – or simply the fact that there

are news articles mentioning the foundation – has become an important indicator of success for them.

Table 7.1: Dimensions and examples of mediatization (author's own table)

Dimension of mediatization (Schulz, 2004)	Examples from the data
1. Extension "Media technologies extend the natural limits of human communication capacities"; "[…] the media serve to bridge spatial and temporal distances"	• Communication professionals use the media to extend their reach. For example, by pushing information to journalists, community foundations want to raise attention for their work (adapting to the media; traditional media). • Community foundations have found websites to be an inexpensive way to publish their information and reach a broader audience (adapting to the media, building relationships; networked media).
2. Substitution "The media partly or completely substitute social activities and social institutions and thus change their character"	• Newspapers and other local media have become important outlets for community foundations in that they allow them to raise their profile, a task that is explicitly demanded by board members in some cases. Foundations recognise the need to be in the media (adapting to the media; traditional media). • Social media such as Facebook and Twitter have become essential outlets for foundations. While not all foundations perceive the need to be on social media, those that do see social media as a viable potential substitute for traditional media (adapting to the media, building relationships; network media).
3. Amalgamation "Media activities not only extend and (partly) substitute non-media activities; they also merge and mingle with one another"	• Executives of community foundations integrate writing short opinion pieces for traditional media and social media platforms as part of their work assignment (adapting to the media, building relationships, advocacy; traditional and networked media). • When communications experts do their weekly planning, they schedule media appearances and time to be approachable by traditional media. They prepare information tailored to the requests of journalists and media personnel (adapting to the media; traditional media). • Writing and updating information on the foundation's website and social media channels have become a daily routine for most of the communication staff at foundations. Making sure that they are accessible through their website and social media is made a priority (adapting to the media, building relationships; networked media).
4. Accommodation "[…] the media industry contributes a considerable part to the gross national product"; "It is self-evident that the various economic actors have to accommodate to the way the media operate"	• As part of the media being interwoven into daily work assignments, communication professionals have established formal ways of making sure that media personnel can quickly find the information they need. For example, by including a media spokesperson contact on their website and by preparing media kits and information on projects, which adhere to the forms required by the media. For websites and social media, information is tailored to the needs of specific channels (such as blogs or character limit on Twitter) (adapting to the media; traditional and networked media). • Information materials are structured, organised and written in a way that they can be reused for different media channels and platforms. For example, snippets from the annual report reappear on the community foundation's blog; videos produced for the website are reused on Facebook. Communication professionals try to work effectively and efficiently, in that they think strategically of preparing communication materials for multiple uses from the very beginning (adaptation to media; traditional and networked media).

Expanding on the knowledge that German community foundations are more prone to rely on the local press, the number of news articles mentioning the foundation provide the foundation with the perception of being relevant to the local community.

One process that has become most visible throughout my analysis of communication strategies of communication professionals is mediatization processes of *amalgamation* – how the media have become interwoven into daily work assignments and the organisations' activities. It often seems to be the case that the process of amalgamation is led and steered by individuals at the management level in these organisations. Thus, it does not come as a surprise that interviewees mentioned the point that a member of the board or one of the executives suggested adopting certain media channels or strategies. Sometimes, executives lead this process by, for example, writing opinion pieces on current issues for local newspapers. Daily or weekly columns guarantee public awareness but have to be tailored to the media outlets' audience. Therefore, even opinion pieces require some sort of processing to make them fit into the format of the newspaper. Social media platforms, on the other hand, operate and are driven by principles such as programmability, popularity, connectivity, and datafication demands new media practices (Dijck & Poell, 2013).

Communication professionals have become skilled in interpreting social media metrics, measuring the daily, weekly, or monthly number of visitors to their social media profiles, and creating posts that drive more traffic and receive more likes and shares. These metrics are in turn used to demonstrate the foundations' online performance. Online performance becomes relevant in particular through the attempt to raise the online presence of community foundations through using Google's Adwords in combination with search engine optimisation (SEO) strategies. Community foundations in the UK have in particular become mediatized organisations. This is reflected in the way that communication professionals are increasingly employed by CFs and that daily tasks are organised around the media and their needs. For instance, communication professionals start the day by checking if the website is up and running. A second step includes checking their emails and see whether urgent messages have been received through the community foundations feedback channels (which do now include social media platforms such as Twitter and Facebook). The communications professionals produce press releases, social media posts, or they write short pieces for the website. Professionals being hired for writing for both traditional and new media has become the new standard.

Professionalisation, which includes hiring public relations and marketing staff, already refers to the last of the four processes of mediatization: *accommodation*. Community foundations in both countries have adapted their practices to the media and changed their organisational structures accordingly. For example, CFs have introduced the position of at least one person in the foundation in charge of answering requests from the press. This person receives requests from the press and in return provides the press with the information they need to write a story. Although this is said to be a resource consuming task, at least one-third of all CFs in the UK have listed a dedicated media spokesperson on their website. Although German CFs rely more strongly on traditional newspapers, they are less likely to have a media spokesperson listed on their website; only one in twenty CFs in Germany lists a media spokesperson. CFs in the UK are much more likely to address the media directly on their website, be it through already-tailored material or media kits available for direct download.

Foundations do carefully structure and plan the media material they produce. The annual report, for instance, is a yearly published communication product that takes various potential media outlets into account – both traditional and networked. Hence, the annual report serves as the basis for material uploaded to the websites, material offered to the press (e.g., in form of case studies or announcements about donations received over the last year), and material distributed in snippets via Facebook and Twitter. This process of preparing information is visible across most of the community foundations interviewed for this study. The widespread use of mobile phones and smartphones, allowing for easy-to-use audio and video recording by communication staff, has pushed forward the tendency of communication professionals to do much of the design media work themselves. This allows them to take high-quality photos for the blog or the annual report or capture the CF in action by using a smartphone video recording functionality.

The impact of financial resources on media adoption

Community foundations have adapted to the media by setting up PR departments and employing public relations and marketing professionals, thereby trying to make sure that their voices are heard. This development has been stronger in the UK, where more CFs have set up PR departments and hired media spokespersons to communicate strategically. CFs in Germany often rely on volunteers for doing their communications work. This has the effect

that communications work in German CFs is often somewhat more eclectic than continuous, leaving the foundations without a solid basis on which to establish meaningful, long-term relationships with the media.

As was pointed out in chapter 6, German CFs are less likely to adopt social media channels and even websites. The website has been mentioned as being the most crucial asset in the media portfolio of CFs, allowing them to inform the public of what they do and provide opportunities to get in touch. According to my research, foundations have been quicker to set up websites in recent years. And while it seems that the asset size is a contributing factor, the simultaneity of establishing a CF and setting up a website has become stronger in the years since the early 2000s, suggesting that having a website has become a priority. Up until the year 2000 websites were adopted irregularly, and there was no relationship between the year a CF was established and the year the foundation adopted a website. Since about 2003, however, CFs have set up websites almost directly in the year in which they were established. This development strengthens the argument that websites have become must and the media epicentre for community foundations' communication.

Literature suggests that financial resources are a strong predictor for adopting information and communication technologies and professionals within non-profit organisations (Eimhjellen, 2014; Nah & Saxton, 2013). Given the results from chapter 6, it can be assumed that having a larger asset size has an impact on having a PR department or a media spokesperson. Whether this hypothesis is correct for CFs is tested using a logistics regression analysis. For this purpose, it is tested whether the asset size of a foundation (B1a Asset Size) has a statistically significant effect on having a PR department or media spokesperson (B3 PR department) and whether asset size has an effect on the adoption of social media platforms[17] (see table 7.2). For table 7.2, 7.3, and 7.4, in case values were not retrieved from the websites of the community foundations, the values were coded as missing.

---

[17] Some social media platforms were not included as too few community foundations had adopted them. For the regression analysis, one unit is equivalent to €100,000.

Table 7.2: Results from the logistic regression analysis (PR department)(author's own table)

	B (SE)	CI (95 %) for Odds Ration			f
		Lower	Odds Ration (Exp(B))	Upper	
Constant	−3.125* (.361)				
Asset Size	.023* (.005)	1.013	1.024	1.034	.36

Note: n = 195. R^2 = .155 (Cox & Snell), .338 (Nagelkerke). Model $\chi^2(1)$ = 32.939 p < .000. *p < .01

The results in table 7.2 show that the asset size has a moderate to strong effect (f = .36) and that the chances of having a PR department growth with an increase in the asset size (Wald = 19.287, p < .001). An increase in the asset size of a CF by €100,000 raises the relative likelihood of having a PR department by 2.4 per cent. While the effect size is rather strong, the odds are rather small that this will happen. Table 7.3 shows that the influence of asset size on the odds to adopt Facebook as a CF is also rather small (Wald = 17.188, p < .001), but with 3.1 per cent by 0.7 per cent higher than setting up a PR department in the first place (f = .28).

Table 7.3: Results from the logistic regression analysis (Facebook)(author's own table)

	B (SE)	CI (95 %) for Odds Ration			f
		Lower	Odds Ration (Exp(B))	Upper	
Constant	−1.814* (.223)				
Asset Size	.031* (.007)	1.016	1.031	1.047	.28

Note: n = 195. R^2 = .183 (Cox & Snell), .277 (Nagelkerke). Model $\chi^2(1)$ = 39.370 p < .000. *p < .01

Table 7.4: Results from the logistic regression analysis (Twitter)(author's own table)

	B (SE)	CI (95 %) for Odds Ration			f
		Lower	Odds Ration (Exp(B))	Upper	
Constant	−3.220* (.375)				
Asset Size	.037* (.007)	1.022	1.037	1.052	.53

Note: n = 195. R^2 = .238 (Cox & Snell), .470 (Nagelkerke). Model $\chi^2(1)$ = 52.911 p < .000. *p < .01

For Twitter, the asset size has the biggest influence on the adoption (Wald = 24.059, p < .001), compared with the previous two results. In the case of Twitter, this model (asset size) explains 23.8 per cent of the likelihood to adopt this channel. When the asset size increases by €100,000, the likelihood to set up a Twitter channel increases by 3.7 per cent (f = .53). These results explain two things: first, while the literature has pointed out that the asset size has an impact on the likelihood to adopt media channels, it has less impact on setting up a PR

department or employing a media spokesperson. However, this indicates that multiple other factors influence the establishment of a PR department within a CF. One possible explanation is the perceived need to set up a PR department by the leadership team and the management of the CFs. In chapter 6, we saw that leadership, the board members, and the outward pressure from stakeholders were all mentioned as being influential on decision-making structures when it comes to media activity. Second, it shows that Facebook is probably more likely to be adopted as the first social media platform and Twitter is more likely to be adopted when the asset size of the foundations is higher, meaning that while Twitter is optional, Facebook is mandatory.

Daily routines, media routines

Mediatization can be observed through multiple processes, as digital media and communication technologies demand a change in habits and affect daily routines. The website and social media have to be checked and maintained daily. For example, one communication professional mentioned the constant uncertainty of not knowing whether the website is still 'up'. Consequently, CPs have to constantly "check the website's working because occasionally it is not, which is always a heart-wrenching moment" (Shannon Roberts, South Yorkshire CF, UK). The website gets promoted as often as possible, as its links are used in social media for referring back to the website. The mindset of many CPs in the United Kingdom is digital first, print second. As a result, print media has become less important to them. Shannon Roberts from the South Yorkshire Community Foundation notes that as "everything is moving online", there is more of a need to think digital first and print second: "We do find out that the majority of stories we do send out to the press go on their websites more often than they go in to the hard copy paper". However, print products such as annual reports are still valued but demand a considerable amount of time regarding their preparation and production. According to Kate Parrinder of the Oxfordshire Community Foundation, they are more likely to fill a niche in the future:

> In a very online world, people talk about the death of print and nothing will be available in print anymore. But I think actually, in that context having something really high quality and a nice printed thing that feels professional and looks interesting is even more important and it's a bit of a relief from the constant reading things on screens.

Other CPs support the notion of digital first, pointing out that they are "much more focused on digital now than we ever were before" (Interviewee 8, UK). The shift to adopting a

digital-first mindset is reflected in the structures implemented over time. For example, Iain Riddell from the Community Foundation Tyne & Wear and Northumberland highlights that the transition to a modular communication format for their products has had benefits for the applicability of being used on mobile too:

> So, we moved to a modular format, which just gives us a little bit more flexibility so we can have a lot more impactive studies. We can, there's modules for news, and modules for events, and it looks better and it works a bit better on mobile. So, it was quite an important change, but really it was just to have greater evidence of the work that we're doing, and the impact that we have.

When it comes to adopting media formats, CFs are seen to provide different kinds of formats such as annual reports and digital newsletters. They regard their website as a large information nucleus, where stakeholders can access information on products, subscribe for special alerts, and stay up-to-date through calendars. However, the adoption of newer technologies that would allow for more deliberation online (e.g., through the use of comment sections or online forums) has not manifested on community foundations' websites either in the UK or Germany. If CFs want to become more interactive, this is more likely to be achieved via the various social media platforms many of them have adopted rather than through their websites. Social media channels have seen a rather strong adoption in the UK, while adoption rates have been low by Germany CFs, illustrating that they have not yet adapted to the social media reality.

Allowing community foundations to tell their stories across different platforms and borders empowers them at the local level. The activities of community foundations' attempt to empower "very local grassroots causes across a wide range of themes", as Iain Riddell from the Community Foundation Tyne & Wear and Northumberland points out. Supported topics include activities to tackle health-related issues within the community, homelessness, or support for the liberal arts and the environment. Networking with the local community, be it via professional social media networks such as LinkedIn or social networks more in general, presents a mutually beneficial partnership between professionals such as solicitors, accountants, and wealth managers. Over time, many CFs in the UK and Germany have built strong ties with local professionals, making them ambassadors for their mission and thereby leveraging the entrenchment and impact of their work by building social capital. While this ultimately results in a face-to-face relationship with the individual professional staff in the foundation, professional social media platforms such as the business network LinkedIn play

an ever greater role in initiating these connections through sharing content and ideas provided by the foundation.

Relations with the press

In a mediatized society, having good relations with the press is of eminent importance. However, over recent years, the relationships between traditional mass media and community foundations have shifted, in that community foundations today rely less on traditional media and invest more in new media outlets and their websites, according to the interviewees. For years, community foundations have heavily invested in building relations with the media, obeying the rules and norms that the media set and having adapted to how they operate. But with the rise and widespread use of websites and social media, this relationship has severely lost its relevance. Now community foundations use their skills to leverage their impact through advocacy.

This long-term development becomes visible in particular now, as communication professionals working in community foundations realise that the traditional media can no longer fulfil their promise to raise public awareness. As a result, CFs redistribute their internal resources, shifting their focus from media relations to communication technologies they can handle on their own. This development also provides CFs with more control over their media representation by providing their own statements and do not have to rely on media coverage provided by local news outlets. Moreover, employing CPs who have received media training allows them to steer the narrative through a media spokesperson. Having a website or social media channels also allows community foundations to circumvent traditional media in their role as gatekeepers, allowing the foundations to break long-standing media monopolies (as one of the interviewees noted). However, in that case, media literacy and training is needed, as social media demand their own set of media practices.

This development also points to a much broader phenomenon which is best described as a shift in the perceived power of traditional mass media in society. The decline of some traditional mass media, such as newspapers, has also triggered a decline in the relevance of these media for civil society actors. Though international organisations such as Amnesty International or CARE still rely on the mass media to circulate calls for help and offer their expertise through interviews with their experts and reports, parts of this process become

substituted by using their websites and social media to distribute information 24/7. In this respect, again, the website bundles all contents and makes them accessible for later use. For local media organisations, the loss of power points to a self-inflicted dilemma. As they lack the staff to cover community foundations and their causes, they also lose influence over creating the narrative around this type of institution in society.

In recent years, media institutions have set up news websites in order to combine the respective strengths of print and online news outlets, providing them with different audiences and possibly a wider reach (Newsworks, 2018). Media attention is still a vital benefit at a local level particularly for community foundations in Germany, as they rely heavily on media relationships and the goodwill of the local press. However, that imperative has become less urgent in recent years for CFs in the UK, which have adopted a wide range of media channels besides maintaining (albeit weak) ties with the local press. However, a sign of change in relevance is also visible here. Awareness and reach, the two main things that could be achieved by being covered by the press, are less often being mentioned as being important in the future. What is important, however, is to have all the information bundled on one website.

Community foundations in both countries have become mediatized organisations, but to varying degrees. While German CFs mostly rely on traditional mass media for connecting with stakeholders, UK CFs have mostly adapted to networked media. This is illustrated by the number of different social media platforms adopted by UK CFs but becomes even more tangible through the change in priorities and the daily routines practised within the foundations included in this study. Executives and members of boards in UK CFs are more likely to adapt to new media and at the same time provide the support and resources needed for adapting to changes of the media environment. This development is probably due to the tendency of professionalisation within these organisations, as stakeholders and board members demand that community foundations adopt principles from business in order to compete with other non-profit organisations for grants and donors.

For UK CFs, social media platforms have substituted functions formerly provided by traditional media, such as raising public awareness and distributing information. Indeed, this shift of power from mass media to social media platforms indicates that CFs in the UK have to a greater extent been subject to processes of mediatization as more of their daily routines, and media practices have seen some form of amalgamation and accommodation. It can therefore be argued that UK CFs have to a higher degree accommodated to the media, as they are more

professional, and have their media practices and routines more closely adapted to the norms and rules of traditional and networked media. Moreover, UK CFs do believe in stronger effects and benefits through social networks than through mass media.

Strengthening Trends of Marketization through Mediatization

Market logics are hidden and mediated through new technologies, which makes them less visible yet more intrusive through everyday media practices. We look at our smartphone regularly throughout the day because we wait for someone to text or call us, or check our email. Another example would be wearables which allow individuals to quantify themselves through methods of datafication (Crawford … Karppi, 2015; Gilmore, 2016). Wearables such as the Apple Watch, for example, are gadgets that fit neatly into our daily routines. As they are watches, we know how to use them. But they also impose their workings and algorithms upon us as they invite us to solve daily challenges to improve ourselves and compete with others through the fitness features, and adhere to self-management through reminders and calendar appointments. Market logics are hidden within the workings of wearables and gadgets and shape our media practices through their affordances.

The functions just described can be interpreted as being the materialisation of market logics within today's personal media technologies. In this context, communication professionals are the personification of media practices and market logics at the same time. With non-profits increasingly adopting values and methods linked to the corporate world, trends of marketization become visible through different functions within non-profit organisations (Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004). Indications for this development are the adoption of a market language by non-profits, the development of a brand or the creation of a business plan, as well as the adoption of management models and methods (Grafström … Karlberg, 2015). The adoption of communication technologies plays a vital role in this development, as they "have given rise to new sets of visual and narrative strategies to attract the attention, money and time of Western audiences" (von Engelhardt & Jansz, 2014, p.471).

Community foundations in the UK and Germany are no exception to this development. The current *Community Foundations Report* has pointed out that although the term 'community' is defined by identity, interests, and shared values, social media that allows groups to congregate now have to be included as a function to support these aims (Hodgson &

Pond, 2018). As non-profit organisations have become increasingly mediatized, functions that were less reliant on the media have now also become mediatized. For example, appeals for donations are mediated by using multiple media channels to spread the call for donations and digital platforms are used to collect them. Another example would be the use of social networks for volunteering which non-profits use to post information on projects they need volunteers for, and people are recruited through this network. The next section looks at the ways in which mediatization and marketization go hand in hand by exploring how community foundations adopt values and methods connected to the market through the media.

Investing in professionals

Bringing their own sets of values and methods to the table, communication professionals mediatize and marketize non-profit functions. By hiring communication professionals, CFs increasingly professionalise the way in which they run their media relations and media work in community foundations. This tendency indicates a growing influence of the media over the daily work in a community foundation, as processes, events, and projects become part of the media work. Community foundations have literally 'invested' in employees who support their mission and vision. As a result, community foundations have stepped up their efforts by hiring CPs and creating permanent job positions for them. Jürgen Reske, the communication professional working at the Community Foundation Bonn, for example, has an academic degree in law and additional training as a public relations consultant. Additionally, he has worked at the public relations unit at a bank. Given trends in professionalisation, having more full-time staff is linked to higher levels of rationalisation (Hwang & Powell, 2009). Processes of accommodating to the media such as hiring professionals equipped with a set of marketing tools is on the rise in Germany, but this trend is much more established in the UK, as one professional notes: "So it's [marketing] always been, sort of, a big part of what we're doing. But we are a fairly ... or were a fairly small foundation, so it's grown over time" (Interviewee 8, UK). This is echoed by other CPs within UK CFs, pointing out that quite often "there wasn't anyone in this role before" and the creation of their position is normally followed by "more capacity for communicating" in a "more consistent way". However, it is not only the fact that organisations tend to create permanent positions for communications staff, it is also the

perceived value and need to have a CP in the organisation on a daily base, as Shannon Roberts points out:

> Yeah, well I think it's [communication and marketing] pretty key, it's such a wide term as well. I think everyone interprets it slightly differently, but I think it's definitely been seen as much more important in the foundation now because beforehand there was a Marketing Officer and Comms Officer, but I think before that there wasn't a role really, or at least not a full-time one.

When exploring German CFs one can analyse change as it happens. Joachim Sommer of the community foundation in Münster notes that communication has for long been a part of the foundations' efforts to connect with locals, the "intensity and the wide range" of communications work has become more common over the last three years, in particular since the foundation adopted the social network Facebook. The CF has also pointed out that having a proactive and continuous communications approach has helped them become better known within the city and that the impact of their actions is now perceived to be stronger through their advocacy. While some German CFs that participated in my study have already established a communications team of at least one person, some organisations, especially smaller ones, rely on volunteers providing their communication expertise for free. For example, Gerhard Silberer from the community foundation Lahr, acknowledges that it is quite beneficial to have a "media professional working for the [newspaper] on the board of the foundation". But most foundations are less fortunate and instead provide communications training to their employees. A CP at a German CF reported that when they switched to a different content management system (CMS) the foundation had to provide training for a number of employees. This allowed them to become independent of an external contractor and has enabled them to maintain and curate the website themselves.

Besides hiring new communication staff, CFs have increased their efforts to provide training for their existing personnel in fields such as communication management, media relations, and social media management. What has seen a stronger development in Germany only recently has already become the status quo at CFs in the UK. They have increased their personnel for communications work in recent years. The effect is that communication professionals feel more valued and that their work has become more active and strategic as the perceived value of communication has increased within their organisation, as one professional highlights: "But now we've grown so that has enabled me to, sort of, really focus and concentrate on the marketing aspect of the role" (Interviewee 8, UK).

Talking business

The use of market language and marketing techniques points to the stronger perception of organisations regarding the necessity to professionalise themselves and their functions to maintain or increase their quality of work and effectiveness. Three of these functions – accountability, giving and fundraising, and volunteering – are core functions of non-profits. Indications of marketization can be found in structures and processes that CFs have implemented. Communication professionals often use language linked to business and management language. This becomes evident when they want to implement management processes, measure likes and shares on social media platforms, or become more efficient or accountable. For CPs the changes in the work environment and the technical changes information and communication technologies and social networks have brought about are often perceived as being the future, being tightly connected to professionalisation and progress. However, that does not mean that all the changes described are perceived benevolently, as CPs struggle with staff shortages, little time, and an increasing workload. Communication professionals have pointed out repeatedly that the recruiting of corporations as donors and sponsors has become a necessity to provide a constant level of help and care to their local groups. Indeed, it seems that this trend, which has been limited to CFs in the UK, has been brought closer to German CFs through the term 'corporate social responsibility (CSR)' in recent years. A professional at a German CF put it this way:

> We currently do have an initiative in which we aim at long-established corporations in particular. As we do not need much money, I think we will be successful in finding corporations that sponsor us. The initiative is currently running and will be running throughout this year. I cannot tell if this is going to be successful right now (Interviewee 1, DE).

While German CFs are new to this sort of business, UK CFs have had some years to practise and have already fostered long-lasting relations. Community foundations in the UK point potential donors to the positive effects, which a professional partnership with the CF could have for their business. The CF Forever Manchester, for example, states on its website under the section "Corporate Sponsorship, CSR":

> Business Partners: We have a wide range of businesses willing to go the extra mile for Forever Manchester. Supporting Forever Manchester can help differentiate your brand from your competitor's, provide you with valuable PR opportunities and increase staff involvement and

build morale through fundraising, volunteering and networking opportunities.[18]

Supporting a company's brand and offering PR services thus becomes part of the social deal between corporations and community foundations in a marketized environment. However, finding new businesses to contribute seems to become harder, which in turn has led professionals to adapt their 'products' to the demand for a new type of customer. This new product developed by one of the UK-based community foundations intends to tackle a sort of 'corporate social responsibility fatigue,' as the number of businesses showing interest in participating in local events which encourage them to invest in local philanthropy have not been well attended in recent times. One interviewee expressed his frustration saying: "I think they're just starting to get a little bit sick of it, so what we're doing, is just trying to think a bit differently, and trying to invent something that's a little bit new and interesting. So that's why we're looking at this entry-level product. I don't know what it'll be yet" (Iain Riddell, CF Tyne & Wear and Northumberland, UK). Not only have CFs adapted and adopted market language, they have also adopted mechanisms and processes.

As has been noted earlier, a growing number of foundations turn to advertising agencies for shaping and branding their organisation, as well as turning to consultants in order to 'streamline processes' and make the processes more efficient. Being effective and being professional are linked in the mindset of professionals who have made use of consultancies for raising quality and professionalism. This goes as far as one of the CPs pointing out that he has been deemed 'good value for money' by the external auditor, an advertising agency. While some may see non-profits and companies as a surprising partnership, CPs note that the efforts by the foundation to 'market' the foundation by professionalising the public image through the adjustment of their 'brand' have been received positively by members of the public:

> I do hear feedback from people sometimes to say, 'I've heard that things are taking off at the community foundation', which is really nice to hear and that people are noticing that we've got a more professional and consistent, hopefully, brand, if that's really a brand and not just in terms of how the brand actually looks but also the brand values, what people think about us. They hopefully see us as very professional (Kate Parrinder, Oxfordshire CF, UK).

---

[18] "Business Partners", Community Foundation Forever Manchester, https://forevermanchester.com/business-partners/, accessed 3. May 2018.

Such statements strongly support the notion of a visible shift towards greater marketization, where the ideology of the market is reflected in setting up processes and structures borrowed from management approaches and business practices (Stride & Lee, 2007). With CFs routinely implementing downloadable versions of their organisational logos and media kits that bundle organisational information and marketing materials, CFs in the UK in particular, have integrated marketing functions into their website.

Accountability

Non-profit functions such as accountability, giving and fundraising, or volunteering, indicate rationales of marketization and are deeply intertwined with processes of mediatization (see table 7.5). Transparency is one way for non-profits to build trust and show accountability, and is increasingly expected by stakeholders (Dumont, 2013). According to the Charities Aid Foundation, about half of the UK population agree that charities are trustworthy (2018). Circulating information on what non-profits do positively contributes to accountability and helps to build trust. E-Mails and contact information have been among the first information provided on websites that provide opportunities to get in touch and be accountable to the public. Over the years, with information and communication technologies becoming more accessible to the public and better manageable by organisations, the amount of information that can be put on websites has increased, allowing organisations to, for instance, upload mission and vision statements, profiles of their executives and their board members, or their charter or annual reports. Thus, the number of ways in which non-profits can be controlled and respond to stakeholders has increased. A number of community foundations in the UK do now produce additional reports that allow them to analyse and make visible the needs of their community. A standard for this is the Vital Signs reporting scheme, a global initiative that tries to provide standards for analysing and reporting progress within the local community, by also making it comparable to other communities (Harrow & Jung, 2016). Foundations in the UK use the reporting scheme to report on the things that matter in their community, such as health and homelessness, the arts, or environmental issues. The report, in turn, is used to show their accountability to fundholders and potential donors.

Table 7.5: Dimensions and examples of mediatization linked to marketization (author's own table)

Dimension of mediatization (Schulz, 2004)	Examples from the data
1. Extension "Media technologies extend the natural limits of human communication capacities"; "[…] the media serve to bridge spatial and temporal distances"	• Information materials such as annual and evaluation reports are not only distributed in print but also available through the website, allowing community foundations to be transparent when it comes to projects and expenses (accountability; traditional and networked media). • Platforms for giving and fundraising, such as JustGiving or Crowdrise, allow community foundations to extend their reach and attract potential new donors, in particular in the Generation X segment. Platforms can be implemented into communication campaigns or work as standalone projects, as they allow communication professionals to act as the hub for all social activities and enable them to steer and monitor the campaign (giving and fundraising; networked media).
2. Substitution "The media partly or completely substitute social activities and social institutions and thus change their character"	• Social media platforms allow people to devote their time and skills to an online project, thereby substituting traditional ways of volunteering in which volunteers could, for example, help build local structures tied to a specific aim. These online platforms (e.g., Kiva or Sparked) have their own set of practices and affordances and measure volunteering in accomplished goals through metrics (volunteering; networked media). • As giving platforms become more commonly included in campaigns, they not only extend, but also substitute traditional ways of giving (giving and fundraising; networked media).
3. Amalgamation "Media activities not only extend and (partly) substitute non-media activities; they also merge and mingle with one another"	• Building and supporting ties with local companies have become part of work assignments for communication professionals. Through organised local business meetings, community foundations provide opportunities for companies to gauge possible partnerships with the community foundations' local projects (giving and fundraising; traditional media and networked media). • As curating information on a foundation's website (e.g., through a content management system) and social media platforms becomes a daily work assignment for communication staff, enabling them to use new information and communication technologies also means to invest in training them (adapting to the media, accountability, giving and fundraising, volunteering; networked media).
4. Accommodation "[…] the media industry contributes a considerable part to the gross national product"; "It is self-evident that the various economic actors have to accommodate to the way the media operate"	• Community foundations provide information on corporate sponsoring and partnerships on their websites, while actively recruiting local companies to set up shared projects. Thus, they enable companies to use these partnerships for building their reputation. Partnerships are announced through joint press statements. These are also published on the foundations' and the companies' websites (giving and fundraising; traditional and networked media). • Community foundations have employed and integrated branding and marketing techniques into many of their activity as they try to establish the foundation as a local brand. The website works as a media repository by providing organisational logos and media kits for direct download (accountability, giving and fundraising, volunteering; traditional and networked media). • Social media platforms allow communication professionals to closely monitor and measure their success in extending reach, raising money, or attracting attention. Monitoring digital media activities has become a criterion for success and implemented into internal reporting standards, as social media platforms provide them with instant measures compared with traditional media (accountability, giving and fundraising, volunteering; networked media).

Giving and fundraising

The mediatization and platformization of giving and fundraising empowers people to fund what, how, and when they want. That means more choice for donors and CFs alike, but it also means more uncertainty. As giving platforms such as JustGiving become more common, market logic that drives engagement and motivates people to reach a specific funding aim become more common too, as they are directly incorporated into the giving platforms' internal mechanics (e.g., 'we need £2,000 to reach the funding aim'). The need to adopt to these new platforms can be attributed to the increased necessities to compensate for the loss of government support for communities. The fulfilment of community foundations' missions has become challenging in recent years, with the withdrawal of public authorities and the need for foundations and charities alike to step in and fill the social and financial gap this withdrawal has caused. Community foundations have realised that the demand for their services has grown and that this development is unlikely to stop soon, with austerity measures and politics being on the rise and an obscure and unforeseeable Brexit looming on the horizon. No matter the size or the country, community foundations in the United Kingdom and Germany "are getting [just] greater demand of people coming to us [the foundations] and asking for funding" (Iain Riddell, CF Tyne & Wear and Northumberland, UK). However dire the situation, community foundations on both sides of the English Channel have adapted to this new status quo, yet for them, this means an additional financial burden. As a result, community foundations support more "hard-hit" organisations – a development particularly visible in the United Kingdom. Gerhard Silberer, a communication expert at the German community foundation Citizens for Lahr, highlights that with the increased liability to take up more tasks that have formerly been supported through the German welfare state, the focus of the community foundation has shifted to considering financial commitments and local fundraising more closely: "Well, […] let's put it this way, with the withdrawal of the public sector from some areas, the need to more closely focus on financial matters has increased, however, this also depends on the people acting".

Chapter 6 has revealed stark differences between CF in the United Kingdom and Germany when it comes to adopting social media platforms for extending non-profit functions such as fundraising. The trend to adopt new ways of fundraising is more strongly established in UK CFs, with German CFs falling short in adapting to this development. Moreover, community foundations in the UK have to a higher degree adopted practices to

lure companies into partnerships via corporate social responsibility programmes. These programmes are built around the needs of companies and allow them to bring their values to their customers through the non-profits' doing good. Community foundations in the United Kingdom and Germany have adopted mediated fundraising techniques to varying degrees. With non-profits being able to use websites and platforms for fundraising, they can choose and edit the information they provide in order to attract donors as efficiently as possible (McDougle & Handy, 2014). Though giving through cash donations is still the most common way used, newer ways to give such as giving via text messages or mobile app, offer ways to attract new groups of donors and contribute to the total amount of donations (Charities Aid Foundation, 2018; Deutscher Spendenrat e.V., 2018). Using different media channels allows CFs to tap into the potential of targeting different stakeholder groups through targeted information.

Volunteering

Community foundations in Germany are more likely to rely on volunteers. The uneven use of mediated volunteering methods can be explained by the fact that German community foundations operate in smaller communities than CFs in the UK and are much more likely to not only fund but also run their own projects. Being in general smaller in size, having a lower asset size than CF in the UK, and relying less on the work of full-time professionals, German CFs rely more heavily on volunteers for carrying out the foundation's operative projects. Given that, it is not surprising, that volunteering was not mentioned often by interviewees in the UK when it came to using social media for attracting volunteers for projects. This is probably because community foundations in the UK tend to provide grants to local non-profits and charities, thereby providing them with funds for their projects. They in turn might use volunteering platforms, but not the community foundation in the first place. In Germany, however, community foundations seem to rely on traditional forms of recruiting volunteers, such as word-of-mouth marketing or an announcement on their website. The Charities Aid Foundation (2018) estimates that around 17 per cent of the UK population have volunteered for a charity in some way. Media platforms that allow volunteers to take on tasks for a non-profit is a new way of engaging with the mission of a non-profit. It enables volunteers to choose what to do according to their own time available. However, platforms also have their own sets of practices and determine 'what' people can practically do on a platform. While it

limits how people can contribute, it also extends the reach and opens up new user groups to non-profits, in particular, younger users who are less likely to donate money and more likely to volunteer. Nevertheless, most of these platforms have a neo-liberal market logic in-built, that drives people's participation by setting up challenges and goals (Bajde, 2013).

The marketization of community foundations

The media are vehicles of marketization. Marketization through mediatization does not happen in plain sight but through the affordances of technical devices and media used and produced by communication professionals. By analysing how community foundations have adapted to media, the workings of marketization are exposed. To explain this assumption, I will explore four major trends of marketization as suggested by Eikenberry and Kluver (2004), through the lens of the mediatization of community foundations. It is important to keep in mind that non-profits always operate in a unique contextual local setting, in their local community that has specific economic and cultural influences (see chapter 2).

One trend is generating *commercial revenue* by offering branded products on their websites. Non-profits such as community foundations have tipped into the commercial revenue stream by selling products, publications, or charge for email lists. Consumption-oriented philanthropy has become more common, with non-profits publishing charity gift catalogues in combination with shopping-inspired fundraising initiatives (Li, 2017). In order to compensate for plunging support by the government, community foundations became inventive and started selling products through their websites. While this trend is still rather small, community foundations in both countries have set up online shops on their websites through which individuals can buy branded and unbranded products such as books, t-shirts, or mugs. The Bürgerstiftung Vorpommern, for example, makes use of cooperation with a platform called www.bildungsspender.de. Through this platform, a plugin for the browser has to be installed. When something is bought through that plugin, a fraction of the purchase goes to bildungsspender.de and is subsequently donated. The community foundation Forever Manchester operates an online shop and sells artists' cards, mugs and t-shirts, among others. However, while currently not widespread among community foundations, it is likely that this sort of revenue generation will grow in the future.

Community foundations do not necessarily compete for *service contracts*, but they compete for sponsorships and cooperation on a local base. Many community foundations, particularly in the UK, have a focus on building and maintaining strong ties with local (or national) companies through the use of corporate social responsibility partnerships. In order to attract companies, they set up local business meetings that companies can attend in order to discuss the possibilities of the companies participating in – or funding new – projects. In this regard, the media function as vehicles or a market logic through marketing techniques. The self-published Vital Signs reports, for instance, help to support the advancement of the mission of a foundation, while at the same time creating a narrative for efficiency, rationalisation, professionalisation, and comparability. For companies, the value of having a partnership with a non-profit is the positive reputation they gain in return. When new partnerships are contracted, the company and the CF both benefit from this by communicating it to the public. The company gains a positive reputation for doing good and the CF is perceived as being a professional organisation that is able to steer a local project and manage the people and funds required for carrying out the project. It is important to note here that the trend of marketization is induced through mediatization. The media practices within the CF support the market logic that is inherent in corporate social responsibility partnerships. Marketing these partnerships is a primary task of the communication professionals, allowing for the promotion and the subsequent measurement of the partnerships public awareness through social media metrics and press reviews.

At the time when Eikenberry and Kluver (2004) published their article, social media and any platform allowing for meaningful public interactivity were in their infancy. With the internet and social media becoming widely available, giving platforms opened up a convenient channel for Millennials to donate. Community foundations have, besides using online payment platforms such as PayPal, also adopted such online giving platforms as JustGiving or Crowdrise. These platforms allow community foundations to set up funding projects, add project information including pictures and a funding goal. These platforms have received positive attention after significant disasters in recent months and years, as they were able to quickly collect vast amounts of money (although there have also been scam projects that merely vanished after the funding aim was reached). However, entering the platform as a community foundation essentially means to enter a marketplace for charitable projects that adheres to the market logic.

Although these platforms offer an efficient and cost-effective way for acquiring potential *new revenue streams*, they fall short of what a foundation needs in the long term. For example, the stakeholders which a CF recruits through a funding project have weak ties which do not extend to much more than donating money. As it is the case with micro-volunteering, the platform manages the project and stakeholders for the foundation. It provides the foundation with metrics and suggests communicative additions in order to make the campaign more appealing. However, it can be argued that these platforms do not necessarily foster social capital within a community and probably cannot substitute for door-knocking and asking people for their support locally. As all sorts of projects are listed on the platform, it is hard for the donor to differentiate which cause should be supported. Here, marketing the cause is key as it 'sells' the cause to millions of potential donors. Having knowledge of how best to sell the project to donors becomes the key mission. These changes have been brought about through marketization, as executives and board members in CFs have recruited new members who have abilities and experience in fields such as accounting, managing, or journalisms. Over recent years, the leadership teams, in turn, have put emphasis on hiring communication professionals who support the mission of the foundations by adopting media practices.

Entrepreneurial philanthropy following market logic has emerged through online micro-volunteering and crowdsourcing and -funding platforms (Ilten, 2015). Micro-volunteering platforms such as Sparked or Kiva have been shown to have specific affordances that shape the way in which individuals and non-profits can act on the platform, thereby limiting and constraining the actions possible, based on a market logic. As Ilten (2015, p.8) pointed out: "[…]platforms seem to create markets in more subtle, design-driven ways – matching and microaction systems did not require much capital to launch, but have created lasting socio-technical constitutions that marketize and professionalize volunteering further". For example, rationalisation is implemented through a non-profit and an individual matching engine. The online matchmaking engine provided by the platform chooses the best fit – not the non-profit. Volunteers sign into the volunteering platform where they describe their interests and 'the system' then offers them a range of potential projects to support, based on their preferences. The non-profit is left with awaiting the outcome of the projects. In the meantime, metrics provide the non-profit and the contributors of the project with updates on the 'challenge'. Non-profits are not in direct contact with the contributors and contact is mediated through the platform. Thus, they rely less on traditional stakeholders and focus on the project

outcome instead of using these projects for building social capital. While none of the community foundations interviewed has used micro-volunteering yet, some of them voiced the idea that they might use it in future projects:

> This morning, we had a department meeting and we talked about a topic which we will approach soon. We will cooperate with this [company] in Berlin and we will use crowdfunding. Well, we use it to 'outsource' this work to this company in Berlin. We will present projects on this platform and also recommend individuals at the [bank] to donate to these projects. That will be the next step. So we don't put this at the top of our website but we will join this company's platform, because it is less work for us, we actually only have to present projects we support and ask for money (Jürgen Reske, CF Bonn, DE).

Chapter 8.

Conclusion: Mediatized and Marketized Community Foundations

Over the brief history of human evolution, philanthropists have found various ways to give to and influence society. Their approaches were always built on contemporary social policies, leading to the rise of institutions such as modern foundations in the early 20th century. Then as today, philanthropists are searching for new ways to solve the urgent problems that humanity faces, be it through scientific research or information and communication technologies. Modern philanthropic institutions are designed for being capable of supporting their founders' mission or the joint efforts of multiple individuals using community foundations. By serving local communities, community foundation have become a vital part of the third sector, by paying attention to local context by drafting their mission and vision around local needs. Their structure and organisation has proved to be a solid base for organising community work locally. Thus, community foundations have flourished in Europe over the last decades, leading to the establishment of a thriving community foundation sector with a particularly strong presence in the UK and Germany.

On their way, community foundations have adopted ICTs in order to extend their reach and provide support locally, taking up tasks that were formerly carried out by the welfare state. In these challenging times, community foundations, particularly in the UK, turn to social media platforms to leverage their impact, while German community foundations have decided to focus on using traditional media outlets instead. The ways in which community foundations adapt to the media and adopt media channels could change the ways in which these organisations shape and work with local communities in the years to come. Processes of

mediatization have even led to new types of non-profits that were previously not imaginable, such as, for example, non-profits whose sole function is to offer telephone helplines. These organisations would not exist without the media as the media constitute the very basis of their functionality; they thereby only exist through and by the media. As the media strongly impact the ways in which community foundations extend, substitute, amalgamate, and assimilate core non-profit functions, community foundations will have to choose which channels and practices to adopt and adapt to.

Mediatization and Marketization are the most important mechanisms at work when analysing the contemporary status of communications and media work in community foundations in both countries. While marketization is often associated with the changing face of philanthropy in the United States through the rise of business-inspired philanthropic forms such as venture philanthropy, European countries such as Germany and the UK have also experienced an upward development towards marketization and professionalisation. As foundations have adopted strategies and methods of scientific research over the last century, this has deeply changed the way in which they approached and carried out their mission. Today, as public funds decline, heightened uncertainty because of economic decline across Europe, community foundations seem to be left with little choice but to increase raising money from individual donors and corporations.

Yet, as my research has shown, CFs have the tools and the mindset to find their own answers to the challenges ahead. As they are mediating much of their communication through information and communication technologies, CFs have become mediatized organisations that have also been changed through their media use. They have changed their communication strategies by adopting branding strategies, set up events oriented to the recruitment of donors such as corporations, and tailored their organisational news to fit into local news outlets as well as on their own website and social media channels. All these efforts are undertaken to connect with stakeholders, engage with the public, raise funds, and build a reputation and avoid risks of losing control over their organisational narrative.

This work has shown that community foundations in the United Kingdom and Germany make use of a variety of communication channels and strategies in order to support their core functions. My research has clearly demonstrated that reasons why CFs adopt and adapt to the media in order to support these functions are manifold, ranging from the need to break local monopolies of the traditional press to professionalising the workforce for greater efficiency,

making them more attractive to businesses and state institutions. The impact of these processes of mediatization and marketization on the future communications work of community foundations, however, has yet to be discussed.

With the adoption of information and communication technologies, community foundations have embraced media practices that rely on platforms that work through logic not only of the media but also the market, as mediatization and marketization are deeply intertwined. Through mediatization, marketization mechanisms become incorporated into media platforms that offer extensions of non-profit functionalities, such as micro-volunteering or online fundraising. Broader phenomena and trends such as digitalisation, datafication, and platformization are the sub-level workings that have enabled the wave of mediatization that we experience today through social networks and technical devices that keep us connected wherever we are. Essentially, this is how mediatization works: it infiltrates institutions and organisations and transforms them, creating organisations that become mediatized and have to submit to the norms and rules of the media.

But mediatization does not only work one way. As I have illustrated over the last chapters, mediatization works both ways for community foundations. On the one side, community foundations have adapted to the norms and rules of the media by streamlining and professionalising their work processes, including hiring public relations and marketing professionals. On the other side, they have adopted new media platforms that do not adhere to the rules and norms of traditional media, thereby changing and challenging the traditional media ensemble and the media as an institution. This process creates a continuous circle of adapting to new media practices while at the same time changing these practices through its use. Here it is helpful to be reminded that processes of mediatization are moulding forces which assert power over institutions and organisations and thereby shape the everyday media practices within community foundations.

As already discussed, the media practices vary greatly between the two countries explored through this study. UK CFs are stronger adopters of social media platforms than German CFs and they have been more proactive in adopting platforms and practices that support non-profit functionalities. The logistic regression analysis has shown that asset size is of relevance when it comes to the creation of a PR department or recruiting a media spokesperson. However, I have suggested that multiple *other* factors play a role, factors that have been brought up during the interviews with the communication professionals. They include the

enthusiasm of senior managers, pressure from outside the foundations, and the growing trend towards professionalisation. Taking these findings into account, community foundations in the UK and Germany constitute two different phases of mediatization. While CFs in the UK are more likely to adopt new media platforms and hire professional communications staff, CFs in Germany often limit themselves to the use of traditional media outlets and the use of volunteers to do communications work. They are less likely to adopt social media platforms but instead, rely on board members with professional backgrounds to develop strong ties with locals and build social capital. However, in both countries, different sets of media practices have become institutionalised and will shape their options for further action.

Figure 8.1: Marketization through mediatization (author's own figure)
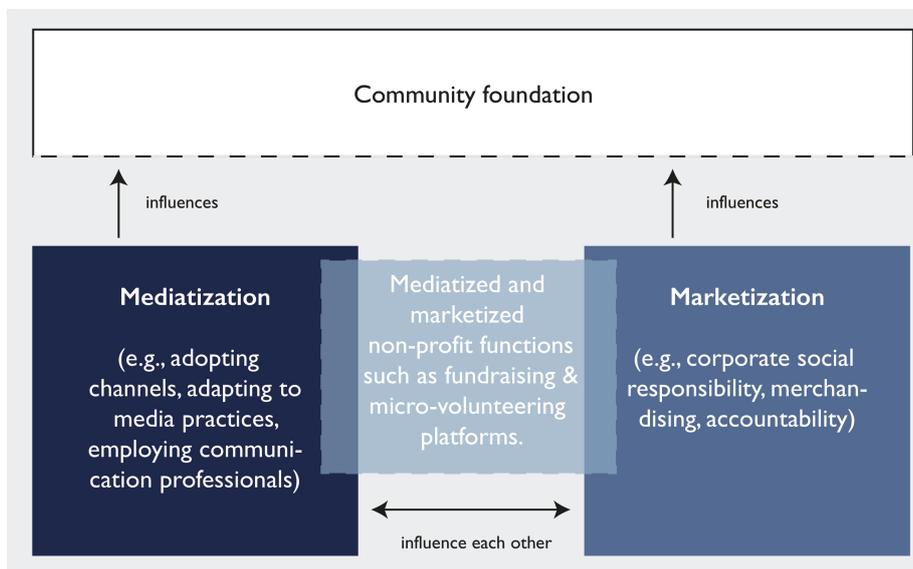
Although non-profits do not necessarily want to adopt certain practices, they have to take up some of them due to the pressure they receive from donors and stakeholders. Figure 8.1 illustrates the interdependency between mediatization and marketization within community foundations and the non-profit functions they employ. With the media having become institutionalised in our lifeworld through media products and technical devices, non-profits have to adhere to their media logic to some extent. The media's influence and its demands, however, are not always as visible as the need, for example, to comply with procedures in order to receive funding from corporations or government institutions. The influence of the media becomes visible through the affordances of different media outlets, such as social media, giving, and micro-volunteering platforms, as communication professionals use them. Through their use, in turn, mediatization becomes the moulding force of community foundations' organisational practices.

For community foundations, marketization works through the media, as the foundations adapt to the affordances of platforms that determine their actions and require specific media practices. Non-profits become marketized through the mediatization of parts of their core function as non-profits. CPs are the facilitators of this development. Social media, fundraising and micro-volunteering platforms allow communications professionals to easily adapt to the hybrid ideology of philanthropy and the market through the adoption of these platforms which are inscribed by processes of rationalisation, professionalisation, and marketization. Yet, the media are not only vehicles for marketization, but on a larger scale are vehicles and facilitators of social change. Many media platforms that serve functions for non-profits are themselves part of a market logic[19] as they are driven by returns or are primarily places for advertising. Against this background, it can be argued that communications professionals serve as agents of the media within the foundations, as they set up mediated events such as press conference, that in particular target corporations. They have become the foundations' 'attention merchants', selling their mission to existing and potential stakeholders. Through this trend of professionalisation, public relations and marketing have become the toolkit of choice for raising awareness. While this does not necessarily affect the quality of the causes which CFs promote, it adds an element that shows the impact of mediatization and marketization such as producing reports and marketing the projects through events and press releases to attract attention. Due to trends of marketization and mediatization, the perception of what is a good cause has changed, as larger sponsors no longer decide on what to fund solely based on the mission of the project, but based on how supporting a cause might enhance their own profile and reputation as a 'good' company. 'Doing good' becomes a vehicle in a lifeworld that is constructed though various media representations.

There are multiple potential downsides to mediatization. As the case study of the Swedish Red Cross has pointed out, mediatization affects the inner workings of organisations and influences their decision making structures (Grafström … Karlberg, 2015). Grafström et al. shows that non-profits could be subject to reputation risks through the media. These risks can best be addressed by employing a trained media spokesperson who can curate

---

[19] This also applies to petition platforms, where organisations can buy contact details of users from the platform operator in order to better target people that might be interested in their case, thereby mixing for-profit thinking with a non-profit and activist attitude (e.g. change.org).

the narrative around the non-profit. However, this itself leads to a stronger mediatization, in which the non-profit has to monitor the media system continually for potential reputational risks. This implies that the media are inescapable. However, this is not necessarily true as processes of mediatization can be weak or strong, depending on the adoption of media channels and practices and the perceived necessity and reliance on the media. This in turn depends on how tightly integrated the media are with work routines and daily tasks: do the media merely serve as extensions of the organisation's information outreach? Or are the media a substantial part of their everyday work? The media shape the way in which the organisation regards itself. With some organisations showing a stronger trend of mediatization, it could be argued that media and management positions within a foundation comprise an ever-growing share of financial resources, and that this could come at the cost of their service delivery to the local community.

Another point that could play out slightly negatively soon is that companies like Facebook or Google have quasi-monopolies on social networks and search functions. Moreover, they are for-profit companies and traded on global stock exchanges. In 2018, firms like Google and Facebook are among the most valuable and influential on the planet. While Google's mission statement is 'Don't be evil' and Facebook only wants everybody to be 'friends' with each other, one has to be reminded that these firms are genuinely profit oriented. Facebook sells user data and Google obeys demands for censorship in order to leverage a vast potential market. As platforms strive to consolidate their market power and their user base, they have started to incorporate new functionalities that their users request. For example, YouTube has recently begun implementing fundraising and funds matching functionalities into its platform to prevent its creators from moving to other platforms and services instead. It is apparent that these companies are market-driven and their market position makes them hard to ignore for non-profits, as they offer them free use of services and advice.[20] Today, these technology companies have essentially become media companies. As such, they have become direct competitors of traditional media companies and are the world's largest distributors of media content. As a result, community foundations should not only rely

---

[20] Both companies have dedicated programmes supporting non-profits to connect with people and manage their organisation (e.g. https://nonprofits.fb.com and https://www.google.com/nonprofits/)

on one company but should consider diversifying their social media channels. However, adopting these channels seems necessary, as younger generations are often reached through social networks and less often reached through traditional news outlets. While millennials do consume newspapers they often do so on mobile devices. For community foundations, this means having a website that uses responsive design and which is, therefore, able to adapt to multiple devices (e.g. smartphone or tablet), and social media links that allow for the sharing of messages via social networks seem to be a must.

Information and communication technologies (ICTs) have enabled community foundations to reach people and stakeholders through different media channels, which has radically broadened their reach and scope. People get to know about what is happening in their community through subscribing to newsletters, reading the local news that covers the foundation or following a community foundation on Facebook, Twitter, and other social media platforms. Taking care of the requests of multiple stakeholder groups has become a complicated issue, tackled by community foundations through different communication strategies. Mixed online and offline campaigns can support their mission and make a positive impact on the work and reputation of the CF. From this perspective, the mediatization of CFs could be understood as being about empowerment. The media enable them to influence public policy through media work and thereby support their community through advocacy. As the marketplace for public attention gets more crowded, professional media staff are able to raise media publicity in the hybrid media marketplace. Community foundations can also empower other foundations and charities through setting up programmes that teach these organisations how to use the media to amplify their voice. While it is complicated to predict the long-term effects of mediatization on community foundations, it is safe to say that the mediatization of foundations in both countries will continue to grow in importance and will leave its mark on how CFs operate and 'do business' in the future.

Theoretical insights

The theoretical and methodological design of this work has produced multiple original contributions to our knowledge of the communication strategies, mediatization and marketization processes of community foundations in the United Kingdom and Germany. First, the decision to base the research on mediatization research has enabled me to build on a

timely analytical approach to assess media change while at the same time expand this approach to make it applicable for the analysis of non-profit organisations by incorporating the core functions of non-profits into the conceptual approach (see table 4.2). This approach was applied by looking at the ways in which community foundations in the UK and Germany have adopted media channels and have been subjected to the media's rules, norms, and practices. Second, the conceptual approach has allowed for the creation of a methodological framework for analysing these relationships through the use of interviews with communication professionals and the application of a content analysis of community foundations' websites. Combining interviews and content analysis on a comparative, cross-national level has allowed me to reveal in-depth knowledge about how and why communication professionals and community foundations use the media on the one hand, while gauging how all community foundations' have made use of and implemented the various mediated functions into their websites. Both parts of the methodological framework can be applied to other types of non-profits as well, thereby broadening the potential benefit of the methodological approach for other researchers. Third, by illustrating the interrelationship between mediatization and marketization, the empirical research provides novel insights into the impact of the media on societal institutions while opening a space for innovative future theoretical contributions to the field of media and non-profit studies (see figure 8.1). More concretely, the following results can be attributed to my research on the mediatization and marketization of community foundations in both countries.

Mediatization and marketization create a sturdy mesh of processes that are deeply interwoven and intertwined. Typical non-profit functions, such as connecting with stakeholders or fundraising, have become mediatized and marketized as media practices and mechanisms are embedded in platforms and media institutions. By providing new mediated functionalities to non-profits through platforms and devices, the media have become moulding forces of everyday media practices within CFs. As a result, community foundations are – through the work of communication professionals – adapting to the mechanisms necessary to operate and curate the current media ensemble. Where professionals are not able to do that, external media consultants are asked for advice and training. Community foundations adopt social media platforms and traditional media through a combination of internal necessities that are inflicted upon them through their mission and vision on the one

hand and the external pressure of being visible to the local community in order to acquire funding for running their operations and receiving trust and legitimacy, on the other.

Community foundations are being shaped by the media use of their local communities and existing and potential stakeholders. Companies want non-profits to be able to raise awareness for a cause by using state-of-the-art media strategies. This ensures that the company will receive what they demand for their support: publicity. At the same time, corporate donors increasingly demand that media activities are measured and documented in order to gauge progress as required by management processes and market logic.

Communication professionals and executives lead the transformation of community foundations through mediatization and marketization. Community foundations feel the need to 'do' communication in order to appease outward pressure and in order to ease financial constraints, through the creation of cooperation and partnerships with local companies. This duality of action drives them into becoming mediatized and marketized at the same time, with part of both processes being intertwined through the use of the media. Community foundations are adapting to the requirement of demonstrating new sets of communication and management skills in order to drive engagement with their stakeholders and become equal partners with corporate donors who demand the implementation of management and communication processes within the foundations.

By adhering to the practices and logics of the media and the market, community foundations become commodities of both. This raises critical questions that have to be dealt with in the long run, such as the market-driven nature of social media such as Facebook and Twitter. As has been pointed out earlier, larger corporations are increasingly becoming mediatized themselves, by setting up in-house public relations departments and advertising agencies. By adopting social media platforms that are intrinsically driven by market logics, one could argue that, over time, community foundations may become deprived of their moral and ethical compass and their very status of embracing a non-profit ideology, as the transformative potential of their actions could be lost through the convergence of media and market ideology within their core functions. Or put differently, through the use of services that could be described as marketized philanthropy, community foundations help to stabilise the very system of unfairly distributed wealth (capitalism) that brings about the burdens they want to eradicate in their local communities. Moreover, as most of the social networks most commonly used in the western hemisphere are part of the Facebook brand, this also raises

concerns about the data generated by using these networks. Given the market logic embedded in platforms such as Facebook, the data generated on this platform automatically contributes to a market-oriented narrative, which runs counter to the 'public good' values of community foundations. By using social media platforms that monetise through curated commercial content and advertising, community foundations necessarily adopt these practices and support them.

Mediatization and marketization processes could trigger strategic innovation within community foundations, leading to new partnerships and a resource for local communities. Community foundations should aim at building trust and social capital. For example, a stronger localisation of news could be the basis for stronger strategic, pro-bono partnerships between the local media and CFs, through cross-media publishing strategies. Community foundations could try to establish local social networks and open data initiatives that adhere to community policies and do not sell the data of their stakeholders. While it is hard to predict how future changes in media and communication, for example the rise in artificial intelligence (AI) and its application in organisations, will change non-profit organisations. However, community foundations have adopted methods and techniques from other sectors such as academic research of the last century. This development has profoundly changed how foundations work today. With the wider use of media, it could be that foundations have yet to adapt again to some vital new development. The fast-evolving media environment presents community foundations with prodigious challenges but may also offer unimagined opportunities to innovate and evolve in pursuit of their ethical purposes through their work with local communities.

Reflecting on the approach

The use of mediatization theory to explore how community foundations adapt to the media and how that might affect their daily media practices has proved to be useful and generated some important and timely insights. Exploring the mediatization of CFs through examining the inner workings of their communication practices, has revealed the increasing importance of their media-focused work, both online and offline. Together with content analysis, the mixed-method approach allowed for a broad assessment of the mediatization of CFs in the UK and Germany and has enabled some general inferences to be drawn about the wider

community foundation landscape. Exploring mediatization by using a framework combining media and non-profit theory has shown itself to be a fruitful endeavour, as it has allowed for a close reading of the mediated everyday practices of communication professionals working in these organisations. However, the combination of the two methods also has its limits. Future research could look more closely at the inner workings of media work in CFs, for example, by using a survey. This would allow inclusion of indicators such as the perceived pressure from the public or the internal pressure from the leadership team or board members, and cultural and local contexts. Moreover, the impact of organisational factors could be more closely explored as community foundations are striving – willingly or unwillingly – to play a more significant role in everyday life in communities in both countries.

Appendix

A Literature Review: Methodology

Literature reviews on non-profits, philanthropy, and ICTs are limited in terms of the time period analysed and the specific discipline they look at. Examples of such disciplines would be charitable giving from a marketing perspective, social psychology combined with helping behaviour, or volunteering and economic theories (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2011). Although social networks were launched as early as 1997, the rise of social media as it is known today dates back to the public accessibility of major social networks such as YouTube in 2005 and Facebook and Twitter in 2006 (Boyd & Ellison, 2007). Yet the adoption of social networks as an object for research was slow to take off. Zhang and Leung (2015) found that only one article on the use of online social networks was published in a highly ranked communication journal in 2005. Therefore, 2005 was chosen as a starting point and only articles published between 2005 and early 2015 were included in the sample for this review. This generated a total of 95 articles from a period of nearly ten years which are directly relevant to this review.

Due to the diversity of the third sector and the interdisciplinary nature of the topic, articles are not restricted to journals which specifically deal with this field but can be found in a broad range of journals. In order to provide a timely analysis, books and other monographs which normally take longer to get published were excluded. Articles included in this review were selected via a full text search[21] with the following combinations of keywords: 'ICT' OR 'social media' AND ('philanthropy' OR 'non-profit' OR 'third sector' OR 'volunt*' OR 'charit*'). To ensure selection of high quality articles, only peer-reviewed research published in academic journals was included.[22] Of the articles rendered by the keyword search, only those that actually focused on the use of ICTs or social media in the third sector or analysed possible effects and the impact of social media or ICTs on the third sector, were selected. The manual content-based selection of articles was necessary, as a range of them included a

---

[21] Meta-based search in article titles, keywords and abstracts was used were full-text search was not available, for example in case of SCOPUS. While full text searches retrieved considerably more search results, a negative side effect was that those results were very often not relevant, as they addressed a side topic or were only used for a single reference in an author's argumentation.

[22] This includes Emerald Insights, SAGE Journals (Social Sciences & Humanities), SCOPUS, SpringerLink, Wiley Interscience, EBSCO, the Web of Science by Thomson Reuters, Zetoc, and Google Scholar.

combination of the keywords but did not analyse the related effects any further. For example, articles that mentioned research on social media and non-profits only as a side issue in the literature review were excluded.

The next step was to develop a set of categories to allow for the creation of thematic topics. A comparative coding strategy was used to iteratively develop the thematic topics, which resulted in the emergence of three major thematic topics: (1) the adoption of ICTs and social media, (2) relationship building, advocacy, and accountability, and (3) giving, fundraising, and volunteering. Grouping the articles in this way allowed for a more in-depth analysis and the detection of research gaps. The overall findings point to a steady increase of research into the third sector, ICTs, and social media with over half the articles (55%) being published since 2013. Three journals dominate, as they are the source of 31 of the 95 articles, though two of these journals did not publish anything in the area until 2011/12. Most of the journals (10) published only one to three articles on the topic over the study period, 2005-2015 (see table A.1).

Table A.1: Published Articles on Non-Profits, ICTs, and Social Media from 2005 to early 2015*

Journal	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Total (%)
					Number of articles					
Public Relations Review	—	—	3	1	3	2	1	2	—	12 (13%)
International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing	—	—	1	1	—	1	4	3	—	10 (11%)
Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly	—	—	—	—	2	—	4	3	—	9 (9%)
VOLUNTAS	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	1	—	4 (4%)
Nonprofit Management and Leadership	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	3 (3%)
Computers in Human Behavior	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	3 (3%)
Social Science Computer Review	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	3 (3%)
Journal of Accounting and Public Policy	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	2 (3%)
Corporate Communications: An International Journal	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	2 (2%)
New Media & Society	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	2 (2%)
Journal of Communication Management	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	2 (2%)
Journal of Public Economics	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	2 (2%)
Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	2 (2%)
Public Administration Review	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2 (2%)
Total (%)	5 (5%)	2 (2%)	7 (7%)	4 (4%)	11 (11%)	9 (9%)	20 (21%)	33 (35%)	4 (4%)	95 (100%)

*No articles were found for 2005/6.

Although more than half of the articles focused on social media (60%), a range of articles had a broader scope, including also analysing ICTs too (see table A.2). For example, Kim et al.

(2014) looked at the application of dialogic principles within environmental non-profit organisations and analysed their website as well as their Facebook and Twitter pages. Overall, only eight studies combined research on ICTs and social media since 2011. Articles that offer conclusions on how ICTs influence the third sector make up about a third of all articles (32%), with articles being published continuously since 2007. While research on the effects of ICTs on the third sector was the dominant paradigm for the early years (2007–10), social media quickly emerged as a separate research strand and became a research focus from 2010 onwards. Only a small portion of articles explore ICTs as well as social media (8%). The social network analysed most often was Facebook (36%). As mentioned above, social media were sometimes analysed in combination with ICTs, for example together with websites (19%). Some social media such as Blogs (6%), LinkedIn (2%), or Wikipedia (1%) were under-researched, and none of the newer articles have analysed social media platforms such as Instagram, Tumblr, Storify, or Pinterest so far.

The vast majority of articles used data from the United States (62%), followed by studies conducted in the UK (5%) and Norway (3%). 12 per cent of the articles did not specify the origin of the sample. While few articles were published using data from Australia (2%), Spain (2%), New Zealand (2%), or Canada (2%), even fewer used samples from countries such as Libya (1%), India (1%), Mexico (1%), Turkey (1%), Haiti (1%), Nepal (1%), or Singapore (1%) thereby revealing a strong bias towards research from Western countries. A cross-selection was only used once and included non-profits from China, Turkey, and the United States (Waters & Lo, 2012).

Table A.2: Focus of Article, Social Media, Region of Sample, Methodology, and Topics*

Focus of article	Social media	57 (60%)
	ICTs & social media	8 (8%)
	ICTs	30 (32%)
Social media analysed	Facebook	46 (36%)
	Twitter	37 (29%)
	Websites	25 (19%)
	YouTube	10 (8%)
	Blog	8 (6%)
	LinkedIn	2 (2%)
	Wikipedia	1 (1%)

Region of sample	United States	59 (62%)
	Not applicable	11 (12%)
	United Kingdom	5 (5%)
	Norway	3 (3%)
	Australia	2 (2%)
	Spain	2 (2%)
	New Zealand	2 (2%)
	Canada	2 (2%)
	Libya	1 (1%)
	India	1 (1%)
	Mexico	1 (1%)
	Turkey	1 (1%)
	Cross-selection	1 (1%)
	'United Nations'	1 (1%)
	Haiti	1 (1%)
	Nepal	1 (1%)
	Singapore	1 (1%)
Methodology	Content analysis	49 (52%)
	Survey	15 (16%)
	Case Study	12 (13%)
	Interviews	9 (9%)
	Mixed-Methods	4 (4%)
	Experiment	2 (2%)
	Not applicable	2 (2%)
	Network analysis	1 (1%)
	Action Research	1 (1%)
Topics	Dialogue and Relationship	29 (31%)
	Adoption	19 (20%)
	Giving and Fundraising	16 (17%)
	Miscellaneous	13 (14%)
	(e.g. Evaluation, Crowdfunding, Volunteering)	
	Advocacy	11 (12%)
	Accountability	7 (7%)

* "Focus of article", "Region of sample", "Methodology", and "Topics" are distinctive categories. This means that every article was only coded once. Articles were coded more than once in the "Social media analysed" category in case they covered more than one social media platform.

Research methods vary but show a strong bias too. Content analysis was the most common method, featuring in over half of all articles (52%). This was followed by surveys (16%) and interviews (9%). Other research methods such as mixed-methods approaches (4%), experiments (2%), network analysis (1%), or action research (1%) were hardly used, indicating a clear lack of variation in the use of research methods. Articles published in 2013 (3) and 2014 (6) tended to use content analysis as their primary research method. An explanation for this preference may be the accessibility of publicly-available social media content. Within a very short period of time, digital tools became available which allowed researchers to 'scrap'

the contents and structures of various networks, making data available to the researcher almost instantly. However, looking at the 'product' of communication does not necessary reveal a huge amount about the objective of its creation. Surveys can fill this gap to an extent, however, deeper knowledge of the various thematic topics might only be acquired using a profound qualitative approach, for example by using interviews.

Research into the third sector and social media covers a wide range of topics in an increasingly interdisciplinary research field. Nearly a third of all articles (31%) explored how non-profits build relationships, while 20 per cent investigated the adoption of social media or ICTs within organisations. How non-profits use social media and ICTs for fundraising, or how social media influences online donations, was the dominant theme in 16 (17%) articles, whereas advocacy or accountability were analysed in 11 (12%) and 7 (7%) articles respectively. The "miscellaneous" category covers articles that were referred to only once or twice, such as articles which evaluate social media within organisations, crowdfunding, or volunteering (14%). The following sections will analyse the research themes in more depth.

Table A.3: Comprehensive interview guide

Topics	Questions
Mediatization	• How do you use media in your daily work processes? • How do you think do they influence your work? • What has changed for you in using media in recent years?
Adapting to the Media	• How long have you been using social media in the foundation and personally? • Which social media do you use? And are there differences in their use? Aims at getting a notion of how familiar the interviewee/the organisation is with using social media platforms. • What was the motivation for you and your organisation to start using social media? Who was involved in the decision to do that? This addresses the question whether this was a management decision (introduced to down) or if it was implemented from the bottom-up (organisational 'grassroots')? Was there any pressure from outside the organisation? • What is the aim of using social media?
Knowledge transfer	• Have your experimented with social media and what have you done? If yes, what did you do and what did you learn about using social media in the foundation? • Is knowledge of how to use it transferred in the foundation?
Stakeholder, Collaboration and Measurement	• Who do you address on social media? Or who is your "imagined audience"? • Has using social media changed the collaboration with other organisations? • How do social media add to your organisational communications efforts, for example, in terms of raising awareness? • Is there a way that you measure the outcome of your communication efforts? • Are there any systematic approaches for monitoring and reporting? Is a reporting structure in place?
Strategy, Governance and Mission	• How do you coordinate your social media communication and are there any policies for how to do this? • Do they have a strategic guideline for using social media within the community foundation? How strongly is this strategic approach formalised? • Is there a (social) media policy/code of conduct that regulates how employees should behave on social media? • What value has social media for the foundation? (e.g. accountability, visibility, lobbying, advocacy) • How relevant are guidelines and documents such as the mission or vision for your social media use?
Barriers, Limitations and Outlook	• Are there any barriers or limitations that stop you from using social media (to its "full potential")? • Do revelations on surveillance or privacy concerns influence your actions? • What do you think is the role of (social) media in your organisation within the next years and is there anything (else) that you think is important for your foundation or community foundations which is related to the media?

Table A.4: Variables used for the website analysis

List of variables

A Organisational Information	C4a Connection to Google
	C4b Connection to VZ-networks
A1 Foundation	C4c Connection to YouTube
A2 Type/Law	C4d Connection to Twitter
A3 Contact Person	C4e Connection to blogs
A4 Address	C4f Connection to Facebook
A5 Postcode/City	C4g Connection to Justgiving
A6 Postcode only	C4h Connection to LinkedIn
A7 Phone number	C4i Connection to Pinterest
A8 Fax number	C4j Connection to Google+
A9 Email	C4k Connection to Instagram
A10 Details	C4l Recommend option
A11 Country	
A12 Website	C5a Audio reports/material
	C5b Video reports/material
B Additional Financial and Organisational Information	C5c Newsletter
	C5d FAQs
B1a Asset size	C5e FAQs section aimed at media
B1b Year of value	C5f Press review
B2 Number of employees	C5g Calendar on organisational events
B3 PR department	C5h News section
B4 Registered Charity Number	C5i Annual reports/Financial
	C5j Feature stories written by organisation staff
C Website	C5k Media kits
	C5l Information on projects
C1 website	C5m RSS feed
C1a website year	C5n News alert service for media
C1b Not independent	C5o Organisational staff speeches/presentations
C1c Year established	C5p Product or organisation-in-action photos
	C5q Press release search engine
C2a Information on foundation/history	C5r Organisation logos for use in publication
C2b Information on tasks and objectives	C5s Evaluation report for service beneficiaries
C2c Information on organisational structure	C5t Internal service review/evaluation
C2d Information on managing director/board/executive bios/profiles	C5u Testimonial statements
C2e Information on members	C5v Organisation perspective pieces on current issues/trends
C2f Mission statement	
C2g Vision statement	C6a Comments option/forum
C2h Statute/charter	C6b Opinion polls
C2i Contact option, general	C6c Quizzes, knowledge tests, games
C2j Contact person given	C6d E-cards
C2k Contact person press and media	C6e Petitions
C2l Opportunity for press personnel to register	
C2m Executive photographs	C7a Join now option
	C7b Volunteer option
C3a Press and media addressed	C7c Solicits donations online
C3b Members addressed	C7d Solicits donations offline
C3c Intranet/extranet option given	C7e Online store/merchandise
C3d New members addressed	C7f Job listings
C3e Other target groups addressed	

Table A.5: Community foundations websites analysed in the UK

Community foundations in the UK	
Aberdeen Safer Community Trust	Hampshire and the Isle of Wight Community Foundation
Bedfordshire and Luton Community Foundation	
Berkshire Community Foundation	Heart of England Community Foundation (covers Coventry & Warwickshire)
Birmingham and Black Country Community Foundation	
Bradford District Community Fund	Herefordshire Community Foundation
Buckinghamshire Community Foundation	Hertfordshire Community Foundation
Cambridgeshire Community Foundation	Hillingdon Community Trust
Capital Community Foundation	Kensington and Chelsea Foundation
Cheshire Community Foundation	Kent Community Foundation
Community Foundation for Calderdale	Leeds Community Foundation (includes Bradford)
Community Foundation for Lancashire	Leicestershire and Rutland Community Foundation
Community Foundation for Merseyside	Lincolnshire Community Foundation
Community Foundation for Northern Ireland	London Community Foundation
Community Foundation for Shropshire and Telford	Milton Keynes Community Foundation
Community Foundation for Surrey	Norfolk Community Foundation
Community Foundation for Wakefield District	North West London Community Foundation
Community Foundation for Wiltshire and Swindon	Northamptonshire Community Foundation
Community Foundation Tyne & Wear and Northumberland	Nottinghamshire Community Foundation
Community Foundations in Wales	One Community Foundation (the community foundation for the people of Kirklees)
Construction Youth Trust	
Cornwall Community Foundation	Oxfordshire Community Foundation
Country Houses Foundation	Quartet Community Foundation
County Durham Community Foundation	Somerset Community Foundation
Cumbria Community Foundation	South Yorkshire Community Foundation
Dacorum Community Trust	St. Katharine and Shadwell Trust
Derbyshire Community Foundation	Staffordshire Community Foundation
Devon Community Foundation	Stevenage Community Trust
Dorset Community Foundation	Suffolk Community Foundation
East End Community Foundation	Sussex Community Foundation
East London Community Foundation	Tees Valley Community Foundation
Essex Community Foundation	Two Ridings Community Foundation (York and North Yorkshire)
Fermanagh Trust	
Forever Manchester	Women's Fund for Scotland
Foundation Scotland	Worcestershire Community Foundation
Gloucestershire Community Foundation	

gAPPENDIX

Table A.6: Community foundations websites analysed in Germany

Community foundations in Germany

Bürgerstiftung Lebensraum Aachen	Stiftung Aktive Bürger Borken, Stadtlohn u. Umgebung
Bürgerstiftung Achern und der Region	Borkum-Stiftung
Bürgerstiftung Achim	Bornheimer Bürgerstiftung "Unsere Kinder - unsere Zukunft"
Bürgerstiftung Ahlen	
BürgerStiftung Region Ahrensburg	Bottroper Bürgerstiftung
Bürgerstiftung Aichach	Bürgerstiftung Bovenden
Bürgerstiftung Albbruck	Bürgerstiftung Bramsche
BürgerStiftung Alfeld	Bürgerstiftung Brandenburg an der Havel
Bürgerstiftung Algermissen	Bürgerstiftung Braunschweig
Bürgerstiftung Altenburger Land	Bürgerstiftung Breckerfeld
BürgerStiftung Arnsberg	Bürgerstiftung Bremen
Bürgerstiftung Ascheberg	Stadtteil-Stiftung Hemelingen
Gemeinschaftsstiftung "Mein Augsburg"	Bürgerstiftung Bremerhaven
Bürgerstiftung Augsburg "Beherzte Menschen"	Bürgerstiftung Breuberg
Bürgerstiftung Aulendorf	Briloner Bürgerstiftung
Bürgerstiftung Aßlar	BürgerStiftung Bruchsal
Bürgerstiftung Backnang	Bürgerstiftung Bräunlingen
Bürgerstiftung Bad Aibling und Mangfalltal	Bürgerstiftung Burgrieden
Bürgerstiftung Bad Bentheim	Bürgerstiftung Böblingen
Bürgerstiftung Geislingen an der Steige	Bürgerstiftung Böhmenkircher Alb
Bürgerstiftung Bad Dürrheim	Bürgerstiftung Schaumburg
Bürgerstiftung Bad Ems	Bürgerstiftung Büren
Bürgerstiftung Bad Essen	Bürgerstiftung Bürstadt
Bürgerstiftung Bad Honnef	Bürgerstiftung AGORA für die Region Ruhrgebiet
Stadt Stiftung Bad Lippspringe	Bürgerstiftung Celle
Bürgerstiftung "Ein Herz für Bad Nauheim"	Bürgerstiftung für Chemnitz
Bürger-Stiftung Stormarn	Bürgerstiftung Cloppenburg
Bürgerstiftung Berchtesgadener Land	Bürgerstiftung Coesfeld
Bürgerstiftung Traunsteiner Land	Bürgerstiftung Cottbus und Region
Bürgerstiftung Bad Tölz	Dammer Bürgerstiftung
Bürgerstiftung Baden-Baden	Bürgerstiftung Stadt Dannenberg (Elbe) und Umgebung
Bürgerstiftung Ballrechten-Dottingen	Bürgerstiftung Westenholz
Bürgerstiftung Balve	Delmenhorster Bürgerstiftung
Bürgerstiftung Region Bergen	Bürgerstiftung Detmold
Bensberger Bürgerstiftung	Agenda 21 - Stiftung in Diepholz
Bürgerstiftung für Bergisch Gladbach	Bürgerstiftung Dinkelsbühl
Bürgerstiftung Neukölln	Bürgerstiftung Ditzingen
Bürgerstiftung Berlin	Bürgerstiftung Donaueschingen
Bürgerstiftung Treptow-Köpenick	Bürgerstiftung Dormagen
Bürgerstiftung Lichtenberg	Dortmund-Stiftung
Bürgerstiftung Bernkastel-Kues	Bürgerstiftung Dresden
Bürgerstiftung Biberach	Bürgerstiftung Dußlingen
Bürgerstiftung Biblis	Bürgerstiftung Dülmen
Bielefelder Bürgerstiftung	Bürgerstiftung Düren
Bürgerstiftung für die Gemeinde Bienenbüttel	BürgerStiftung Düsseldorf
Bürgerstiftung Billerbeck	Bürgerstiftung Eberbach
Bürgerstiftung Blankenhain	Bürgerstiftung Barnim Uckermark
Bürgerstiftung Bockenem/Ambergau	Eitorf-Stiftung - Bürgerstiftung
Bürgerstiftung Gliedervermögen Bühne	Bürgerstiftung Wesermarsch

Bürgerstiftung Gemeinde Emstek	Bürgerstiftung Gütersloh
Bürgerstiftung der Gemeinde Engelskirchen	Bürgerstiftung für Haan & Gruiten
Bürgerstiftung Engen	Bürgerstiftung Halle
Bürgerstiftung Eppstein	Bürgerstiftung "Halterner für Halterner"
Bürgerstiftung Dresden	BürgerStiftung Hamburg
Bürgerstiftung Dußlingen	Bürgerstiftung Hannover
Bürgerstiftung Dülmen	Stadtteilstiftung Sahlkamp-Vahrenheide
Bürgerstiftung Düren	Bürgerstiftung Hanstedt
BürgerStiftung Düsseldorf	Bürgerstiftung Havixbeck
Bürgerstiftung Eberbach	Bürgerstiftung Heidelberg
Bürgerstiftung Barnim Uckermark	Heilbronner Bürgerstiftung
Eitorf-Stiftung - Bürgerstiftung	Bürgerstiftung Ostfalen - für die Region Elm-Lappwald
Bürgerstiftung Wesermarsch	Bürgerstiftung Hemmingen
Bürgerstiftung Gemeinde Emstek	Bürgerstiftung Henstedt-Ulzburg
Bürgerstiftung der Gemeinde Engelskirchen	Bürgerstiftung Herdecke
Bürgerstiftung Engen	Bürgerstiftung Herdwangen-Schönach
Bürgerstiftung Eppstein	Herforder Bürgerstiftung
Bürgerstiftung Erftstadt	Bürgerstiftung Herrenberg
BürgerStiftung Erfurt	Bürgerstiftung Landkreis Starnberg
Bürgerstiftung Erlangen	Bürgerstiftung Hersbruck
Bad-Westernkotten-Stiftung	Hertener Bürgerstiftung
Eitorf-Stiftung - Bürgerstiftung	BürgerStiftung Hildesheim
Bürgerstiftung Wesermarsch	Bürgerstiftung Hirschberg an der Bergstraße
Bürgerstiftung Gemeinde Emstek	Bürgerstiftung Hof
Bürgerstiftung Vordertaunus	Bürgerstiftung Holdorf
Bürgerstiftung Werra-Meißner	Bürgerstiftung Holzkirchen
Bürgerstiftung Espelkamp	Bürgerstiftung Oberschwaben
Bürgerstiftung Essingen	Bürgerstiftung Hude
Bürger-Stiftung Ostholstein	BürgerStiftung Höxter
Bürgerstiftung Fellbach	Hüfinger Bürgerstiftung
Bürgerstiftung Feucht	Bürgerstiftung Hürth
Bürgerstiftung Filderstadt	Bürgerstiftung Tecklenburger Land
Stiftung Citoyen - aktiv für Bürgersinn	Bürgerstiftung Isernhagen
Freiburger Bürgerstiftung	Bürgerstiftung Jena
Bürgerstiftung Freising	Juist-Stiftung
Bürgerstiftung Furtwangen	Bürgerstiftung Jüchen
Bürgerstiftung für den Landkreis Fürstenfeldbruck	Bürgerstiftung Kaarst
Bürgerstiftung Fürth	Bürgerstiftung Ostallgäu
Bürgerstiftung Ganderkesee	Bürgerstiftung Förderturm Bönen
Mehrwert. Die Bürgerstiftung im Landkreis Garmisch-Partenkirchen	Bürgerstiftung Unser Karben
	Bürgerstiftung Karlsruhe
Bürgerstiftung Gelsenkirchen	Bürgerstiftung für Stadt und Landkreis Kassel
Bürgerstiftung "Leben in Hassel"	Bürgerstiftung Kehl
Bürgerstiftung der Schöfferstadt Gernsheim	Bürgerstiftung Kelkheim
Bürgerstiftung Mittelhessen	BürgerStiftung Kernen i.R.
Bürgerstiftung Gomaringen	Bürgerstiftung Kirchzarten
Bürgerstiftung Vorpommern	Bürgerstiftung Pfalz
Bürgerstiftung Gronau	Koblenzer Bürgerstiftung
Bürgerstiftung Großenlüder	Bürgerstiftung Westlicher Bodensee
Bürgerstiftung Gröningen	Konzer-Doktor-Bürgerstiftung
Hohenstaufenstiftung - Bürgerstiftung	Bürgerstiftung für Korschenbroich
Bürgerstiftung Göttingen	Bürgerstiftung Krefeld

Bürgerstiftung Landkreis Günzburg	Bürgerstiftung Kressbronn a.B.
Bürgerstiftung "Historisches Kronach"	Bürgerstiftung Mülheim an der Ruhr
Stiftung KalkGestalten (Köln-Kalk)	Bürgerstiftung München
Bürgerstiftung Köln	Bürgerstiftung für Münster
BürgerStiftung Ehrenfeld	Stiftung Bürger für Münster
Stiftung "LebenMülheim",rechtsfähige	Urschelstiftung - Bürger für Nagold
Porzer Bürgerstiftung	Bürgerstiftung Neuenkirchen-Vörden
Bürgerstiftung Königs Wusterhausen	Bürgerstiftung Neukirchen-Vluyn
Bürgerstiftung Königswinter	Bürgerstiftung Region Neumarkt
Stiftung Bürger für Lahr	Bürgerstiftung Seelscheid
Bürgerstiftung Region Lahr	Bürgerstiftung Neuss - Bü.NE
Bürgerstiftung Laichinger Alb	Bürgerstiftung Nidderau
Bürgerstiftung Lampertheim	Bürgerstiftung "Wir für Niederkassel"
Bürgerstiftung Landshut	Bürgerstiftung Oberjosbach
Bürgerstiftung Langen	Bürgerstiftung im Landkreis Nienburg
Bürgerstiftung Langenargen	Bürgerstiftung Nindorf
Wir helfen! Stiftung	Bürgerstiftung Norden
Bürgerstiftung Region Lauenburg	Bürgerstiftung Norderney
Laupheimer Bürgerstiftung	Bürgerstiftung Nordheim
Bürgerstiftung Leinfelden-Echterdingen	Bürgerstiftung Rössing
Stiftung Bürger für Leipzig	Bürgerstiftung Bispinghof Nordwalde
Bürgerstiftung Gempt	Bürgerstiftung Nottuln
Bürgerstiftung Warmbronn	Bürgerstiftung Lebendiges Bayerisches Ries
Bürgerstiftung Leopoldshöhe	Bürgerstiftung Nürnberg
Bürgerstiftung Leutenbach	Bürgerstiftung Nürtingen und Umgebung
Bürgerstiftung Leutkirch im Allgäu	Bürgerstiftung Oberndorf a.N.
Bürgerstiftung Lilienthal	Bürgerstiftung Obersulm
Lindener Bürgerstiftung	Oldenburgische Bürgerstiftung
Lingener Bürgerstiftung	Bürgerstiftung "Unser Leohaus Olfen"
BürgerStiftungLohmar	Bürgerstiftung Oranienburg
Lohner Bürgerstiftung	Bürgerstiftung Ortenberg-Lißberg
BürgerStiftung Ludwigshafen am Rhein	Bürgerstiftung Osnabrück
Bürgerstiftung Lörrach	BürgerStiftung Ostfildern
Bürgerstiftung Lüchow	Bürgerstiftung Ovelgönne
Bürgerstiftung Lüdinghausen	Bürgerstiftung Overath
Bürgerstiftung Magdeburg	Bürgerstiftung Paderborn
Mainzer Bürgerstiftung	Parchimer Bürgerstiftung
Bürgerstiftung Rheinhessen	Bürgerstiftung Peine
Bürgerstiftung Mannheim	Bürgerstiftung Pforzheim-Enz
Marienheider Bürgerstiftung	Bürgerstiftung Pfullendorf
Bürgerstiftung Meckenheim	Bürgerstiftung Pfungstadt
Bürgerstiftung - Wir für Meerbusch	BürgerStiftung Plüderhausen
Mendener BürgerStiftung	StadtStiftung Quakenbrück
Emsländische Bürgerstiftung	Bürgerstiftung für Quedlinburg
Bürgerstiftung Meschede	Bürgerstiftung Radeberg
Bürgerstiftung Mindelheim	Bürgerstiftung Raesfeld-Erle-Homer
Monheimer Bürgerstiftung "Minsche vür Minsche"	Bürgerstiftung Rastatt
Bürgerstiftung für die Region Mosbach	Bürgerstiftung für die Region Rathenow
Bürgerstiftung Mudau	DumeklemmerStiftung Ratingen
Bürgerstiftung Murrhardt	Bürgerstiftung Ratzeburg
Bürgerstiftung Mutterstadt	Bürgerstiftung Straubenhardt
Gemeinschaftsstiftung Mölln	Bürgerstiftung Stuttgart

Bürgerstiftung Mühlacker	Bürgerstiftung Sundern
Bürgerstiftung Unstrut-Hainich	Bürgerstiftung Syke
Bürgerstiftung Region Rendsburg	Bürgerstiftung Südlohn-Oeding Bürgerstiftung Kreis
Bürgerstiftung Reutlingen	Ravensburg
Bürgerstiftung Rheda-Wiedenbrück	Reken-Stiftung
Bürgerstiftung "Wir für Rheinbach"	Bürgerstiftung Remagen
Bürgerstiftung Rheinfelden (Baden)	Bürgerstiftung Remseck
Bürgerstiftung Rheinstetten	Bürgerstiftung Taunusstein
Bürgerstiftung Rielasingen-Worblingen	Bürgerstiftung "Unser Land! Rheingau und Taunus"
Bürgerstiftung Rietberg	Bürgerstiftung Menschen für Tettnang
Bürgerstiftung Rommerskirchen	Bürgerstiftung Thale
Bürgerstiftung Rosdorf	Bürgerstiftung Titisee-Neustadt
Bürgerstiftung Rosendahl	Tuttlinger Bürgerstiftung
Bürgerstiftung Rosenheimer Land	Bürgerstiftung Tübingen
Bürgerstiftung Rosenheim	Bürgerstiftung Uedem
Hanseatische Bürgerstiftung Rostock	Bürgerstiftung Unna
Bürgerstiftung Rottenburg am Neckar	Bürgerstiftung Lebenswertes Unterhaching
Bürgerstiftung Rottweil	Bürgerstiftung Vechta
Bürgerstiftung Rösrath	Bürgerstiftung Versmold
BürgerStiftung Landkreis Saalfeld-Rudolstadt	Bürgerstiftung Viernheim
Bürgerstiftung Salzgitter	Bürgerstiftung Vreden
Bürgerstiftung Salzkotten	BürgerStiftung Waldenbuch
Bausteine Bürgerstiftung Sassenberg	Bürgerstiftung Wallenhorst
Bürgerstiftung Sauerlach	Bürgerstiftung EmscherLippe-Land
Bürgerstiftung Schwalenberg	Bürgerstiftung Warburg
Bürgerstiftung Schorndorf	Stiftung "Bürger für Warendorf"
Bürgerstiftung "Unser Schwabach"	Bürgerstiftung Wasserburg
Bürgerstiftung Schwaikheim	Bürgerstiftung Weil am Rhein
BürgerStiftung Lebendiges Schwelm	Bürgerstiftung Weimar
Bürgerstiftung Rohrmeisterei Schwerte	Bürgerstiftung Weingarten/Württemberg
Schwäbisch Haller Bürgerstiftung	Bürgerstiftung Weinheim
Bürgerstiftung Salzland - Region Schönebeck	Bürgerstiftung Weinstadt
Bürgerstiftung Schöneiche bei Berlin	Bürgerstiftung Remscheid
Bürgerstiftung Seelze	Bürgerstiftung Rhein-Lippe
Bürgerstiftung Seeshaupt	Bürgerstiftung Wesseling
Bürgerstiftung Stadt Selm	Bürgerstiftung Wetzlar
Bürgerstiftung Sendenhorst Albersloh	Die Wiesbaden Stiftung
Bürgerstiftung Siegen	Bürgerstiftung Wiesloch
Bürgerstiftung Sindelfingen	Bürgerstiftung Windhagen
Bürgerstiftung Hellweg-Region	Bürgerstiftung Winnenden
Bürgerstiftung Spaichingen	Bürgerstiftung Winsen (Luhe)
Bürgerstiftung Sparneck	Bürgerstiftung "Wir Wipperfürther"
Bürgerstiftung St. Georgen	Bürgerstiftung der Hansestadt Wismar
Bürgerstiftung Westmünsterland	Bürgerstiftung Wittingen
Bürgerstiftung Staufen i. Br.	Bürgerstiftung Wolfsburg
Bürgerstiftung Steingaden	Bürgerstiftung Wölfersheim
Bürgerstiftung Steinheim am Albuch	Bürgerstiftung Würzburg und Umgebung
Bürgerstiftung Steinheim	Bürgerstiftung Varel und Friesische Wehde
Altmärkische Bürgerstiftung Hansestadt Stendal	Bürgerstiftung Zivita
Bürgerstiftung Stolberg (Rhld.)	

B Codebook for the Content Analysis

A Organisational Information

A1 Foundation

This variable includes the name of the foundation as a string (name).

A2 Type/Law

This variable describes the type, and the selected rights category of the foundations. The value of the variable can be "rechtsfähige Stiftung des bürgerlichen Rechts", "rechtsfähige öffentliche Stiftung des bürgerlichen Rechts" or "Community Foundation".

A3 Contact Person

This variable includes the name of the person officially listed on the website as the person for contact as a string (forename, surname).

A4 Address

This variable includes the address as a string in one of two formats (street, number; number, street).

A5 Postcode/City

This variable includes the postcode and the city as a string (postcode, city).

A6 Postcode only

This variable includes the postcode only as a number (postcode).

A7 Phone number

This variable includes the phone number as a number (phone number).

A8 Fax number

This variable includes the fax number as a number (fax number).

A9 Email

This variable includes the Email address as a string (email address).

A10 Details

For German community foundations, this variable includes the link to the www.aktive-buergerschaft.de and more specifically the sub-page for the community foundation.

A11 Country

This variable includes a two-letter code for the country as a string (DE; UK).

A12 Website

This variable includes the original link to the website of the respective community foundation as a string (link).

B Additional Financial and Organisational Information

B1a Asset size

This variable includes the asset size of the foundation. The value was retrieved from the website if it was stated on the website. If the value was not available on the website, the asset size was taken from the annual report. In both cases, the latest available value was used, and the currency was converted to US dollars (number in $). The variable was left empty if no information on the asset size was given.

B1b Year of value

This variable would include the value date of an asset size if an asset size was given.

B2 Number of employees

> This variable would include the number of employees at the foundation if it was stated on the website. Only the number was staff was counted, not the number of persons on the community foundations board (number).

B3 PR department

> This variable indicates whether a PR department is mentioned on the website. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

B4 Registered Charity Number

> This variable includes the registered charity number of charities in case they were based in the United Kingdom.

B5 Total annual grantmaking

> This variable includes the total annual grantmaking of the foundation. The value was retrieved from the website if it was stated on the website. If the value was not available on the website, the total annual grantmaking was taken from the annual report. In both cases, the latest available value was used and the currency was converted to US dollars (number in $). The variable was left empty if no information on total annual grantmaking was given.

C Website

C1 website

> This variable indicates whether the community foundation has a website. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C1a website year

> This variable includes the year the website was registered. The year when the website was registered was then saved as a year (number).

C1b Not independent

> This variable indicates whether the website is a standalone website or whether it is operated under the supervision of a larger community foundation or a city council. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C1c Year established

> This variable includes the year the foundation was established if that value was indicated on the website. If the year was not available on the website, it was taken from the annual report. The variable was left empty if no information on the year established could be found.

C2a Information on foundation/history

> This variable indicates whether information on the foundation's history is provided on the website. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C2b Information on tasks and objectives

> This variable indicates whether information on the foundation's tasks and objectives is provided on the website. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C2c Information on organisational structure

> This variable indicates whether information on the organisational structure of the foundations is provided on the website. For example, this could be indicated through a

chart of the organisational structure or a description of the organisation's hierarchy. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C2d Information on managing director/board/executive bios/profiles

This variable indicates whether information on the managing director, the board, executives' bios and profiles are provided on the website. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C2e Information on members

This variable indicates whether information on members is provided on the website. For example, does the website comprise any information about (previous) donors? The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C2f Mission statement

This variable indicates whether a mission statement exists on the website. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C2g Vision statement

This variable indicates whether a vision statement exists on the website. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C2h Statute/charter

This variable indicates whether community foundations statute or charter exists on the website. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C2i Contact option, general

This variable indicates whether a general contact option is present on the website. In this case, a contact option must be explicitly be mentioned. For example, "For general inquiries please contact us via...". The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C2j Contact person given

This variable indicates whether a contact person is provided. In this case, a contact person must explicitly be mentioned. For example, "For any inquiries please contact (person) ...". The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C2k Contact person press and media

This variable indicates whether a specific contact person for the press and media is provided on the website. In this case, the contact person must explicitly be mentioned. For example, "For any inquiries please contact (person) who is responsible for press and media relations/marketing/public relations via ...". The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C2l Opportunity for press personnel to register

This variable indicates whether an opportunity for press personnel to register is present on the website. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C2m Executive photographs

This variable indicates whether photographs of the executive personnel, such as the board, exists on the website. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C3a Press and media addressed

This variable indicates whether the press and the media are explicitly mentioned on the

website. For example, there could be a particular site for the press and media where a spokesperson of the community foundation is mentioned. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C3b Members addressed

This variable indicates whether members of the community foundations, such as (former) donors or volunteers, are addressed on the website. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C3c Intranet/extranet option given

This variable indicates whether the option to log into a specific intra- or extranet is provided through the website. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C3d New members addressed

This variable indicates whether the community foundation follows an active approach to recruiting new donors or volunteers. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C3e Other target groups addressed

This variable indicates whether the community foundation addressed any other target groups excluding new members, donors or volunteers. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C4a Connection to Google

This variable indicates whether the website includes a link to Google, for example by using a google search button. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C4b Connection to VZ-networks

This variable indicates whether the website includes a link to a VZ-network. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C4c Connection to YouTube

This variable indicates whether the website includes a link to a VZ-network. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C4d Connection to Twitter

This variable indicates whether the website includes a link to an own Twitter profile. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C4e Connection to blog(s)

This variable indicates whether the website includes a link to an own blog. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C4f Connection to Facebook

This variable indicates whether the website includes a link to an own Facebook profile. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C4g Connection to JustGiving

This variable indicates whether the website includes a link to an own JustGiving profile. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C4h Connection to LinkedIn

This variable indicates whether the website includes a link to an own LinkedIn profile. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C4i Connection to Pinterest

> This variable indicates whether the website includes a link to an own Pinterest profile. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C4j Connection to Google+

> This variable indicates whether the website includes a link to an own Google+ profile. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C4k Connection to Instagram

> This variable indicates whether the website includes a link to an own Instagram profile. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C4l Recommend option

> This variable indicates whether the website includes the option to recommend the website to another person via a link. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C5a Audio reports/material

> This variable indicates whether the website includes any audio material such as podcasts or single audio files, for example with interviews with stakeholder. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C5b Video reports/material

> This variable indicates whether the website includes any video material such as portraits of donors or, for example, volunteers at work. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C5c Newsletter

> This variable indicates whether the website includes a link which allows the visitor to subscribe to a newsletter curated by the foundation. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C5d FAQs

> This variable indicates whether the website includes a FAQ section for frequently asked questions for visitors. The variable is dichotomous and reported "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C5e FAQs section aimed at media

> This variable indicates whether the website includes a FAQ section for frequently asked questions in particular aimed at the media. For example, a FAQ section aimed at the media might include information on who to contact in case of interviews with foundation staff or regarding press footage and written statements. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C5f Press reviews

> This variable indicates whether the website includes a section with press reviews. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C5g Calendar on organisational events

> This variable indicates whether the website includes a section that covers upcoming or past events. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C5h News section

> This variable indicates whether the website includes a news section. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C5i Annual reports/Financial

This variable indicates whether the website includes any annual or financial reports. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C5j Feature stories written by organisation staff

This variable indicates whether the website includes any stories written by the organisation's staff. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C5k Media kits

This variable indicates whether the website includes any sort of media kits. Media kits may include the organisation's logo and other footage in a zip-file for download. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C5l Information on projects

This variable indicates whether the website includes any information on past, ongoing or future projects. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C5m RSS feed

This variable indicates whether the website includes a link to subscribe to an RSS feed. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C5n News alert service for media

This variable indicates whether the website includes a link which allows visitors to sign up for a news alert, for example by subscribing to a particular email list. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C5o Organisational staff speeches/presentations

This variable indicates whether the website includes any speeches or presentations given by the staff. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C5p Product or organisation-in-action photos

This variable indicates whether the website includes any pictures of products of the organisation or pictures showing the organisation in action. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C5q Press release search engine

This variable indicates whether the website includes a particular option to search for press releases. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C5r Organisation logos for use in publication

This variable indicates whether the website includes a separate option to download organisation logos. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C5s Evaluation report for service beneficiaries

This variable indicates whether the website includes service evaluation reports for service beneficiaries. For example, Vital signs or Uncovered. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C5t Internal service review/evaluation

This variable indicates whether the website includes any service evaluation reports from external auditors. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C5u Testimonial statements

> This variable indicates whether the website includes any testimonials, be it from beneficiaries, donors or volunteers. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C5v Organisation perspective pieces on current issues/trends

> This variable indicates whether the website includes any written perspectives on current issues or trends. For example, this could have been the chase for community foundations in UK during the heavy flooding that occurred in 2016. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C6a Comments option/forum

> This variable indicates whether the website offers an option to comment on their issues in some form, for example through a forum. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C6b Opinion polls

> This variable indicates whether the website includes any ways for visitors to express their opinion via opinion polls. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C6c Quizzes, knowledge tests, games

> This variable indicates whether the website includes any sorts of quizzes, knowledge tests or games. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C6d E-cards

> This variable indicates whether the website includes an option to send E-cards to others. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C6e Petitions

> This variable indicates whether the website includes any petitions to sign for visitors. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C7a Join now option

> This variable indicates whether the website includes an option to join the community foundation. This includes joining as a member but excludes joining as a member of staff. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C7b Volunteer option

> This variable indicates whether the website includes an option to sign up as volunteer for the community foundation. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C7c Solicits donations online

> This variable indicates whether the website includes an option to donate to the community foundation via an online donation service such as justgiving.org. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C7d Solicits donations offline

> This variable indicates whether the website includes an option to donate to the community foundation offline by, for example, providing bank details. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C7e Online store/merchandise

> This variable indicates whether the community foundation sells any merchandising through

its website such as, for example, T-shirts. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C7f Job listings

This variable indicates whether the community foundation provides any information on job vacancies on its website. The variable is dichotomous and reported as "y" (yes) or "n" (no) (string).

C Intercoder reliability and statistical software used

Intercoder agreement was measured using the Cohen's kappa (κ)(using 95% confidence intervals) and measured using a 10 per cent (31 websites) random sample of the websites. The second coder was trained on the codebook before both coded the 10 per cent sample. The agreement of raters was calculated per variable. Agreement of rates as calculated using κ ranged from .427 (lowest, C5d FAQs) to 1. Rater agreement was high across the coding scheme, with 30 variables showing a perfect agreement (1.0), four variables an almost perfect agreement (.81 – 1.00), nine variables showing substantial agreement (.61 – .80), and only one variable showing a moderate agreement (.41 – .60). For 19 variables, κ could not be calculated because SPSS assumed linearity, which is due to the fact that some variables such as 'C4j Connection to Google+' or 'C5s Evaluation report for service beneficiaries' did rarely (or not) occur in the intercoder-dataset. Statistical analysis was conducted using SPSS Version 24, Tableau Professional (2018.1.1 (20181.18.0510.1418), 64-Bit), and Microsoft Excel for Mac 16.14.1, 64-Bit).

Table A.7: List of Kappa-values for all variables

List of Kappa-values for variables in block C

Variable	Cohens' Kappa (κ), p-value
C2a Information on foundation/history	1, $p = .000$
C2b Information on tasks and objectives	1, $p = .000$
C2c Information on organizational structure	.839, $p = .000$
C2d Information on managing director/board/executive bios/profiles	.934, $p = .000$
C2e Information on members	1, $p = .000$
C2f Mission statement	1, $p = .000$
C2g Vision statement	1, $p = .000$
C2h Statute/charter	1, $p = .000$
C2i Contact option, general	– (linear)
C2j Contact person given	.736, $p = .000$
C2k Contact person press and media	1, $p = .000$
C2l Opportunity for press personnel to register	– (linear)
C2m Executive photographs	.688, $p = .000$
C3a Press and media addressed	1, $p = .000$
C3b Members addressed	1, $p = .000$
C3c Intranet/extranet option given	1, $p = .000$
C3d New members addressed	1, $p = .000$
C3e Other target groups addressed	1, $p = .000$
C4a Connection to Google	– (linear)
C4b Connection to VZ-networks	– (linear)
C4c Connection to YouTube	.652, $p = .000$
C4d Connection to Twitter	1, $p = .000$
C4e Connection to blogs	.652, $p = .000$
C4f Connection to Facebook	.712, $p = .000$
C4g Connection to Justgiving	– (linear)
C4h Connection to LinkedIn	1, $p = .000$
C4i Connection to Pinterest	– (linear)
C4j Connection to Google+	– (linear)
C4k Connection to Instagram	1, $p = .000$
C4l Recommend option	– (linear)
C5a Audio reports/material	– (linear)
C5b Video reports/material	1, $p = .000$
C5c Newsletter	1, $p = .000$
C5d FAQs	.427, $p = .008$
C5e FAQs section aimed at media	– (linear)
C5f Press review	1, $p = .000$
C5g Calendar on organizational events	1, $p = .000$
C5h News section	.763, $p = .000$
C5i Annual reports/Financial	1, $p = .000$
C5j Feature stories written by organisation staff	.718, $p = .000$
C5k Media kits	– (linear)
C5l Information on projects	1, $p = .000$
C5m RSS feed	1, $p = .000$

C5n News alert service for media	– (linear)
C5o Organisational staff speeches/presentations	– (linear)
C5p Product or organisation-in-action photos	.859, p = .000
C5q Press release search engine	– (linear)
C5r Organisation logos for use in publication	1, p = .000
C5s Evaluation report for service beneficiaries	– (linear)
C5t Internal service review/evaluation	– (linear)
C5u Testimonial statements	.817, p = .000
C5v Organisation perspective pieces on current issues/trends	1, p = .000
C6a Comments option/forum	1, p = .000
C6b Opinion polls	– (linear)
C6c Quizzes, knowledge tests, games	– (linear)
C6d E-cards	– (linear)
C6e Petitions	– (linear)
C7a Join now option	1, p = .000
C7b Volunteer option	1, p = .000
C7c Solicits donations online	1, p = .000
C7d Solicits donations offline	1, p = .000
C7e Online store/merchandise	.652, p = .000
C7f Job listings	.783, p = .000

Table A.8: List of interviewees

Organisation	Country	Method	Date
Interviewee 1 (confidential)	Germany	Telephone	18.2.2016
Community Foundation Bonn Jürgen Reske	Germany	Telephone	14.1.2016
Interviewee 3 (confidential)	Germany	Telephone	14.3.2016
Community Foundation Citizens for Lahr Gerhard Silberer	Germany	Telephone	20.1.2016
Community Foundation Luechow Alexandra Sprockhoff	Germany	Telephone	28.1.2016
Community Foundation Munster Joachim Sommer	Germany	Telephone	28.1.2016
Community Foundation Saalfeld-Rudolstadt Sebastian Kellner	Germany	Telephone	15.1.2016
Interviewee 8 (confidential)	United Kingdom	Telephone	4.10.2017
Community Foundation Tyne & Wear and Northumberland Iain Riddell	United Kingdom	Telephone	13.11.2017
Oxfordshire Community Foundation Kate Parrinder	United Kingdom	Telephone	13.10.2017
South Yorkshire Community Foundation Shannon Roberts	United Kingdom	Telephone	27.9.2017

Table A.9: Thematic coding frame

Thematic coding frame		

Themes	• Accountability
	• Building a brand & campaigning
	   a. Campaigning
	• Getting your message across
	• Communication conduit
	• Integrated communication
	   a. Need to communicate
	   b. Receive feedback
	   c. Telling a community story
	• Giving, Fundraising, & Volunteering
	   a. Active recruiting of volunteers
	   b. Depend on volunteers
	   c. Fundraising
	   d. Giving
	   e. Grant applications
	   f. Pupils as volunteers
	• Interaction with stakeholders
		• Leadership role
		• Measuring success
		• Positioning
		• Raise public awareness
		• Resource sharing
		   a. Data management
		   b. Documentation
		   c. Efficient use of resources
		   d. Information repository
		• Seeking engagement
		   a. Collaborative workspace
		   b. Crowdsourcing
		   c. Facilitating Collaboration
		   d. Media events
		   e. Mission advancement
		• Strategic planning
		• Ties to journalists

Media channels & formats	• Advertising • Annual report • Blog • Case studies • Community radio • Crowdfunding platforms • Data privacy • Email • Facebook • Google Analytics • Google search • Hootsuite • Instagram • Leaflets • LinkedIn • Mailing	• Newsletter • Newspaper • Open data • Press conference • Press release • Press review • Public relations • Radio • Snapchat • Social media (unspecific) • Television • Twitter • Video • Website • Whatsapp • Word-of-Mouth
Risks & challenges	• Being up-to-date • Complexity • Continuity • Financial resources • Knowledge transfer • Media monopoly • Negativity, negative backlash • Usability	• No risks • Not enough time • Opportunities • Privacy • Staff burden • Ties cut • Too many possibilities
Concepts	• Community foundation (as a concept) • Community • Digitalisation • Technological change • Empowerment	• Marketization • Mediatization • Professionalisation • Social change

Issues & projects	• Auto Community Garage	• Ideas contest
	• Book project	• Music Instruments
	• Brunch table	• Kick off Bonn
	• Cooking	• Mundart project
	• Dance project	• Oxfordshire Uncovered
	• Filling the gaps	• Projects in general
	• Fire	• Refugee crisis
	• Food banks	• Street name
	• Holidays for socially deprived children	• Tackle homelessness
Stakeholders	• Advertising agency	• The public
	• Corporations	• The media
	• Donors	• Trustees
	• Politicians & bureaucrats	

Table A.10: List of all variables

Variable	United Kingdom		Germany		χ2	
	N	%	N	%	χ2-value	p
Information on foundation history (C2a)	57	100	349	95.1	2.9	.09
Information on tasks and objectives (C2b)	57	100	356	97	1.7	.18
Information on organisational structure (C2c)	55	96.5	346	94.3	.47	.49
Information on managing director, board, executive (biography or profile)* (C2d)	55	96.5	194	52.9	38.7	.00
Information on members* (C2e)	53	93	142	38.7	58.5	.00
Mission statement* (C2f)	44	77.2	327	89.1	6.4	.01
Vision statement* (C2g)	39	68.4	108	29.4	33.1	.00
Charter* (C2h)	57	100	290	79	142.5	.00
Contact option (general) (C2i)	57	100	354	96.5	2.1	.15
Contact person given (C2j)	27	47.4	144	39.2	1.3	.24
Executive photographs* (C2m)	46	80.7	192	52.3	16.1	.00
Members addressed* (C3b)	54	94.7	68	18.5	139.8	.00
Intranet/Extranet option given (C3c)	7	12.3	43	11.7	.01	.90
New members addressed (C3d)	57	100	339	92.4	4.6	.03
Audio reports or material (C5a)	0	0	3	0.8	.47	.49
Video reports or material* (C5b)	26	45.6	33	9	55.2	.00
Newsletter* (C5c)	35	61.4	42	11.4	82.8	.00
FAQs (C5d)	24	42.1	164	44.7	.13	.71
FAQs (section aimed at media)* (C5e)	0	0	1	0.3	.15	.69
Press review* (C5f)	8	14	154	42	16.3	.00
Calendar on organisational events (C5g)	16	28.1	110	30	.08	.77
News section* (C5h)	52	91.2	276	75.2	7.2	.00
Annual report or Financial report* (C5i)	30	52.6	87	23.7	20.6	.00
Feature stories written by staff* (C5j)	31	54.4	57	15.5	45.3	.00
Media kits* (C5k)	5	8.8	6	1.6	9.9	.00
Information on projects* (C5l)	57	100	307	83.7	10.9	.00
RSS feed (C5m)	3	5.3	8	2.2	1.8	.17
News alert service for media (C5n)	1	1.8	1	0.3	2.3	.13
Organisational staff speeches or presentations (C5o)	2	3.5	9	2.5	.22	.64
Photos of product or organisation in action* (C5p)	52	91.2	184	50.1	33.8	.00

Press release search engine (C5q)	0	0	6	1.6	.94	.33
Organisational logos for use in publications (C5r)	5	8.8	14	3.8	2.8	.09
Evaluation report for service beneficiaries* (C5s)	5	8.8	5	1.4	121.6	.00
Internal service review or evaluation report* (C5t)	35	61.4	5	1.4	11.7	.00
Testimonial statements* (C5u)	35	61.4	72	19.6	45.6	.00
Organisational perspective on current issues or trends* (C5v)	7	12.3	2	0.5	32.7	.00
Comments or opinion forum* (C6a)	9	15.3	15	4.1	24.8	.00
Opinion polls* (C6b)	2	3.4	3	0.8	15.5	.00
Quizzes, knowledge tests, or games* (C6c)	0	0	5	1.4	13.2	.00
Ecards (C6d)	0	0	0	0	–	–
Petitions (C6e)	0	0	0	0	–	–
Connection to Google Search (C4a)	0	0	0	0	–	–
Connection to VZ-networks (C4b)	0	0	0	0	–	–
Connection to YouTube* (C4c)	14	24.6	5	1.4	62.0	.00
Connection to Twitter* (C4d)	52	91.2	9	2.5	315.7	.00
Connection to Blogs* (C4e)	11	19.3	2	0.5	58.4	.00
Connection to Facebook* (C4f)	51	89.5	56	15.3	144.0	.00
Connection to LinkedIn* (C4h)	21	36.8	1	0.3	134.1	.00
Connection to Pinterest* (C4i)	1	1.8	0	0	6.4	.01
Connection to Google+* (C4j)	3	5.3	1	0.3	6.9	.01
Connection to Instagram* (C4k)	8	14	1	0.3	45.0	.00
Recommend option (C4l)	1	1.8	6	1.6	.01	.94
Contact person (press and media)* (C2k)	19	33.3	17	4.6	52.3	.00
Opportunity for press personnel to register* (C2l)	2	3.5	1	0.3	7.3	.00
Press and media addressed* (C3a)	22	38.6	29	7.9	44.0	.00
Join now option (C7a)	49	86	323	88	.19	.66
Volunteer option* (C7b)	33	57.9	56	15.3	54.1	.00
Solicits donations online* (C7c)	43	75.4	21	5.7	187.1	.00
Solicits donations offline* (C7d)	14	24.6	356	97	233.0	.00
Online-store or merchandise (C7e)	2	3.5	9	2.5	.218	.64
Joblistings* (C7f)	23	40.4	10	2.7	97.3	.00

References

Ács, Z.J. (2013) *Why philanthropy matters: How the wealthy give, and what it means for our economic well-being*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Adam, T. (2004) *Philanthropy, Charity and Civil Society: Experiences from Germany, Great Britain and North America*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Adloff, F. (2015) Foundations and the Charisma of Giving: A Historical Sociology of Philanthropy in Germany and the United States. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*. 26 (5), 2002–2022. doi:10.1007/s11266-014-9508-4.

Adolphsen, M. (2014) *Communication strategies of governments and NGOs: Engineering global discourse at high-level international summits*. Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden.

Amazeen, M. (2011) Gap (RED): Social Responsibility Campaign or Window Dressing? *Journal of Business Ethics*. 99 (2), 167–182. doi:10.1007/s10551-010-0647-2.

Amtzis, R. (2014) Crowdsourcing from the Ground Up: How a New Generation of Nepali Nonprofits Uses Social Media to Successfully Promote its Initiatives. *Journal of Creative Communications*. 9 (2), 127–146. doi:10.1177/0973258614528609.

Andersson, K. & Kvist, E. (2015) The neoliberal turn and the marketization of care: The transformation of eldercare in Sweden. *European Journal of Women's Studies*. 22 (3), 274–287. doi:10.1177/1350506814544912.

Anheier, H.K. (2005) *Nonprofit organizations: Theory, management, policy*. London and New York: Routledge.

Anheier, H.K. & Daly, S. (2007) *The politics of foundations: A comparative analysis*. Routledge research in comparative politics. Vol. 18. London and New York: Routledge.

Anheier, H.K. & List, R.A. (2005) *A Dictionary of Civil Society, Philanthropy and the Non-Profit Sector*. London and New York: Routledge.

Archambault, E., Priller, E. & Zimmer, A. (2014) European Civil Societies Compared: Typically German–Typically French? *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*. 25 (2), 514–537. doi:10.1007/s11266-013-9349-6.

Arnove, R. & Pinede, N. (2007) Revisiting the 'Big Three' Foundations. *Critical Sociology*. 33 (3), 389–425. doi:10.1163/156916307X188960.

Arnove, R.F. (1982) *Philanthropy and cultural imperialism: The foundations at home and abroad*. 1st Midlan. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Atouba, Y.C. & Shumate, M. (2015) International Nonprofit Collaboration: Examining the Role of Homophily. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*. 44 (3), 587–608. doi:10.1177/0899764014524991.

Attouni, M.A.K. & Mustaffa, C.S. (2014) How do Non-profit Organizations in Libya Adopt and Use Social Media to Communicate with The Society. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*. 155 (October), 92–97. doi:10.1016/j.sbspro.2014.10.262.

Auger, G.A. (2013) Fostering democracy through social media: Evaluating diametrically opposed nonprofit advocacy organizations' use of Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube. *Public Relations Review*. 39 (4), 369–376. doi:10.1016/j.pubrev.2013.07.013.

Auletta, K. (2018) *Frenemies: The Epic Disruption of the Ad Business (and Everything Else)*. New York: Penguin Press.

Auletta, K. (2010) *Googled: The end of the world as we know it*. New York: Penguin Press.

Bajde, D. (2013) Marketized philanthropy. *Marketing Theory*. 13 (1), 3–18. doi:10.1177/1470593112467265.

Baym, N.K. (2010) *Personal connections in the digital age*. Digital media and society. Cambridge, UK and Malden, MA: Polity.

Bekkers, R. & Wiepking, P. (2011) A Literature Review of Empirical Studies of Philanthropy: Eight Mechanisms That Drive Charitable Giving. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*. 40 (5), 924–973. doi:10.1177/0899764010380927.

Benkler, Y. (2006) *The wealth of networks: How social production transforms markets and freedom*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Berber, P., Brockett, P.L., Cooper, W.W., Golden, L.L. & Parker, B.R. (2011) Efficiency in fundraising and distributions to cause-related social profit enterprises. *Socio-Economic Planning Sciences*. 45 (1), 1–9. doi: 10.1016/j.seps.2010.07.007.

Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (2015) *Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation; Foundation Fact Sheet*. [Online]. Available from: http://www.gatesfoundation.org/Who-We-

Are/General-Information/Foundation-Factsheet.

Bolin, G. & Hepp, A. (2017) 'The Complexities of Mediatization: Charting the Road Ahead', in Olivier Driessens, Göran Bolin, Andreas Hepp, & Stig Hjarvard (eds.) *Dynamics Of Mediatization*. Cham: Springer International Publishing. pp. 315–331.

Bortree, D.S. & Seltzer, T. (2009) Dialogic strategies and outcomes: An analysis of environmental advocacy groups' Facebook profiles. *Public Relations Review*. 35 (3), 317–319. doi:10.1016/j.pubrev.2009.05.002.

Boyd, D.M. & Crawford, K. (2012) Critical Questions for Big Data. *Information, Communication & Society*. 15 (5), 662–679. doi:10.1080/1369118X.2012.678878.

Boyd, D.M. & Ellison, N.B. (2007) Social Network Sites: Definition, History, and Scholarship. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*. 13 (1), 210–230. doi:10.1111/j.1083-6101.2007.00393.x.

Brake, D.R. (2014) Are We All Online Content Creators Now? Web 2.0 and Digital Divides. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*. 19 (3), 591–609. doi:10.1111/jcc4.12042.

Branigan, E. & Mitsis, A. (2014) Reach for Generation Y: using celebrity endorsement to communicate about nonprofit causes with young people in Australia. *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing*. 19 (4), 314–321. doi:10.1002/nvsm.1503.

Breindl, Y. (2013) Assessing Success in Internet Campaigning. *Information, Communication & Society*. 16 (9), 1419–1440. doi:10.1080/1369118X.2012.707673.

Bridle, J. (2018) *New Dark Age: Technology and the End of the Future*. London: Verso.

Briones, R.L., Kuch, B., Liu, B.F. & Jin, Y. (2011) Keeping up with the digital age: How the American Red Cross uses social media to build relationships. *Public Relations Review*. 37 (1), 37–43. doi:10.1016/j.pubrev.2010.12.006.

Broersma, M. & Graham, T. (2013) Twitter As a News Source. *Journalism Practice*. 7 (4), 446–464. doi:10.1080/17512786.2013.802481.

Bruns, A. (2013) 'From prosumption to produsage', in *Handbook on the Digital Creative Economy*. [Online]. pp. 67–78.

Bruns, A. & Highfield, T. (2013) Political networks on Twitter. *Information, Communication & Society*. 16 (5), 667–691. doi:10.1080/1369118X.2013.782328.

Bryman, A. (2012) *Social research methods*. 4th edition. Oxford and , New York: Oxford University Press.

Bundesverband Deutscher Zeitungsverleger (2018) *Die deutschen Zeitungen in Zahlen und Daten 2018*. [Online]. Available from: http://www.bdzv.de/fileadmin/bdzv_hauptseite/aktuell/publikationen/2017/ZDF_2017_web.pdf (Accessed 4 July 2018).

Burt, E. & Taylor, J.A. (2000) Information and Communication Technologies: Reshaping Voluntary Organizations? *Nonprofit Management and Leadership*. 11 (2), 131–143.

Bürger, T. (2015) Use of digital advocacy by German nonprofit foundations on Facebook. *Public Relations Review*. 41 (4), 523–525. doi:10.1016/j.pubrev.2015.07.007.

Bush, R. (1992) Survival of the Nonprofit Spirit in a For-Profit World. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*. 21 (4), 391–410. doi: 10.1177/089976409202100406.

Campbell, D.A., Lambright, K.T. & Wells, C.J. (2014) Looking for Friends, Fans, and Followers? Social Media Use in Public and Nonprofit Human Services. *Public Administration Review*. 74 (5), 655–663. doi:10.1111/puar.12261.

Campus, D. (2010) Mediatization and Personalization of Politics in Italy and France: The Cases of Berlusconi and Sarkozy. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*. 15 (2), 219–235. doi:10.1177/1940161209358762.

Carroll, A. (1999) Corporate Social Responsibility: Evolution of a Definitional Construct. *Business & Society*. 38 (3), 268–295.

Castells, M. (2007) Communication, Power and Counter-power in the Network Society. *International Journal of Communication*. (1), 238–266.

Castells, M. (2012) *Networks of outrage and hope: Social movements in the Internet age*. Cambridge and UK and and Malden, MA: Polity.

Castells, M. (2010) *The rise of the network society*. The information age. 2. ed., wi. Vol. economy, s. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Castillo, M., Petrie, R. & Wardell, C. (2014) Fundraising through online social networks: A field experiment on peer-to-peer solicitation. *Journal of Public Economics*. 114 (0), 29–35. doi:10.1016/j.jpubeco.2014.01.002.

Chadwick, A. (2013) *The hybrid media system*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Chang, Y.-J., Liao, R.-H., Wang, T.-Y. & Chang, Y.-S. (2010) Action Research as a Bridge Between Two Worlds: Helping The NGOs and Humanitarian Agencies Adapt Technology to Their Needs. *Systemic Practice and Action Research*. 23 (3), 191–202. doi:10.1007/s11213-009-9154-8.

Chapleo, C. (2015) Brand 'infrastructure' in nonprofit organizations: Challenges to successful brand building? *Journal of Marketing Communications*. 21 (3), 199–209. doi:10.1080/13527266.2012.741609.

Charities Aid Foundation (2018) *CAF UK Giving 2018*. [Online]. Available from: https://www.cafonline.org/docs/default-source/about-us-publications/caf-uk-giving-web.pdf (Accessed 4 July 2018).

Charmaz, K. (2006) *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis*. London: Sage Publications.

Chase, B. (2017) *15% are Following Charities on Social Media*. [Online]. Available from: http://blog.globalwebindex.net/chart-of-the-day/15-percent-following-charities-on-social-media/ (Accessed 15 May 2017).

Child, C.D. & Grønbjerg, K.A. (2007) Nonprofit Advocacy Organizations: Their Characteristics and Activities. *Social Science Quarterly*. 88 (1), 259–281.

Cho, M., Schweickart, T. & Haase, A. (2014) Public engagement with nonprofit organizations on Facebook. *Public Relations Review*. 40 (3), 565–567. doi:10.1016/j.pubrev.2014.01.008.

Chouliaraki, L. (2013) *The Ironic Spectator: Solidarity in the Age of Post-Humanitarianism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Community Foundation Atlas (2014) *Snapshot of the Movement*. [Online]. Available from: http://communityfoundationatlas.org/facts/ (Accessed 20 December 2015).

Conroy, S. & Williams, A. (2014) *Use of Internet, Social Networking Sites, and Mobile Technology for Volunteerism: Implications for Volunteer Recruitment and Engagement* AARP (ed.).

Cottle, S. & Nolan, D. (2007) Global humanitarianism and the changing aid-media field. *Journalism Studies*. 8 (6), 862–878. doi:10.1080/14616700701556104.

Couldry, N. (2008) Mediatization or mediation? Alternative understandings of the emergent space of digital storytelling. *New Media & Society*. 10 (3), 373–391.

doi:10.1177/1461444808089414.

Couldry, N. (2004) Theorising media as practice. *Social Semiotics*. 14 (2), 115–132. doi:10.1080/1035033042000238295.

Couldry, N. & Curran, J. (2003) *Contesting media power: alternative media in a networked world*. Vol. 20. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc.

Couldry, N. & Hepp, A. (2013) Conceptualizing Mediatization: Contexts, Traditions, Arguments. *Communication Theory*. 23 (3), 191–202. doi:10.1111/comt.12019.

Crawford, K., Lingel, J. & Karppi, T. (2015) Our metrics, ourselves: A hundred years of self-tracking from the weight scale to the wrist wearable device. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*. 18 (4–5), 479–496. doi:10.1177/1367549415584857.

Curtis, L., Edwards, C., Fraser, K.L., Gudelsky, S., Holmquist, J., Thornton, K. & Sweetser, K.D. (2010) Adoption of social media for public relations by nonprofit organizations. *Public Relations Review*. 36 (1), 90–92. doi:10.1016/j.pubrev.2009.10.003.

Cushion, S., Rodger, H. & Lewis, R. (2014) Comparing levels of mediatization in television journalism: An analysis of political reporting on US and UK evening news bulletins. *International Communication Gazette*. 76 (6), 443–463. doi:10.1177/1748048514533860.

D'Angelo, P. & Esser, F. (2014) Metacoverage and Mediatization in US Presidential Elections. *Journalism Practice*. 8 (3), 295–310. doi:10.1080/17512786.2014.889446.

Daly, S. (2008) Institutional Innovation in Philanthropy: Community Foundations in the UK. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*. 19 (3), 219–241. doi:10.1007/s11266-008-9067-7.

Daly, S. (2011a) Philanthropy, the Big Society and Emerging Philanthropic Relationships in the UK. *Public Management Review*. 13 (8), 1077–1094. doi:10.1080/14719037.2011.619063.

Daly, S. (2011b) Philanthropy as an Essentially Contested Concept. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*. 23 (3), 535–557. doi:10.1007/s11266-011-9213-5.

Dart, R. (2004) Being "Business-Like" in a Nonprofit Organization: A Grounded and Inductive Typology. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*. 33 (2), 290–310. doi: 10.1177/0899764004263522.

Davies, T.R. (2013) *NGOs: A new history of transnational civil society*. London: C. Hurst & Co. Ltd.

Deacon, D. (2004) 'Non-Governmental Organisations and the Media', in Simon Cottle (ed.) *News, Public Relations and Power*. [Online]. London: SAGE Publications Ltd. pp. 99–116.

Deacon, D. (1996) The Voluntary Sector in a Changing Communication Environment: A Case Study of Non-Official News Sources. *European Journal of Communication*. 11 (2), 173–199.

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

Deacon, D. & Stanyer, J. (2015) 'Mediatization and' or 'Mediatization of'? A response to Hepp et al. *Media, Culture & Society*. 37 (4), 655–657. doi:10.1177/0163443715580761.

Delfin, F.G. & Tang, S.-Y. (2008) Foundation Impact on Environmental Nongovernmental Organizations: The Grantees' Perspective. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*. 37 (4), 603–625. doi:10.1177/0899764007312667.

Dempsey, S.E. (2012) Nonprofits as Political Actors. *Management Communication Quarterly*. 26 (1), 147–151. doi:10.1177/0893318911424375.

Desai, U.C. & Snavely, K. (2012) Three Faces of the State and the Nonprofit Sector. *Administration & Society*. 44 (8), 962–984. doi:10.1177/0095399711432276.

Deschamps, R. & McNutt, K. (2014) Third Sector and Social Media. *Canadian Journal of Nonprofit and Social Economy Research*. 5 (2), 29–46.

Deutscher Spendenrat e.V. (2018) *Bilanz des Helfens 2018*. [Online]. Available from: http://www.spendenrat.de/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/Bilanz_des_Helfens_2018.pdf (Accessed 7 July 2018).

van Dijck, J. (2014) Datafication, dataism and dataveillance: Big data between scientific paradigm and ideology. *Surveillance and Society*. 12 (2), 197–208.

Dijck, J. Van & Poell, T. (2013) Understanding Social Media Logic. *Media and Communication*. 1 (1), 2–14. doi:10.12924/mac2013.01010002.

Driessens, O. (2013) The celebritization of society and culture: Understanding the structural dynamics of celebrity culture. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*. 16 (6), 641–657. doi:10.1177/1367877912459140.

Duggan, M. (2015) *Mobile Messaging and Social Media – 2015*. [Online]. Available from: http://www.pewinternet.org/2015/08/19/mobile-messaging-and-social-media-2015/ (Accessed 5 June 2017).

Dumont, G.E. (2013) Nonprofit Virtual Accountability: An Index and Its Application. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*. 42 (5), 1049–1067. doi:10.1177/0899764013481285.

Easterling, D. (2011) Promoting Community Leadership Among Community Foundations: The Role of the Social Capital Benchmark Survey. *The Foundation Review*. 3 (1), 81–96. doi:10.4087/FOUNDATIONREVIEW-D-11-00022.

Eikenberry, A.M. (2009) Refusing the Market: A Democratic Discourse for Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*. 38 (4), 582–596. doi:10.1177/0899764009333686.

Eikenberry, A.M. & Kluver, J.D. (2004) The Marketization of the Nonprofit Sector: Civil Society at Risk? *Public Administration Review*. 64 (2), 132–140. doi:10.1111/j.1540-6210.2004.00355.x.

Eimhjellen, I., Wollebæk, D. & Strømsnes, K. (2013) Associations Online: Barriers for Using Web-Based Communication in Voluntary Associations. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*. 25 (3), 730–753. doi:10.1007/s11266-013-9361-x.

Eimhjellen, I.S. (2014) Internet Communication: Does It Strengthen Local Voluntary Organizations? *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*. 43 (5), 890–909. doi:10.1177/0899764013487996.

Ekström, M., Fornäs, J., Jansson, A. & Jerslev, A. (2016) Three tasks for mediatization research: contributions to an open agenda. *Media, Culture & Society*. 38 (7), 1090–1108. doi: 10.1177/0163443716664857.

Ellis, S.J. (2012) New Trends in Volunteering and How to Tap into Them. *Nonprofit World*. 30 (2), 22–24.

Elmelund-Praestekaer, C., Hopmann, D.N. & Norgaard, a. S. (2011) Does Mediatization Change MP-Media Interaction and MP Attitudes toward the Media? Evidence from a Longitudinal Study of Danish MPs. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*. 16 (3),

382–403. doi:10.1177/1940161211400735.

eMarketer (2018) *Social Media Platforms Used by UK Internet Users, by Age, Sep 2017 (% of respondents in each group)*. [Online]. Available from: http://www.emarketer.com/Chart/Social-Media-Platforms-Used-by-UK-Internet-Users-by-Age-Sep-2017-of-respondents-each-group/212173 (Accessed 5 April 2018).

EMarketer (2017) *Number of social media users worldwide from 2010 to 2020 (in billions)*. [Online] [online]. Available from: https://www.statista.com/statistics/278414/number-of-worldwide-social-network-users/ (Accessed 15 May 2017).

von Engelhardt, J. & Jansz, J. (2014) Challenging humanitarian communication: An empirical exploration of Kony 2012. *International Communication Gazette*. 76 (6), 464–484. doi:10.1177/1748048514533861.

Farrow, H. & Yuan, Y.C. (2011) Building Stronger Ties With Alumni Through Facebook to Increase Volunteerism and Charitable Giving. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*. 16 (3), 445–464. doi:10.1111/j.1083-6101.2011.01550.x.

Fine, M. & Davidson, B. (2018) The marketization of care: Global challenges and national responses in Australia. *Current Sociology*. 66 (4), 503–516. doi:10.1177/0011392118765281.

Fleishman, J.L. (2009) *The Foundation: A Great American Secret; How Private Wealth is Changing the World*. New York, NY: PublicAffairs.

Flew, T. & Swift, A. (2014) Engaging, Persuading, and Entertaining Citizens: Mediatization and the Australian Political Public Sphere. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*. 20 (1), 108–128. doi:10.1177/1940161214552500.

Fredriksson, M. & Pallas, J. (2016) Much ado about media: Public relations in public agencies in the wake of managerialism. *Public Relations Review*. 42 (4), 600–606. doi:10.1016/j.pubrev.2016.03.016.

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. doi:10.1111/padm.12184.

Freedman International (2018) *Global Marketing 2018: Marketing Trends with a Global Reach*. [Online]. Available from:

https://www.freedmaninternational.com/content/uploads/Marketing-Trends-2018.pdf (Accessed 5 July 2018).

Friedrichsmeier, A. & Marcinkowski, F. (2016) The mediatisation of university governance: a theoretical and empirical exploration of some side-effects. *Policy & Politics*. 44 (1), 97–113. doi:10.1332/030557315X14431876145728.

Fuchs, C. (2012) Capitalism or information society? The fundamental question of the present structure of society. *European Journal of Social Theory*. 16 (4), 413–434. doi:10.1177/1368431012461432.

Galer-Unti, R.A. (2010) Advocacy 2.0: advocating in the digital age. *Health promotion practice*. 11 (6), 784–7. doi:10.1177/1524839910386952.

Galloway, S. (2017) *The Four: The Hidden DNA of Amazon, Apple, Facebook, and Google*. New York: Portfolio / Penguin.

Gálvez Rodríguez, M. del M., Caba Pérez, M. del C. & Godoy, M.L. (2012) Determining Factors in Online Transparency of NGOs: A Spanish Case Study. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*. 23 (3), 661–683. doi:10.1007/s11266-011-9229-x.

Gandia, J.L. (2011) Internet Disclosure by Nonprofit Organizations: Empirical Evidence of Nongovernmental Organizations for Development in Spain. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*. 40 (1), 57–78. doi:10.1177/0899764009343782.

Gerlitz, C. & Helmond, A. (2013) The like economy: Social buttons and the data-intensive web. *New Media & Society*. 15 (8), 1348–1365. doi:10.1177/1461444812472322.

Gibelman, M. & Gelman, S.R. (2001) Very public scandals: Nongovernmental organizations in trouble. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*. 1249–66. doi:10.1023/A:1011242911726.

Gillespie, T. (2010) The politics of 'platforms'. *New Media & Society*. 12 (3), 347–364. doi:10.1177/1461444809342738.

Gilmore, J.N. (2016) Everywear: The quantified self and wearable fitness technologies. *New Media & Society*. 18 (11), 2524–2539. doi:10.1177/1461444815588768.

Glanville, J.L., Paxton, P. & Wang, Y. (2016) Social Capital and Generosity: A Multilevel Analysis. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*. 45 (3), 526–547.

doi:10.1177/0899764015591366.

Graddy, E.A. & Morgan, D.L. (2006) Community Foundations, Organizational Strategy, and Public Policy. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*. 35 (4), 605–630. doi:10.1177/0899764006289769.

Grafström, M., Windell, K. & Karlberg, P.P. (2015) Mediatization of Civil Society Organizations: (De)legitimation of the Swedish Red Cross. *Journal of Civil Society*. 11 (3), 227–241. doi:10.1080/17448689.2015.1057415.

Granovetter, M. (1983) The Strength of Weak Ties: A Network Theory Revisited. *Sociological Theory*. 1201–233.

Greenberg, J. & Walters, D. (2004) Promoting Philanthropy? News Publicity and Voluntary Organizations in Canada. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*. 15 (4), 383–404. doi:10.1007/s11266-004-1238-6.

Guo, C. & Saxton, G.D. (2013) Tweeting Social Change: How Social Media Are Changing Nonprofit Advocacy. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*. 43 (1), 57–79. doi:10.1177/0899764012471585.

Hackler, D. & Saxton, G.D. (2007) The Strategic Use of Information Technology by Nonprofit Organizations: Increasing Capacity and Untapped Potential. *Public Administration Review*. (May, June), 474–487.

Hale, M. (2007) Superficial Friends: A Content Analysis of Nonprofit and Philanthropy Coverage in Nine Major Newspapers. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*. 36 (3), 465–486. doi:10.1177/0899764006296849.

Hall, P.D. (2006) '*A Historical Overview of Philanthropy, Voluntary Associations, and Nonprofit Organizations in the United States, 1600-2000*', in R. Steinberg W. Powell (ed.) [Online]. New Haven: Yale University Press. pp. 32–65.

Hall, P.D. (2013) Philanthropy, the Nonprofit Sector & the Democratic Dilemma. *Daedalus*. 142 (2), 1–20. doi:10.1162/DAED_a_00209.

Hammack, D.C. (2006) 'American Debates on the Legitimacy of Foundations', in K Prewitt, M Dogan, S Heydemann, & S Toepler (eds.) *Legitimacy of Philanthropic Foundations: United States and European Perspectives*. [Online]. Russell Sage Foundation. pp. 49–99.

Hargittai, E. & Walejko, G. (2008) The Participation Divide: Content creation and sharing in

the digital age. *Information, Communication & Society.* 11 (2), 239–256. doi:10.1080/13691180801946150.

Harlow, S. (2011) Social media and social movements: Facebook and an online Guatemalan justice movement that moved offline. *New Media & Society.* 14 (2), 225–243. doi:10.1177/1461444811410408.

Harrow, J. (2010) 'Philanthropy', in Rupert Taylor (ed.) *Third Sector Research.* [Online]. Springer. pp. 121–139.

Harrow, J. & Jung, T. (2016) Philanthropy and community development: The vital signs of community foundation? *Community Development Journal.* 51 (1), 132–152. doi:10.1093/cdj/bsv056.

Helmond, A. (2015) The Platformization of the Web: Making Web Data Platform Ready. *Social Media + Society.* 1 (2), 1–11. doi:10.1177/2056305115603080.

Hepp, A. (2010) 'Mediatisierung und Kulturwandel: Kulturelle Kontextfelder und die Prägkräfte der Medien', in *Mediatisierung der Alltagswelt.* [Online]. VS Verlag. pp. 65–84.

Hepp, A. (2012) Mediatization and the 'molding force' of the media. *Communications.* 37 (1), 1–28. doi:10.1515/commun-2012-0001.

Hepp, A. (2013) The communicative figurations of mediatized worlds: Mediatization research in times of the 'mediation of everything'. *European Journal of Communication.* 28 (6), 615–629. doi:10.1177/0267323113501148.

Hepp, A., Hjarvard, S. & Lundby, K. (2015) Mediatization: theorizing the interplay between media, culture and society. *Media, Culture & Society.* 37 (2), 314–324. doi:10.1177/0163443715573835.

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

Hepp, A. & Krotz, F. (2014) *Mediatized worlds: Culture and society in a media age.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hermida, A., Fletcher, F., Korell, D. & Logan, D. (2012) Share, like, recommend. *Journalism Studies.* 13 (5–6), 815–824. doi:10.1080/1461670X.2012.664430.

Hestres, L.E. (2013) Preaching to the choir: Internet-mediated advocacy, issue public mobilization, and climate change. *New Media & Society*. 16 (2), 323–339. doi:10.1177/1461444813480361.

Hindman, M. (2008) *The Myth of Digital Democracy*. Princeton University Press.

Hjarvard, S. (2012) Doing the Right Thing: Media and Communication Studies in a Mediatized World. *Nordic Review, Supplement*. 33 (1), 27–34.

Hjarvard, S. (2004) 'From bricks to bytes: The Mediatization of a Global Toy Industry', in Ib Bondebjerg & Peter Golding (eds.) *European Culture and the Media*. [Online]. Bristol: Intellect Ltd. pp. 43–63.

Hjarvard, S. (2008) Mediatization of Society. A Theory of the Media as Agents of Social and Cultural Change. *Nordicom Review*. 29 (2), 105–134.

Hjarvard, S. (2014) Stig Hjarvard, The Mediatization of Culture and Society. *European Journal of Communication*. 29 (5), 649–649. doi:10.1177/0267323114539432k.

Hjarvard, S. (2013) *The Mediatization of Culture and Society*. New York: Routledge.

Hodgson, J. & Pond, A. (2018) *How Community Philanthropy Shifts Power: What Donors Can Do to Help Make That Happen*.

Holiday, R. (2012) *Trust me, I'm lying: teh tactics and confessions of a media manipulator*. New York: Portfolio/Penguin.

Hong, A. (2014) Advocacy strategies to defend France's sans-papiers: contradictions and complexities. *The International Journal of Human Rights*. 18 (1), 20–44. doi:10.1080/13642987.2013.862617.

Hopke, J.E. (2015) Hashtagging Politics: Transnational Anti-Fracking Movement Twitter Practices. *Social Media + Society*. 1 (2), 1–12. doi:10.1177/2056305115605521.

Hou, Y. & Lampe, C. (2015) 'Social Media Effectiveness for Public Engagement', in Bo Begole, Jinwoo Kim, Kori Inkpen, & Woontack Woo (eds.) *CHI '15 Proceedings of the 33rd Annual ACM Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems*. [Online]. 2015 pp. 3107–3116.

Hwang, H. & Powell, W.W. (2009) The Rationalization of Charity: The Influences of Professionalism in the Nonprofit Sector. *Administrative Science Quarterly*. 54 (2), 268–298.

Ilten, C. (2015) "Use Your Skills to Solve This Challenge!": The Platform Affordances and Politics of Digital Microvolunteering. *Social Media + Society*. 1 (2), . doi:10.1177/2056305115604175.

Ingenhoff, D. & Koelling, A.M. (2009) The potential of Web sites as a relationship building tool for charitable fundraising NPOs. *Public Relations Review*. 35 (1), 66–73. doi:10.1016/j.pubrev.2008.09.023.

Isotalus, P. & Almonkari, M. (2014) Mediatization and Political Leadership. *Journalism Studies*. 15 (3), 289–303. doi:10.1080/1461670X.2014.889462.

Jacobs, R.N. & Glass, D.J. (2002) Media Publicity and the Voluntary Sector: The Case of Nonprofit Organizations in New York City. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*. 13 (3), 235–252. doi:10.2307/27927788.

Jenkins, H. (2006) *Fans, bloggers, and gamers : exploring participatory culture*. New York: New York University Press.

Jensen, K.B. (2013) Definitive and Sensitizing Conceptualizations of Mediatization. *Communication Theory*. 23 (3), 203–222. doi:10.1111/comt.12014.

Jung, T., Harrow, J. & Leat, D. (2018) Mapping Philanthropic Foundations' Characteristics: Towards an International Integrative Framework of Foundation Types. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*. online first. doi:10.1177/0899764018772135.

Kania, J. & Kramer, M. (2011) Collective Impact. *Stanford Social Innovation Review*. (Winter), 36–41.

Kanter, B. & Fine, A.H. (2010) *The networked nonprofit: Connecting with social media to drive change*. 1st edition. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Kantola, A. (2014) Mediatization of Power: Corporate CEOs in Flexible Capitalism. *Nordicom Review*. 35 (2), 29–41.

Karlin, B. & Matthew, R.A. (2012) Kony 2012 and the Mediatization of Child Soldiers. *Peace Review*. 24 (3), 255–261. doi:10.1080/10402659.2012.704222.

Kavada, A. (2015) Creating the collective: social media, the Occupy Movement and its constitution as a collective actor. *Information, Communication & Society*. (June), 1–15. doi:10.1080/1369118X.2015.1043318.

Kenix, L.J. (2007) In search of Utopia: An analysis of non-profit web pages. *Information,*

Communication & Society. 10 (1), 69–94. doi:10.1080/13691180701193085.

Kenix, L.J. (2008) Nonprofit Organizations' Perceptions and Uses of the Internet. *Television & New Media*. 9 (5), 407–428. doi:10.1177/1527476408315501.

Kent, M.L. & Taylor, M. (1998) Building Dialogic Relationships Through the World Wide Web. *Public Relations Review*. 24 (3), 321–334.

Kligler-Vilenchik, N. & Thorson, K. (2016) Good citizenship as a frame contest: Kony2012, memes, and critiques of the networked citizen. *New Media & Society*. 18 (9), 1993–2011. doi:10.1177/1461444815575311.

Klinger, U. & Svensson, J. (2015) The emergence of network media logic in political communication: A theoretical approach. *New Media & Society*. 17 (8), 1241–1257. doi:10.1177/1461444814522952.

Knauf, H. (2016) Interlaced social worlds: exploring the use of social media in the kindergarten. *Early Years*. 5146 (May), 1–17. doi:10.1080/09575146.2016.1147424.

Knight, B. & Milner, A. (2013) *What does community philanthropy look like ?: Case studies on community philanthropy*. [Online]. Available from: http://www.mott.org/files/publications/WhatDoesCommunityPhilanthropyLookLike.pdf (Accessed 5 May 2018).

Knoblauch, H. (2013) Communicative Constructivism and Mediatization. *Communication Theory*. 23 (3), 297–315. doi:10.1111/comt.12018.

Knott, J.H. & McCarthy, D. (2007) Policy Venture Capital: Foundations, Government Partnerships, and Child Care Programs. *Administration & Society*. 39 (3), 319–353. doi:10.1177/0095399706298052.

Koschmann, M.A. (2012) Developing a Communicative Theory of the Nonprofit. *Management Communication Quarterly*. 26 (1), 139–146. doi:10.1177/0893318911423640.

Koschmann, M.A., Isbell, M.G. & Sanders, M.L. (2015) Connecting Nonprofit and Communication Scholarship: A Review of Key Issues and a Meta-Theoretical Framework for Future Research. *Review of Communication*. 15 (3), 200–220. doi:10.1080/15358593.2015.1058411.

Kotler, P., Kartajaya, H. & Setiawan, I. (2017) *Marketing 4.0: Moving from Traditional to*

Digital. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Krotz, F. (2007) The meta-process of 'mediatization' as a conceptual frame. *Global Media and Communication*. 3 (3), 256–260. doi:10.1177/17427665070030030103.

Krotz, F. & Hepp, A. (2011) A concretization of mediatization: How 'mediatization works' and why mediatized worlds are a helpful concept for empirical mediatization research. *Empedocles: European Journal for the Philosophy of Communication*. 3 (2), 137–152. doi:10.1386/ejpc.3.2.137_1.

Lang, S. (2013) *NGOs, Civil Society, and the Public Sphere*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Laursen, B. & Valentini, C. (2015) Mediatization and Government Communication: Press Work in the European Parliament. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*. 20 (1), 26–44. doi:10.1177/1940161214556513.

Lewis, L. (2005) The Civil Society Sector: A Review of Critical Issues and Research Agenda for Organizational Communication Scholars. *Management Communication Quarterly*. 19 (2), 238–267. doi:10.1177/0893318905279190.

Li, V. (2017) 'Shopping for Change': World Vision Canada and Consumption-Oriented Philanthropy in the Age of Philanthrocapitalism. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*. 28 (2), 455–471. doi:10.1007/s11266-016-9801-5.

Lindsay, M. & Krysik, J. (2012) Online Harassment Among College Students. *Information, Communication & Society*. 15 (5), 703–719. doi:10.1080/1369118X.2012.674959.

Livingstone, S. (2009) On the Mediation of Everything: ICA Presidential Address 2008. *Journal of Communication*. 59 (1), 1–18. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2008.01401.x.

Lovejoy, K. & Saxton, G.D. (2012) Information, Community, and Action: How Nonprofit Organizations Use Social Media. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*. 17 (3), 337–353. doi:10.1111/j.1083-6101.2012.01576.x.

Lovejoy, K., Waters, R.D. & Saxton, G.D. (2012) Engaging stakeholders through Twitter: How nonprofit organizations are getting more out of 140 characters or less. *Public Relations Review*. 38 (2), 313–318. doi:10.1016/j.pubrev.2012.01.005.

Lövheim, M. (2016) Mediatization: analyzing transformations of religion from a gender perspective. *Media, Culture & Society*. 38 (1), 18–27. doi:10.1177/0163443715615411.

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

Macnamara, J. & Zerfass, A. (2012) Social Media Communication in Organizations: The Challenges of Balancing Openness, Strategy, and Management. *International Journal of Strategic Communication*. 6 (4), 287–308. doi:10.1080/1553118X.2012.711402.

Maier, F., Meyer, M. & Steinbereithner, M. (2016) Nonprofit Organizations Becoming Business-Like. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*. 45 (1), 64–86. doi:10.1177/0899764014561796.

Mano, R.S. (2014) Social media, social causes, giving behavior and money contributions. *Computers in Human Behavior*. 31287–293. doi:10.1016/j.chb.2013.10.044.

del Mar Gálvez-Rodríguez, M., Caba-Perez, C. & López-Godoy, M. (2014) Drivers for the proactive online disclosure of information in the NGO sector: the Colombian case Dr David Stuart (ed.). *Online Information Review*. 38 (6), 769–787. doi:10.1108/OIR-05-2014-0113.

Martino, L.M.S. (2013) *The Mediatization of Religion: When Faith Rocks*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

Mattoni, A. & Treré, E. (2014) Media practices, mediation processes, and mediatization in the study of social movements. *Communication Theory*. 24 (3), 252–271. doi:10.1111/comt.12038.

Mazzoleni, G. & Schulz, W. (1999) 'Mediatization' of Politics: A Challenge for Democracy? *Political Communication*. 16 (3), 247–261. doi:10.1080/105846099198613.

McDougle, L.M. & Handy, F. (2014) The Influence of Information Costs on Donor Decision Making. *Nonprofit Management and Leadership*. 24 (4), 465–485. doi:10.1002/nml.21105.

McKeever, B.W. (2013) From Awareness to Advocacy: Understanding Nonprofit Communication, Participation, and Support. *Journal of Public Relations Research*. 25 (August), 307–328. doi:10.1080/1062726X.2013.806868.

McMahon, D., Seaman, S. & Lemley, D.A. (2015) The adoption of websites by nonprofits and the impact on society. *Technology in Society*. 421–8. doi:10.1016/j.techsoc.2015.01.001.

McNutt, J.G. & Boland, K.M. (1999) Electronic Advocacy by Nonprofit Organizations in

Social Welfare Policy. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*. 28 (4), 432–451. doi:10.1177/0899764099284004.

McPherson, E. (2012) 'How editors choose which human rights to cover: a case study of Mexican newspapers', in Tristan Anne Borer (ed.) *Media, mobilization and human rights: Mediating suffering*. [Online]. London: Zed Books. pp. 96–121.

Mendel, S.C. (2009) Are Private Government, the Nonprofit Sector, and Civil Society the Same Thing? *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*. 39 (4), 717–733. doi:10.1177/0899764009337897.

Merry, M.K. (2013) Tweeting for a cause: Microblogging and environmental advocacy. *Policy and Internet*. 5 (3), 304–327. doi:10.1002/1944-2866.POI335.

Milan, S. (2015) From social movements to cloud protesting: the evolution of collective identity. *Information, Communication & Society*. (June), 1–14. doi:10.1080/1369118X.2015.1043135.

Miller, B. (2009) Community fundraising 2.0-the future of fundraising in a networked society? *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing*. 14 (4), 365–370. doi:10.1002/nvsm.373.

Miller, J. (2014) The fourth screen: Mediatization and the smartphone. *Mobile Media & Communication*. 2 (2), 209–226. doi:10.1177/2050157914521412.

Mills, C.W. & Wolfe, A. (2000) *The Power Elite*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Morozov, E. (2011) *The Net Delusion: How Not to Liberate The World*. New York: PublicAffairs.

Muralidharan, S., Rasmussen, L., Patterson, D. & Shin, J.-H. (2011) Hope for Haiti: An analysis of Facebook and Twitter usage during the earthquake relief efforts. *Public Relations Review*. 37 (2), 175–177. doi:10.1016/j.pubrev.2011.01.010.

Muukkonen, M. (2009) Framing the Field: Civil Society and Related Concepts. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*. 38 (4), 684–700. doi:10.1177/0899764009333245.

Nah, S. & Saxton, G.D. (2013) Modeling the adoption and use of social media by nonprofit organizations. *New Media & Society*. 15 (2), 294–313. doi:10.1177/1461444812452411.

Negroponte, N. (1995) *Being digital*. New York: Knopf.

Newsworks (2018) *Introduction to Newsbrands.* [Online]. Available from: https://www.newsworks.org.uk/write/MediaUploads/1 Facts Figures/Market overview/2018/Jun/Introduction_to_Newsbrands_-_25.06.18.pptx (Accessed 7 July 2018).

Nickel, P.M. & Eikenberry, A.M. (2009) A Critique of the Discourse of Marketized Philanthropy. *American Behavioral Scientist.* 52 (7), 974–989. doi: 10.1177/0002764208327670.

Nitschke, P., Donges, P. & Schade, H. (2016) Political organizations use of websites and Facebook. *New Media & Society.* 18 (5), 744–764. doi:10.1177/1461444814546451.

Obar, J.A., Zube, P. & Lampe, C. (2012) Advocacy 2.0: An Analysis of How Advocacy Groups in the United States Perceive and Use Social Media as Tools for Facilitating Civic Engagement and Collective Action. *Journal of Information Policy.* (2), 1–25.

Osborne, S.P. (2011) *The Third Sector in Europe: Prospects and challenges.* London: Routledge.

Paek, H.-J., Hove, T. & Cole, R.T. (2013) 'A Multimethod Approach to Evaluating Social Media Campaign Effectiveness', in *2013 46th Hawaii International Conference on System Sciences.* [Online]. January 2013 IEEE. pp. 1570–1579.

Pallas, J., Strannegard, L. & Jonsson, S. (eds.) (2014) *Organizations and the media: Organizing in a mediatized world.* Routledge studies in management, organizations and society. London and New York: Routledge.

Papacharissi, Z. (2010) *A private sphere: Democracy in a digital age.* Cambridge: Polity.

Pariser, E. (2011) *The filter bubble: What the internet is hiding from you.* London: Viking.

Parmar, I. (2011) *Foundations of the American century: The Ford, Carnegie, and Rockefeller Foundations in the rise of American power.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Paulin, M., J. Ferguson, R., Jost, N., Fallu, J.-M., Ferguson, R.J., Jost, N. & Fallu, J.-M. (2014) Motivating millennials to engage in charitable causes through social media. *Journal of Service Management.* 25 (3), 334–348. doi:10.1108/JOSM-05-2013-0122.

Paulussen, S. & Harder, R. a. (2014) Social Media References in Newspapers. *Journalism Practice.* 8 (5), 542–551. doi:10.1080/17512786.2014.894327.

Pawinska Sims, M. (2018) *GCR18: Pace Of Change In PR Industry Accelerates.* [Online]. Available from: https://www.holmesreport.com/research/article/gcr18-pace-of-change-

in-pr-industry-accelerates (Accessed 16 July 2018).

Paylor, J. (2012) Micro-volunteering: doing some good through smartphones? *Research Bulletin.*

Payton, R.L. & Moody, M.P. (2008) *Understanding philanthropy: Its meaning and mission.* Philanthropy and nonprofit studies. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Perrin, A. (2015) Social Networking Usage: 2005-2015. Pew Research Center (October).

Phethean, C., Tiropanis, T. & Harris, L. (2013) 'Rethinking measurements of social media use by charities', in Hugh Davis, Harry Halpin, Alex Pentland, Mark Bernstein, & Lada Adamic (eds.) *Proceedings of the 5th Annual ACM Web Science Conference on - WebSci '13.* [Online]. 2013 New York, New York, USA: ACM Press. pp. 296–305.

Plotkin, M. Ben (2015) US foundations, cultural imperialism and transnational misunderstandings: The case of the marginality project. *Journal of Latin American Studies.* 47 (01), 65–92. doi:10.1017/S0022216X14001473.

Pope, J.A., Isely, E.S. & Asamoa-Tutu, F. (2009) Developing a Marketing Strategy for Nonprofit Organizations: An Exploratory Study. *Journal of Nonprofit & Public Sector Marketing.* 21 (2), 184–201. doi:10.1080/10495140802529532.

Powers, M. (2016) The new boots on the ground: NGOs in the changing landscape of international news. *Journalism.* 17 (4), 401–416. doi:10.1177/1464884914568077.

Powers, M. (2014) The structural organization of NGO publicity work: Explaining divergent publicity strategies at humanitarian and human rights organizations. *International Journal of Communication.* 890–107.

Pressgrove, G. & Weberling McKeever, B. (2015) 'Foundations: Creating Social Change through Technological Innovation', in Richard D. Waters (ed.) *Public Relations in the Nonprofit Sector: Theory and Practice.* [Online]. Routledge. pp. 310–325.

Prewitt, K. (2006) 'Foundations', in Walter W Powell & Richard Steinberg (eds.) *The nonprofit sector.* [Online]. New Haven: Yale University Press. pp. 355–378.

Priller, E., Alscher, M., Droß, P.J., Paul, F., Poldrack, C.J., Schmeißer, C. & Waitkus, N. (2013) *Dritte-Sektor-Organisationen heute: Eigene Ansprüche und ökonomische Herausforderungen: Ergebnisse einer Organisationsbefragung. Discussion Paper SP IV 2012 - 402* Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (ed.).

Quinton, S. & Fennemore, P. (2013) Missing a strategic marketing trick? The use of online social networks by UK charities. *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing*. 18 (1), 36–51. doi:10.1002/nvsm.1450.

Reddick, C.G. & Ponomariov, B. (2013) The Effect of Individuals' Organization Affiliation on Their Internet Donations. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*. 42 (6), 1197–1223. doi:10.1177/0899764012452670.

Rheingold, H. (2000) *The virtual community: Homesteading on the electronic frontier*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.

Roelofs, J. (2007) Foundations and Collaboration. *Critical Sociology*. 33 (3), 479–504. doi:10.1163/156916307X188997.

Ross, K. & Bürger, T. (2014) Face to face(book): Social media, political campaigning and the unbearable lightness of being there. *Political Science*. 66 (1), 46–62. doi:10.1177/0032318714534106.

Ryan, W.P. (1999) The New Landscape for Nonprofits. *Harvard Business Review*. 77 (1), 127–136.

Saidel, J.R. & Cour, S. (2003) Information Technology and the Voluntary Sector Workplace. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*. 32 (1), 5–24. doi:10.1177/0899764002250004.

Samuel, O., Wolf, P. & Schilling, A. (2013) Corporate Volunteering: Benefits and Challenges for Nonprofits. *Nonprofit Management and Leadership*. 24 (2), 163–179. doi:10.1002/nml.21089.

Sanders, M.L. (2012) Theorizing nonprofit organizations as contradictory enterprises: Understanding the inherent tensions of nonprofit marketization. *Management Communication Quarterly*. 26 (1), 179–185. doi:10.1177/0893318911423761.

Sargeant, A., West, D.C. & Jay, E. (2007) The relational determinants of nonprofit Web site fundraising effectiveness: An exploratory study. *Nonprofit Management and Leadership*. 18 (2), 141–156. doi:10.1002/nml.178.

Saxton, G.D. & Guo, C. (2011) Accountability Online: Understanding the Web-Based Accountability Practices of Nonprofit Organizations. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*. 40 (2), 270–295. doi:10.1177/0899764009341086.

Saxton, G.D. & Guo, C. (2014) Online stakeholder targeting and the acquisition of social

media capital. *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing.* 19 (4), 286–300. doi:10.1002/nvsm.

Saxton, G.D. & Wang, L. (2013) The Social Network Effect: The Determinants of Giving Through Social Media. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly.* 43 (5), 1–34. doi:10.1177/0899764013485159.

Saxton, G.D. & Waters, R.D. (2014) What do Stakeholders Like on Facebook? Examining Public Reactions to Nonprofit Organizations' Informational, Promotional, and Community-Building Messages. *Journal of Public Relations Research.* 26 (3), 280–299. doi:10.1080/1062726X.2014.908721.

Saxton, J. (2001) The growth of the Internet, digital television and mobile telephony and the implications for not-for-profit marketing. *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing.* 6 (4), 347–363.

Schäfer, M.T. (2016) Challenging Citizenship: Social Media and Big Data. *Computer Supported Cooperative Work (CSCW).* 25 (2–3), 111–113. doi:10.1007/s10606-016-9255-8.

Schulz, W. (2004) Reconstructing Mediatization as an Analytical Concept. *European Journal of Communication.* 19 (1), 87–101. doi:10.1177/0267323104040696.

Schweitzer, E.J. (2012) The Mediatization of E-Campaigning: Evidence From German Party Websites in State, National, and European Parliamentary Elections 2002-2009. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication.* 17 (3), 283–302. doi:10.1111/j.1083-6101.2012.01577.x.

Scullion, R., Jackson, D. & Molesworth, M. (2011) *Performance, Politics and Media: How the 2010 British General Election leadership debates generated 'talk' amongst the electorate.* (April 2015), 37–41. doi:10.1080/15377857.2013.781476.

Seethaler, J. & Melischek, G. (2014) Phases of Mediatization: Empirical evidence from Austrian election campaigns since 1970. *Journalism Practice.* 8 (3), 258–278. doi:10.1080/17512786.2014.889443.

Segerberg, A. & Bennett, W.L. (2011) Social Media and the Organization of Collective Action: Using Twitter to Explore the Ecologies of Two Climate Change Protests. *The Communication Review.* 14 (3), 197–215. doi:10.1080/10714421.2011.597250.

Servaes, J. (2008) *Communication for Development and Social Change*. London: Sage Publications.

Sievers, B.R. (2010) Philanthropy's Role in Liberal Democracy. *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy*. 24 (4), 380–398. doi:10.1353/jsp.2010.0017.

Silverman, D. & Marvasti, A.B. (2008) *Doing qualitative research : A comprehensive guide*. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.

Slevin, J. (2003) *The internet and society*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Smith, B.G. (2010) Socially distributing public relations: Twitter, Haiti, and interactivity in social media. *Public Relations Review*. 36 (4), 329–335. doi:10.1016/j.pubrev.2010.08.005.

Smitko, K. (2012) Donor engagement through Twitter. *Public Relations Review*. 38 (4), 633–635. doi:10.1016/j.pubrev.2012.05.012.

Sorensen, M.P. (2016) Political conversations on Facebook - the participation of politicians and citizens. *Media, Culture & Society*. 38 (5), 664–685. doi:10.1177/0163443715620924.

Sormanen, N. & Dutton, W.H. (2015) The Role of Social Media in Societal Change: Cases in Finland of Fifth Estate Activity on Facebook. *Social Media + Society*. 1 (2), . doi:10.1177/2056305115612782.

Spencer, T. (2002) The potential of the internet for non-profit organizations. *First Monday*. 7 (8), 1.

Stannard-Stockton, S. (2010) *A Revolution in Foundation Transparency*. [Online]. Available from: http://www.ssireview.org/blog/entry/a_revolution_in_foundation_transparency.

StatCounter (2018) *Social Media Stats Germany*. [Online] [online]. Available from: http://gs.statcounter.com/social-media-stats/all/germany (Accessed 5 April 2018).

Statista (2017) *Daily time spent on social networking by internet users worldwide from 2012 to 2016 (in minutes)*. [Online]. Available from: https://www.statista.com/statistics/433871/daily-social-media-usage-worldwide/ (Accessed 15 May 2017).

Stride, H. & Lee, S. (2007) No Logo? No Way. Branding in the Non-Profit Sector. *Journal of Marketing Management*. 23 (1–2), 107–122. doi:10.1362/026725707X178585.

Strömbäck, J. (2008) Four Phases of Mediatization: An Analysis of the Mediatization of

Politics. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*. 13 (3), 228–246. doi:10.1177/1940161208319097.

Strömbäck, J. (2011) Mediatization and Perceptions of the Media's Political Influence. *Journalism Studies*. 12 (4), 423–439. doi:10.1080/1461670X.2010.523583.

Strömbäck, J. & Van Aelst, P. (2013) Why political parties adapt to the media: Exploring the fourth dimension of mediatization. *International Communication Gazette*. 75 (4), 341–358. doi:10.1177/1748048513482266.

Sulek, M. (2010a) On the Classical Meaning of Philanthropia. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*. 39 (3), 385–408. doi:10.1177/0899764009333050.

Sulek, M. (2010b) On the Modern Meaning of Philanthropy. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*. 39 (3), 193–212. doi:10.1177/0899764009333052.

Sunstein, C.R. (2009) *Republic.com 2.0*. Princeton and Ewing: Princeton University Press.

Surratt, C.G. (2001) *The Internet and social change*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland.

Svensson, P.G., Mahoney, T.Q. & Hambrick, M.E. (2015) Twitter as a Communication Tool for Nonprofits. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*. 44 (6), 1086–1106. doi:10.1177/0899764014553639.

Takens, J., van Atteveldt, W., van Hoof, a. & Kleinnijenhuis, J. (2013) Media logic in election campaign coverage. *European Journal of Communication*. 28 (3), 277–293. doi:10.1177/0267323113478522.

Tapscott, D. (2009) *Grown up digital*. New York: McGraw Hill.

Taylor, A. (2015) *People's platform: Taking back power and culture in the digital age*. First Pica. New York: Picador, Henry Holt and Company.

Theocharis, Y. (2013) The Wealth of (Occupation) Networks? Communication Patterns and Information Distribution in a Twitter Protest Network. *Journal of Information Technology & Politics*. 10 (1), 35–56. doi:10.1080/19331681.2012.701106.

Thompson, J.B. (1995) *The media and modernity: A social theory of the media*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Thorbjornsrud, K., Ustad Figenschou, T. & Ihlen, Ø. (2014) Mediatization in public bureaucracies: A typology. *Communications*. 39 (1), 3–22. doi:10.1515/commun-2014-

0002.

Thrall, A.T., Stecula, D. & Sweet, D. (2014) May We Have Your Attention Please? Human-Rights NGOs and the Problem of Global Communication. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*. 19 (2), 135–159. doi:10.1177/1940161213519132.

Tremblay-Boire, J. & Prakash, A. (2015) Accountability.org: Online Disclosures by U.S. Nonprofits. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*. 26 (2), 693–719. doi:10.1007/s11266-014-9452-3.

Turkle, S. (2011) *Alone Together: Why we expect more from technology and less from each other*. New York: Basic Books.

Turow, J. (2011) *The daily you: How the new advertising industry is defining your identity and your worth*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

Vaccaro, A. & Madsen, P. (2009) Corporate dynamic transparency: the new ICT-driven ethics? *Ethics and Information Technology*. 11 (2), 113–122. doi:10.1007/s10676-009-9190-1.

Varnali, K. & Gorgulu, V. (2014) A social influence perspective on expressive political participation in Twitter: the case of #OccupyGezi. *Information, Communication & Society*. 18 (1), 1–16. doi:10.1080/1369118X.2014.923480.

Vestergaard, A. (2008) Humanitarian branding and the media: The case of Amnesty International. *Journal of Language and Politics*. 7 (3), 471–493. doi:10.1075/jlp.7.3.07ves.

Vestergaard, A. (2014) Mediatized Humanitarianism: Trust and Legitimacy in the Age of Suspicion. *Journal of Business Ethics*. 120 (4), 509–525. doi:10.1007/s10551-013-2002-x.

Vogel, A. (2006) Who's making global civil society: Philanthropy and US empire in world society. *British Journal of Sociology*. 57 (4), 635–655. doi:10.1111/j.1468-4446.2006.00129.x.

Waddingham, J. (2013) The future of Facebook fundraising. *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing*. 18 (3), 187–191. doi:10.1002/nvsm.1460.

Waisbord, S. (2011) Can NGOs Change the News? *International Journal of Communication*. (5), 142–165. doi:1932–8036/20110142.

Wasik, B. (2009) *And then there's this: how stories live and die in viral culture*. Penguin Books.

Waters, R.D. (2008) Applying relationship management theory to the fundraising process for individual donors. *Journal of Communication Management*. 12 (1), 73–87. doi:10.1108/13632540810854244.

Waters, R.D. (2007) Nonprofit organizations' use of the internet: A content analysis of communication trends on the internet sites of the philanthropy 400. *Nonprofit Management and Leadership*. 18 (1), 59–76. doi:10.1002/nml.171.

Waters, R.D., Burnett, E., Lamm, A. & Lucas, J. (2009) Engaging stakeholders through social networking: How nonprofit organizations are using Facebook. *Public Relations Review*. 35 (2), 102–106. doi:10.1016/j.pubrev.2009.01.006.

Waters, R.D. & Jamal, J.Y. (2011) Tweet, tweet, tweet: A content analysis of nonprofit organizations' Twitter updates. *Public Relations Review*. 37 (3), 321–324. doi:10.1016/j.pubrev.2011.03.002.

Waters, R.D. & Lo, K.D. (2012) Exploring the Impact of Culture in the Social Media Sphere: A Content Analysis of Nonprofit Organizations' Use of Facebook. *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research*. 41 (3), 297–319. doi:10.1080/17475759.2012.728772.

We Are Social (2017) *Active social network penetration in selected countries as of January 2017*. [Online] [online]. Available from: https://www.statista.com/statistics/282846/regular-social-networking-usage-penetration-worldwide-by-country/ (Accessed 15 May 2017).

Weberling, B. (2012) Framing breast cancer: Building an agenda through online advocacy and fundraising. *Public Relations Review*. 38 (1), 108–115. doi:10.1016/j.pubrev.2011.08.009.

Weberling, B. & Waters, R.D. (2012) Gauging the public's preparedness for mobile public relations: The "Text for Haiti" campaign. *Public Relations Review*. 38 (1), 51–55. doi:10.1016/j.pubrev.2011.11.005.

Weng, S. & Christensen, T. (2018) The community philanthropic foundation: A new form of independent public service provider for China? *Public Policy and Administration*. online first. doi:10.1177/0952076718784642.

Wolcott, H.F. (2001) *Writing up qualitative research*. 2nd edition. Thousand Oaks and Calif: Sage Publications.

Wolff, M. (2015) *Television is the new television: the unexpected triumph of old media in the digital age*. New York: Penguin.

Wu, T. (2016) *The attention merchants: the epic scramble to get inside our heads*. New York: Knopf.

Yeon, H.M., Choi, Y. & Kiousis, S. (2007) Interactive Communication Features on Nonprofit Organizations' Webpages for the Practice of Excellence in Public Relations. *Journal of Website Promotion*. 1 (4), 61–83. doi:10.1300/J238v01n04\textunderscore 06.

Yu, J. & Chen, K. (2018) Does Nonprofit Marketization Facilitate or Inhibit the Development of Civil Society? A Comparative Study of China and the USA. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*. 29 (5), 925–937. doi: 10.1007/s11266-018-9952-7.

Zeh, R. & Hopmann, D.N. (2013) Effects of mediatization? Two decades of televised election campaign coverage. *European Journal of Communication*. 28 (3), 225–240. doi:10.1177/0267323113475409.

Zhang, Y. & Leung, L. (2015) A review of social networking service (SNS) research in communication journals from 2006 to 2011. *New Media & Society*. 17 (7), 1007–1024. doi:10.1177/1461444813520477.

Zorn, T.E., Flanagin, A.J. & Shoham, M.D. (2011) Institutional and Noninstitutional Influences on Information and Communication Technology Adoption and Use Among Nonprofit Organizations. *Human Communication Research*. 37 (1), 1–33. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2958.2010.01387.x.

Zorn, T.E., Grant, S. & Henderson, A. (2013) Strengthening Resource Mobilization Chains: Developing the Social Media Competencies of Community and Voluntary Organizations in New Zealand. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*. 24 (3), 666–687. doi:10.1007/s11266-012-9265-1.

Zuckerman, E. (2013) *Rewire: digital cosmopolitans in the age of connection*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.

Zunz, O. (2014) *Philanthropy in America : A history*. Politics and society in twentieth-century America. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.