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Roles, decision-making, and access to the dominant coalition: The practice of public relations in Canada

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores perceptions of public relations roles and influence among senior communication managers in Canada. Findings suggest that practitioners are optimistic about their status and location within their organizations. However, they report less confidence in the influence they can exert on financial decisions that contribute to the organizational bottom line. Findings indicate this may result from several factors, including the gendered nature of the public relations profession as well as a lack of follow-through on evaluation and measurement of communication programs.

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his paper explores perceptions of public relations roles and influence among senior communication managers in Canada. Through an analysis of practitioner beliefs about their influence on organizational decision-making, this research offers insight into the effectiveness of public relations practice. Based on data gathered from senior Canadian public relations managers, we provide comparisons on core responsibilities, control of the communication function, and access to the dominant coalition across industry sectors. Drawing on national-level empirical data, these results contribute to the first Canadian edition of the GAP (Generally Accepted Practices) study run biannually from the University of Southern California in conjunction with the Global Alliance, International Association of Business Communicators (IABC), and other American partners. In 2014, the eighth GAP study (GAP VIII) included international partners for the first time and collected data from Canada, Australia,

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New Zealand, South Africa, Brazil, and the United States of America. The Canadian Public Relations Society (CPRS), the Communication + Public Relations Foundation, and the Global Alliance partnered with an academic research team from Mount Saint Vincent University in Halifax to conduct the Canadian arm of the study, the results of which are presented in this paper.

Analysis of survey data indicates that Canadian public relations practitioners are optimistic about their status and location within their organizations. At the same time, they are less confident of their influence with regard to financial decisions. Senior public relations practitioners report less confidence in influence they are able to exert on organizational financial decision-making or decisions that contribute to the organizations' bottom line. Research findings in this area indicate that this may result as much from a lack of follow through on public relations evaluation and measurement as a lack of access to decision making.

Findings also highlight the continued presence of a gender wage gap in the public relations industry with regard to compensation. Respondents confirmed the gendered nature of the organization in terms of female employment. However, results also indicated that wages differ for women and men in similar roles. In terms of core responsibilities, issues of turf did emerge, as practitioners continue to struggle to define their areas of control within organizations. However, data indicate a very clear role and responsibility for public relations professionals with regard to social media. In other jurisdictions, responsibility may be shared with departments such as marketing or sales, but in the Canadian context, social media is firmly in the domain of the public relations department. That said, data indicate that the main focus of social media responsibilities is around control of messaging, not necessarily fostering of two-way communication or strategic integration of this tool into broader communication planning.

Literature review

Access to the dominant coalition

Over the past three decades, guided by findings of the Excellence Study (J.E. Grunig, 1992), public relations scholars have emphasized the importance of locating public relations within the dominant coalition of an organization (Berger, 2005; Bowen, 2015; Broom & Dozier, 1986; Grunig & Hunt, 1984; L. A.

Grunig, 1992; Plowman, 1998). Without a strategic focus within organizational decision making, public relations practitioners are relegated to the role of fire-fighters or promoters with no long term impact on stakeholder relationships and strategic communication planning. As Larissa Grunig (1992) points out,

The power-control perspective says that organizations do what they do because the people with the most power in the organization – the dominant coalition- decide to do it that way... Public Relations has a better chance of being excellent, it follows, if the senior communication manager is a member of that coalition. (p. 483)

More recent work in public relations literature acknowledges that earlier understandings of power and access to power are not fully conceptualized. In the critical literature, views of power are more explicit, but the focus remains mostly structural in nature (Edwards, 2006). There has also been criticism of the call for increased access to the dominant coalition from scholars who contend that public relations should be removed from organizational decision-making so that public relations practitioners can be activist voices for less powerful publics (l'Etang & Pieczka, 1996; Holtzhausen & Voto, 2002).

However, the excellence perspective is still maintained within the profession as the gold-standard of practice. Excellence theory explicitly states among its principles of excellent public relations practice that

- 1. public relations must be involved in the organization at a level of strategic management and
- 2. public relations must be empowered in the dominant coalition or a direct reporting relationship to senior management (J.E. Grunig,1992).

Grunig (2006) himself has responded to these criticisms as reflecting an "incorrect interpretation of the excellence theory and of the concept of a dominant coalition" (p.164).

Public relations as a gendered profession

Women working in the public relations field in Canada face challenges similar to those of their counterparts in other areas around the world (Grunig, Hon, & Toth, 2013). They experience inequality through wage disparity, constrained decision-making power, and restricted access to the dominant co-

alitions (J. E. Grunig, 1992) in their organizations (Thurlow, 2009). Although women represent over 75% of employees in the public relations field worldwide (Melgin, 2013), there is relatively little research available on the gendered nature of the profession. And yet, as Daymon & Demetrious (2010, p. 1) point out, "It is impossible to understand adequately the social construction of public relations without closely examining its gendered nature."

Canadian data on gender in the public relations field look very similar to the world-wide representations. The gender wage gap persists, and although more women are entering the profession, there remains limited access for this group in the dominant coalition (Grunig, Hon, & Toth, 2013). Although they make up the majority of practitioners worldwide, women fill only 20 percent of the top leadership roles in major agencies (Aldoory, 2005). Essentially, the glass ceiling remains.

Mainstream public relations literature is in large part concerned with issues of access for women and for increasing leadership potential of women within the dominant coalition (see Aldoory, 2003, 2005; Aldoory & Toth, 2002; L.A. Gurnig et al., 2001). Concerns with the "feminization" of the profession have introduced literature both critical of the over-representation of women in the field and the impact of traditionally women's issues, such as work-life balance (Buzzanell et. al, 1997; Kirby, 2000; Mallia & Ferris, 2000; Rakow, 1989). Although there is a small but important body of feminist scholarship that problematizes gender in public relations (Daymon & Demetrious, 2010, 2013), it continues to be a relatively under-conceptualized area of study.

The social media domain

Responsibility for social media has emerged as a growing area for public relations practitioners globally. There is also evidence to indicate that practitioners who have acquired this responsibility have greater access to organizational power and decision-making (Diga & Kelleher, 2009). In their longitudinal study of social media use among American public relations practitioners, Wright and Hinson (2013) showed that the adoption and diffusion of social media practices are increasing steadily. Over 30 percent of respondents in that study spent more than a quarter of their workday with new media. In a previous study, Taylor and Kent (2010) noted that practitioners' ability to navigate the digital and social media evolution is one of the top challenges of contemporary practice. But as early as 2004, Sallot, Porter, and Acosta-Alzuru found that public relations practitioners perceived that their use of the internet and

social media had elevated their status in organizations. Further research indicated that practitioners "who were more frequent users of social network sites and social media tools reported greater perceptions of their own structural, expert and prestige power" (Diga & Kelleher, 2009, p. 440).

More recently, Swerling, Thorson, and Zerfass (2014) have identified differences in the adoption of social media practices among American and European public relations practitioners;

American respondents are nearly 20 points higher than their European colleagues in the degree of use of Facebook and Twitter to communicate with external publics, and 15 points higher in use of blogs. We see fewer differences in use of other tools – it is remarkable to see nearly half of all respondents are responsible for video sharing practices, for example, and nearly 20 percent have begun substantial implementations of location-based services. (p. 12)

At the same time, emergent research on the complexity and related challenges of social media usage for public relations practitioners (i.e., Valentini, 2014) has questioned the appropriateness of this format for public relations communicators, as well as the preparedness of the profession for this transformation.

Methodology

We explore the above identified aspects of access to the dominant coalition using descriptive data analysis accrued through the administration of the GAP (VIII) Canada Study. The GAP (VIII) Canada study (Thurlow, Kushniryk, Blotnicky, & Yue, 2014) is an online survey of senior-level PR practitioners from across Canada gathered in the winter of 2013/14. The sample frame for the study was identified from contact lists of the two leading professional public relations and communication management organizations in Canada (CPRS and IABC). This list was expanded through a variety of sampling methods, including snowball, purposive, and maximum variation methods via social media networks.

As a result of this expanded outreach, we received a total of 197 surveys by March 2014. Of these, 131 surveys were complete, and nine of these were not qualified, because they were not from Senior Communication professionals. The final sample of 122 respondents included only those who were the most permeaster.

senior communication professional in their organizations or who reported directly to the most senior communication professional. Those included in the sample represented a diverse cross-section of Canadian PR practice. The majority of respondents worked in non-profit (24%) or government departments and agencies (22%). Respondents from private companies represented 16% of the sample, with a further 12% coming from publicly traded companies. The majority of respondents to the survey were women (72%). Most respondents were between the ages of 31 and 50 years (59%). Most of those responding to the survey had completed a university degree (67%). Thirty percent had also completed graduate school or higher. Most had a college or university degree in the public relations area (41%), followed by journalism (16%) and communications (13%). Overall, 68% of respondents had completed specialized education in public relations or communication management. Just over 96% of respondents reported that their organization was located in Canada and that their primary responsibilities for public relations and communication were focused in Canada.

The design of the survey deployed was intended to allow for eventual comparisons with PR practices in other countries. The descriptive data reported above and in later parts of this paper are some of the results of the first ever comprehensive survey reporting on the perceptions of senior level PR managers in Canada. While self-report survey data may be seen as flawed in some respects, the production of a baseline of descriptives from which both longitudinal and cross cultural comparisons may be made is nevertheless valuable.

Findings

Access to the dominant coalition and organizational decision-making

We asked respondents to consider their organizational structure and tell us how they report to various functions within the organization. The majority of respondents reported directly to the CEO/President of their organizations (73%). However, this relationship was more common in government or agency workplaces (89%), associations (80%), and non-profit organizations (75%) than it was in private industry. Only sixty percent (60%) of respondents reported directly to their chief executives for publicly traded companies and private organizations.

Most respondents stated that the direct reporting relationship for the senior public relations manager was to the CEO/President (90%). However, the frequency of direct reporting varied by department. Sales and investor operations departments had the lowest percentage of direct reporting from the public relations function, at 5% and 6% respectively. This was followed by legal, human resources, and finance department direct reporting at 11% each. Apart from the C-Suite reporting rate of 90%, the department percentages for direct reports were marketing (26%), strategic planning (24%), operating units (18%), and region (14%).

Most respondents felt that the reporting lines in their organization were appropriate (76%). Ratings on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) revealed that those employed in government or agencies were most satisfied, with an average scale rating of 6.23 (SD=1.21), while those in privately held firms were the least satisfied, with an average scale rating of 4.45 (SD=2.42). The overall average rating for satisfaction with reporting lines was 5.45 (SD=2.01).

Core decision-making areas emerging from the survey were determining communications goals or the organization or unit (93%), counseling key executives on communications issues (chairperson, CEO, CFO, partners) (89%), managing relationships with agencies (83%), and developing communication strategy (81%). These core areas of focus accounted for over 80% of the responsibilities of survey respondents in 2013. Seventy-nine percent (79%) of respondents also provided guidance and input regarding organizational strategy.

The gender wage gap

Salaries for the PR/COMM function ranged from \$30,000 to \$350,000 (Cdn). The overall average salary (plus bonus) was \$105,000 (SD=67,600). Salaries differed depending on the type of organization in which the respondent worked. The highest average salary was \$145,000 for publicly traded firms. This was followed by an average salary of \$130,000 in private firms and \$117,000 for organizations in the category "other". The lowest salaries were for respondents working for government (\$90,000), associations (\$99,000), or non-profit agencies (\$61,000).

There were some apparent differences in salary levels between male and female respondents. Women earned an average salary of \$95,600 (SD=\$61,500), although their salaries ranged from \$30,000 to \$350,000. Salaries for men ranged from \$30,000 to \$325,000 annually, with an average of

\$127,500 (SD=\$77,000). The largest difference in salaries for men and women was in private firms, where men earned an average salary of \$179,000 compared to a female average salary of \$97,000. The greatest difference between male and female salaries was between those holding the most senior post in their organizations. When considering position, top-ranked male salaries averaged \$163,500 (SD=\$92,700) and top-ranked female salaries averaged \$107,000 (SD=\$72,000).

The highest numbers of female respondents were employed in non-profit agencies (28%) and government/department or agencies (27%), while the highest number of male respondents were employed in private companies (26%) and in category "other" (32%). Only 13% of females worked in private companies. Thirteen percent of males worked in government and 10% of the males worked in non-profit agencies.

Slightly more female than male respondents (59% vs 52%) held the most senior communications position in their organizations. There was little difference in the percentage of male and female respondents who reported directly to the most senior communications professional but who also had significant management responsibility: 21% and 23% respectively. There were also similar numbers of men and women who were communication professionals reporting to senior communication executives: 15% for women and 13% for men.

There were interesting educational trends among respondents. Most of the respondents had post-secondary education. However, one respondent (a male) held a senior position and was the highest paid despite holding only a high school diploma. Sixty-eight percent of both men and women had a college or university credential. However, more women had graduate/post-graduate credentials (32% vs 23%). Not all practitioners (only 62%) had post-secondary studies in the public relations/communication field. However, more women than men did (75% vs. 51%). Also, 17% of women had a college degree in business administration, while none of the men did.

The average salary for male college/university graduates was significantly higher than for their female counterparts. Men's average salary is \$113,000 per year (SD=59,000; Min=\$30,000; Max=\$230,000), compared to women's salary of \$85,000 per year (SD=39,000; Min=\$30,000; Max=\$200,000). Male PR professionals with postgraduate/graduate school degrees on average earn \$138,000 per year (SD=\$105,000; Min=\$82,000; Max=\$325,000). Similarly, female college/university graduates make on average \$110,000 per year (SD=83,000; Min=\$41,000; Max=\$350,000).

Social media policy versus plan

Four core budgetary responsibilities were identified by study respondents as media relations (95.9% of respondents reported this function), corporate communication/reputation (86.9%), social media participation (84.4%), and social media monitoring (83.6%). This indication that social media was reflected as central to the work of public relations departments was further supported by responses to follow-up questions regarding social media measurement. In that case, 77.9% of respondents indicated that they were responsible for social media measurement and evaluation for their organizations.

Furthermore, practitioners reported that they were, in the majority of cases, solely responsible or able to exert nearly complete control over organizational social media activities. Additionally, participants indicated that the most valuable tool for measurement and evaluation in all of the organizations surveyed was social or online media, with social media use averaging 5.06 (SD=1.9) on a scale ranging from 1 (no usage) to 7 (extensive usage).

Survey respondents provided feedback on the use of digital media and social tools. Media use was rated on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (no usage) to 7 (extensive usage). The most popular medium overall was Twitter (M=5.66, SD=1.79). Also, creating content to be spread via social media was the most widely used technique (M=5.3, SD=1.79). Twitter was followed by Facebook (M=4.72, SD=1.81), YouTube (M=4.22, SD=2.19), and LinkedIn (M=3.79, SD=2.21). There were also differences in how social media were used by type of organization. Facebook was used most often in non-profit organizations (M=5.75, SD=2.14), as was Twitter (M=6.29, SD=1.08). YouTube was used heavily across most organizations, with the exception of publicly traded companies (M=3.15, SD 2.58). YouTube was more heavily used by government departments or agencies than in other organizations (M=4.31, 2.15), and LinkedIn was used more by private companies (M=4.7, SD=2.23).

Respondents reported that involvement with social media accounted for 23% of their overall work. Eleven percent of work in publicly traded firms involved social media, compared to 31% in non-profits, which recorded the highest extent of social media involvement. There was also an indication that practitioners expected this rate of involvement to increase over the coming year. Interestingly, the survey results further pointed out that although only 62% of PR departments/organizations had a formal written social media pol-

icy in place, 80% of associations, 72% of government agencies or departments, and 67% of private companies had a formal written social media policy. Non-profit organizations were less likely to have a formal written social media policy in place (48%) despite their relatively heavy use of such media. Sixty-four percent of publicly traded firms had such a policy even though their media use was less social-media intensive than that of other organizations.

Similar results were revealed for whether or not a formal written social media strategy was used. Respondents reported that 53% of all organizations surveyed already had a social media strategy, and 36% planned to adopt one. However, the use of such strategies varied by type of organization. Just over half of all non-profit organizations had such a strategy despite their reliance on social media. Sixty-seven percent of private firms and 64% of government departments or agencies had such strategies, compared to 50% of associations and 36% of publicly traded firms.

Organizational motivation to formalize the treatment of social media is likely powered by concerns over its potential use. Less than one-fifth of respondents indicated they had no concerns at all about using social media. Others indicated that their most pressing concerns were connected to the potential for diminished reputation due to poor or inaccurate content, the loss of control over content, and the potential to become victimized by negative or critical comments.

The GAP (VIII) Canada survey asked questions related to the understanding of the role of social media in the public relations function. Respondents used social media to engage the public in a "conversation" (M=5.38, SD=1.91). It was used far less frequently to organize online events (M=3.93, SD=2.24), and most did not believe that social media was pervasive in terms of technical support, internal communications, management, or customer support/relations functions (3.74, SD=2.09).

Earlier results reported that the most extensive use of social media was among non-profit organizations, and the least extensive use was among publicly traded companies. This trend continued in terms of the role of social media in the public relations function. Non-profit respondents were more likely to indicate that they used social media to engage the public dialogue (M=6.35, SD=1.12), while publicly traded companies were the least likely to agree (M=4.33, SD=2.35). This trend continued for the other statements relat-

ing to social media use. More non-profit respondents agreed that they used social media to organize online events with stakeholders (M=4.54, SD=2.15), and fewer publicly traded companies agreed least often with the statement (M=2.92, SD=2.19). Also, non-profits were more likely to agree that social media pervaded every aspect of their business (M=4.04, SD=2.14) than publicly traded firms (M=2.83, SD=2.443). In summary, responsibility for and application of social media programs within organizations in Canada looks somewhat different by sector. Overall, non-profit organizations are heavily engaged in social media but lack a comprehensive plan to manage it. Government organizations appear to be far better organized for social media use.

Discussion and conclusions

Summary

Overall, Canadian public relations practitioners have reported higher rates of access to the dominant coalition than their international counterparts (i.e., as reported in Swerling et al., 2014). They also appear to reflect optimism about their impact on organizational decision making and suggest that they have control over core responsibilities for growing areas of organizational communication, most notably social media. Insights from the GAP (VIII) Canada study indicate that the decision-making areas for core responsibilities differed based on the type of organization in which respondents were employed. Those working for private companies and associations had authority for planning and budgeting. Those working in associations also dealt with public relations agencies and change management. Those employed by government or agencies had core decision-making authority over creating and implementing crisis response strategies.

The study further reveals that women in public relations and communication management in Canada are very well qualified and work more frequently in non-profit organizations and government departments/agencies. However, they are paid less than their male counterparts. The persistence of this glass ceiling for women in public relations requires further research in the Canadian context and reflects the fact that, although women are reporting increased access to and entry into the dominant coalition, they are not recognized and compensated in a manner equivalent to their male counterparts.

This paper has indicated that responsibility for and use of social media jpc.mcmaster.ca

among public relations professionals is a growing and important area. This is reflected as an emerging area of core competency. Moreover, it mirrors the connection between responsibility for social media and increased empowerment and decision making within the organization. This area of research is timely and important for a deeper understanding of trends in the evolution of public relations as a key area of organizational influence.

Contributions to scholarship

Notions of access to the dominant coalition are reflected in the ubiquitous plan, act, and then evaluate model of modern strategic management theory. Presumably, if public relations is understood as a core strategic management function, then there would be evidence of direct line reporting within the organizational structure to demonstrate this. Our data show strong connections in terms of direct line reportage of PR to the CEO function of the organization but, taken on the whole, relatively few direct report relationships with other organizational functions. Indeed, the low reported levels of direct line reportage to finance, HR, legal, and investor relations functions might be understood as a comparative isolation of the PR function. This is of note both in organizations that use a prototypical executive suite model of decision making as well as decentralized "flattened" organizations in which matrix models of management require greater interdependence of organizational functions. In short, direct reportage to the CEO does not necessarily provide evidence of meaningful access to the dominant coalition in an organization.

Moreover, individuals who are in some way marginalized in comparison with other groups, functions, and professions within an organization might be inferred to have less influence within the dominant collation. This is effectively an in-group/out-group social psychological perspective regarding both affinity for and influence over the dominant coalition. Recall the GAP (VIII) Canada project surveyed senior public relations practitioners and thus could be argued to be an insight into those closest to membership within the dominant coalition itself. Our data show a distinct significant wage gap between women and men practicing as senior PR practitioners. Given the relative dearth of females occupying C-suite roles and the preponderance of women in PR and communication function roles, this wage gap forces the consideration that the female embodied individuals who are senior PR practitioners are both very close to the dominant coalition and yet are simultaneously marginalized vis-à-vis compensation. Put more simply, having access to the dominant coali-

tion while simultaneously being seen as less valuable organizational members speaks to relatively little opportunity for meaningful influence.

The contributions of this study to scholarship are two-fold. First, this research provides the first national level empirical research on generally accepted practices within the public relations field in Canada. This offers an important building block for future research, comparative analyses, and the evaluation of emerging trends in the field. Second, this research contributes to a call for further research on the gendered nature of the public relations discipline and the corresponding implications for organizational power and influence. In addition, this national level research into other dimensions of public relations practice in terms of measurement and evaluation, social media usage, and core responsibilities within the field contributes to the call for research on public relations practices from varied national and global perspectives.

Applied implications

This research has implications that may support managers in developing strategy around generally accepted practices in public relations. Study findings suggest some immediate areas for improvement within current practice, most notably the need for more attention to measurement and evaluation of public relations programs. Likewise, insight into the impact of social media as an area of core responsibility for the public relations function in organizations indicates that the tension between social media planning and social media control are forefront for senior communication managers and members of the dominant coalition.

Limitations of the study

This research presents certain limits with regard to the sample frame and use of descriptive data. One such limitation is the use of a snowball participant recruitment method, which prevents the authors from reporting a survey response rate. However, this is of relatively little import given that our sample frame uses professional association contact lists as a proxy for employment in the PR profession. Indeed, practitioners may practice without necessitating membership in either the CPRS or IABC organizations. However, given that the mandate of the GAP (VIII) Canada study is to survey senior level PR prac-

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titioners, these constraints are less vexing.

Another limitation is the nature of this research as the first of its kind with regard to national level data on the Canadian public relations experience. The absence of comparative data limits the conclusions that may be drawn regarding growth, trends, and developments within the field.

Future research

This is first study of Canadian practices in public relations, and it provides some important benchmark data on which to build, but future research is required to establish trends over time in this area. Repetition of the survey tool on a biannual basis, corresponding to the American and international GAP surveys, will allow for over-time comparisons between the Canadian and global PR experiences.

The scope of this research has focused on findings from senior level PR managers in Canadian organizations. Future research is required to expand this investigation to a broader survey of public relations practitioners at all levels of the organization. This data would offer a more nuanced picture of the public relations function within organizations and provide insight into questions raised about the value of public relations in this study.

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