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# Digital Public Spheres: The Role of Media and Other Touchpoints in Shaping Swiss Church Reputations

**Abstract:** Although public image and public (online) discourses are crucial for the legitimacy of churches, little is known about the configuration of the reputations of religions and their actors, especially religious organizations such as churches, in Swiss society, despite the declining number of church members. Therefore, this project is intended to investigate reputational touchpoints, either online or offline, and depict the public image of churches in Switzerland. The data, which are based on three representative online surveys, reveal surprising findings, such as that journalistic online media are more important in shaping the reputation of Christian churches than social media. However, the most important factors in reputation building are interpersonal communication and personal experience. Our contribution shows that even in the digital era, non-digital sources and touchpoints remain important for the communicative construction of religious actors.

Obwohl das öffentliche Image und der öffentliche (Online-)Diskurs für die Legitimität der Kirchen von zentraler Bedeutung sind, ist trotz sinkender Mitgliederzahlen wenig darüber bekannt, wie sich die Reputation von Religionen und ihren Akteuren, insbesondere von religiösen Organisationen wie den Kirchen, in der Schweizer Gesellschaft gestaltet. Das Projekt sucht deshalb nach Antworten auf Fragen zu Berührungspunkten, online und offline, um ein Bild des öffentlichen Images der Kirchen in der Schweiz zu zeichnen. Die Daten aus drei repräsentativen Online-Befragungen zeigen dabei überraschende Ergebnisse, etwa, dass journalistische Online-Medien für die Reputation der christlichen Kirchen wichtiger sind als Social Media. Die wichtigsten Faktoren für die Reputationsbildung bleiben jedoch die interpersonale Kommunikation und das persönliche Erleben. In Summe zeigt unser Beitrag, dass auch in der digitalen Ära nicht-digitale Quellen und touchpoints wichtig bleiben für kommunikative Konstruktion religiöser Akteure.

## 1 Introduction

Despite societal changes, such as secularization, religion remains an important issue in public discourses (Cohen 2023; Hidalgo 2018). In most Western coun-

tries, such as Switzerland, religious traditions and their actors are frequently visible within the public sphere (Offerhaus 2023; Wyss and Keel 2009), first and foremost via the professional online news media. Furthermore, the hybrid media environment (Chadwick 2017) strengthens the impact and role of social media platforms, such as X (Twitter), YouTube, and Instagram, regarding the public sphere, as well as the public image of religion (Stahel 2021; Sumiala et al. 2023). This is especially crucial because reputation and image are configured and distributed in the public sphere. Therefore, within a democracy, we cannot examine digital religion(s) without considering the public spheres, which are based on digital media too. The defining characteristic of public spheres is the inherent openness of their audience: participants do not know the size or exact makeup of the audience (i.e., how many people are present, listening, watching, or reading). Unknown third parties may be actively or passively participating in a specific communication situation. In the digital age, the potential for communication situations to become public or for an expansion of the audience for a given situation, has increased dramatically (Eisenegger and Schäfer 2023). Such public spheres define how religions and their organizations are perceived and evaluated, as well as how legitimate or illegitimate they appear. Thus, the reputation of a societal actor (a person, an organization, or an institution) results from a public assessment of criteria such as performance, social responsibility, and the power of identification (Eisenegger and Schranz 2015).

However, little is known about the reputational configuration of religions and their actors, especially religious organizations, such as churches, within Swiss society, despite the declining numbers of church members. We understand “reputational configuration” as referring to the specific touchpoints via which reputation perceptions are formed, such as sources, themes, and actors, and the differences that emerge between various user groups in this process. In the context of the increasing number of people who do not belong to any religious denomination (BfS 2022), we do not know where people get in touch with religion and what topics and actors are prevalent at these points of contact. Considering a journey composed of touchpoints contextualized by topics and actors will help us understand how religions are negotiated in the Swiss digital public sphere. Furthermore, it will support the premise that traditional and public media discourse are strongly intertwined with religious transformation, such as digital religion(s) (Offerhaus 2023). Therefore, in this chapter, we ask the following question: *How do digital and societal changes influence the communicative descriptions and, thus, the reputation of Christian organizations via legacy and social media?*

## 2 Theoretical Framework

The reputation formation processes of organizations and actors, including religious ones, are strongly influenced by mediated communication via either traditional or social media (Carroll and McCombs 2003; Deephouse 2000; Einwiller et al. 2010). Media salience and thematic focus impact public perceptions of the importance of issues (Eisenegger 2005; Eisenegger et al. 2010; Soukup 2019). Religions, their organizations, and their exponents, especially the Roman Catholic Church, are frequent subjects of media coverage, often being tied to societal conflicts or scandals (Cohen 2023; Offerhaus 2023).

The news value of religions in general and churches in particular is derived from conflicts or problematic interfaces with other areas of society, such as politics, business, or law, as well as an emphasis on emotionality, personalization, proximity, or negativity regarding religious topics (Dahinden and Wyss 2009; Koch 2009; Soukup 2019). Scandals significantly affect public perceptions (Ahrens 2022; Krebber and Wiesenberg 2015; Winter-Pfändler 2022), and media consumption habits shape how people perceive churches (Schwaiger et al. 2020). On the other hand, digitalization processes and the increasing importance of social media facilitate the creation and expansion of public spheres. As a result, the public space is formed in a more bottom-up manner, as the traditional gatekeeping role of journalists is less dominant, enabling a wider range of voices to reach a broader audience. Platforms such as Twitter, now X, have been recognized as channels for public discourse (Bruns and Highfield 2015; Stahel 2021). This highlights the fact that not only traditional media but also broader discussions on social media shape opinions (Bruns and Highfield 2015), with traditional media and social media influencing one another in hybrid media environments (Chadwick 2017).

Consequently, the media and public spheres play a pivotal role in shaping people's opinions on and images of religions and their actors, such as churches. Negative media coverage, such as coverage of financial misconduct, sexual abuse scandals, or discriminatory views, can severely harm their reputations, as people feel alienated by the behavior (Portmann and Plüss 2011; Wäckerlig et al. 2022). However, studies emphasize that personal experiences and those of close peers are vital in reputation judgments, though media portrayals can influence these perceptions as well (Ebertz 2013; Klingenberg and Sjö 2019). Thus, asking where the media and non-media touchpoints are that shape the reputations of social actors such as churches is crucial in a project in which media is not only viewed as a mirror of religions' images and stereotypes but also a starting point for the development and transformation of religions and their actors (Offerhaus 2023).

## 2.1 Theoretical Background

Before we consider the relevant touchpoints in reputation formation processes, we must first clarify why we have chosen to investigate reputation (Barnett et al. 2006; Lange et al. 2011; Veh et al. 2019). The “why” is explained by the fact that a good reputation enhances and legitimizes the power of the actor and helps relieve the constant need to defend its position in society (Eisenegger 2005; Eisenegger and Imhof 2009). Most conceptions of reputation, therefore, emphasize that it both depends on and simultaneously shapes abstract ideas, beliefs, and associations within an organization’s environment or audience. Essentially, it refers to the perceptions and knowledge surrounding an organization (Barnett et al. 2006; Meirinhos et al. 2022; Mitchell and Stroup 2017; Santos et al. 2020; Veh et al. 2019). Organizational reputation reflects how stakeholders and the public perceive and recognize an organization. It is shaped by communication about past and future achievements and strengthens an organization’s resilience in the face of threats to its legitimacy and existence (Eisenegger 2005; Fombrun 1998; Vogler et al. 2016; Zavyalova et al. 2016).

Thus, the core elements of organizational reputation are the strategic messages about its vision, goals, and identity, which shape its image over time (Barnett et al. 2006; Meirinhos et al. 2022). Therefore, reputation is an essential attribute of all types of organizations, even though it has been primarily associated with companies in the past. Today, it has been recognized that all collective and individual actors, religious actors included, depend on reputation (Eisenegger and Imhof 2009; Finke and Stark 2004; Lipford 1992; Mitchell and Stroup 2017; Ravasi et al. 2018). One central aspect of reputation is the actor’s environment (Luoma-aho 2008; Meyer and Bromley 2013; Meyer and Rowan 1977). Collective or individual actors that contribute to an organization’s resources and influence its existence, which are called stakeholders, are considered significant within its environment (see Müller and Friemel in this volume). At the same time, the organization impacts these stakeholders through its offerings or services (Luoma-aho 2008). In the case of churches, current and potential members are regarded as the main stakeholders. However, in a democratic society, the broader public is also a stakeholder, as political decisions and moral judgments, such as those regarding scandals, can influence or even threaten a religious organization’s existence or operational scope. This is particularly true in contexts in which a corporate state-church model exists, such as Switzerland, in which certain aspects of churches are still regulated by the state or cantons (Pahud de Mortanges 2014). The division of stakeholders into narrower or broader groups raises the question of which sources or touchpoints play key roles in shaping churches’ reputations. While members and, sometimes, non-members have direct experiences with churches,

the broader public often learn about such organizations only through the media (Ebertz 2013; Klingenberg and Sjö 2019) and base their views on word of mouth and, importantly, media portrayals (Carroll and McCombs 2003).

## 2.2 A Three-Dimensional Perspective on Reputation

Our primary theoretical approach in the past four years of the research program was a three-dimensional perspective on reputation based on the work of Eisenegger (2005) and Habermas's three-world concept (1984). We divide reputation into three dimensions: functional reputation, social reputation, and expressive reputation. Each dimension has its own core purpose and operationalization; however, they also influence one another.

First, functional reputation reflects the public's assessment of an organization's performance in terms of fulfilling its intended purpose. For religious organizations, this includes "offering religion," which is their unique function (Finke and Stark 2004; Iannaccone et al. 1995). Additionally, churches play broader roles, such as integrating individuals into the community, providing care, and offering rituals for various life stages (Nagel 2015; Winter-Pfändler 2015). Second, social reputation refers to how well an organization adheres to prevailing societal values and norms. Churches, for example, are expected to contribute to social welfare and oppose injustice (Stolz 2013; Wäckerlig et al. 2022). Third, the emotional dimension of reputation, the expressive, encompassing an organization's perceived attractiveness and authenticity, develops in conjunction with its functional and social reputations. What is important here is the emotional power of identification emanating from an actor, as well as how authentic and credible they are perceived to be. Studies have highlighted the fact that people increasingly value authenticity in religious organizations (Packard and Ferguson 2019). A church's attractiveness is based on its ability to fulfill its purpose and act with moral integrity (Eisenegger and Imhof 2009).

## 3 Samples and Method

In our research project, we use not only a multidisciplinary theoretical approach but also various methodological approaches to investigate the reputational configuration and touchpoints of churches in Swiss society and complete a multiverse perspective on religious reporting in traditional online media and religious discourse in social media. However, the results presented in this chapter are based

on data derived from four online surveys conducted in the Swiss population via Intervista in April 2022, April 2023, and May 2024. For all surveys, a representative sample of people between 18 and 74 years of age was chosen, resulting in a sample size of  $n = 1,221$  (2022),  $n = 1,223$  (2023), and  $n = 1,200$  (2024). The questionnaire included various thematic blocks, such as sociodemographic factors, church socialization and leaving tendencies, religiosity, spirituality, religious affiliation (*“What is your religious affiliation?” The options were as follows: “Roman Catholic Church, Protestant Reformed Church, Orthodox Church, Free Church, other Christian church or community, Muslim community or community derived from Islam, Jewish community, Hindu association, Buddhist association, other religious affiliation, and no religious affiliation”*), media usage, and the churches’ perceived reputation. In 2024, we extended the questionnaire regarding thematic blocks and actors associated with churches in media (social media or traditional online media). We examined the correlations between the variables through multiple regression analyses. The questions about the Roman Catholic Church and Protestant Reformed Church were mandatory for all participants. The question about a third type of church, either evangelical churches (e.g., free churches) or orthodox churches, was selected depending on the respondent’s level of knowledge about various types of churches. To specify what we meant by the third type of church, we did not use specific examples (ICF, Pentecostal, Greek Orthodox, or Serbian Orthodox) but, rather, the following descriptions: *“Free churches are Protestant churches that set themselves apart from the state churches or national churches. In this sense, they are characterized by organizational independence and their own theological ideas . . . Orthodox churches are pre-Reformation churches. The collective term “Eastern Church” is used to describe various Orthodox churches that go back to the so-called Byzantine rite.”* Therefore, participants were free to determine for themselves what churches were evangelical or Orthodox.

The dependent variable – reputation – is measured using an index comprising 21 items. There are seven items for each of the three reputation dimensions, and they are scored on a 7-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, and 7 = strongly agree). These items were mainly operationalized based on indicators derived from Winter-Pfändler (2015). The participants were asked about functional reputation to evaluate the churches’ function of integrating people, giving them a spiritual/religious home, offering spiritual care, or engaging in charitable work. Regarding social reputation, participants had to evaluate the churches at the intersection with other social systems, such as obeying legal standards and participating in relevant societal, political, and ecological debates and activities. To evaluate the emotional and identificatory quality of the churches, the participants had to answer questions about their emotional, expressive reputations.

To measure people's touchpoints regarding the churches, we included several questions about information sources in the surveys from 2022–2024, the actors from whom they receive their information about churches, and perceived themes regarding churches (2024 survey). Therefore, we asked about the sources using the following question: "What are your assessments of the churches based on?" Regarding the actors, we asked, "*Where do the content, information and opinions that you see in the media come from when it comes to [church]?*" Regarding the themes, we asked, "*In connection with which topics do you perceive [church] to be represented in the media?*"

For this chapter, to reveal the reputations of churches, we performed a mean comparison of each reputational dimension for each church. Each reputational dimension was measured using a Likert-type scale from 1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree. The overall reputation is calculated as the mean of each reputation dimension. The results were then linearly transformed to a scale of -100 to +100:

$$y = \frac{(x - 4) * 100}{3}$$

Based on Eisenegger's formula (2005), the result can be interpreted as -100 to -25 = strongly negative, +25 to +100 = strongly positive, and -25 to 25 = slightly negative to neutral to slightly positive. We refer to the descriptive results to provide insights into the sources, actors, and themes.

## 4 Main Findings

Over the past four years, we have conducted various analyses, and we can summarize the results in the form of three key findings. First, we see a decline in the general reputation of all churches over the past three years (see Table 1). The Roman Catholic Church (RC) and the Evangelical Churches (ECs) have a significantly poorer reputations among the Swiss population than the Protestant Reformed Churches (PCs). However, the most negatively evaluated church are the Orthodox Churches (OCs), the general reputation of which is in constant decline (-21.02 in 2022, -25.99 in 2023, and -26.06 in 2024).

The most critical dimension of a church's reputation is the expressive one, which includes factors such as authenticity, inspiration, and respect. These factors heavily affect how the public evaluates churches. For example, the RC's expressive reputation scores from 2022 to 2024 are notably negative (-45.19 in 2022, -42.09 in 2023, and -44.04 in 2024). Similarly, the ECs saw an increase in negative expressive reputation scores from -49.77 in 2022 to -53.03 in 2024.

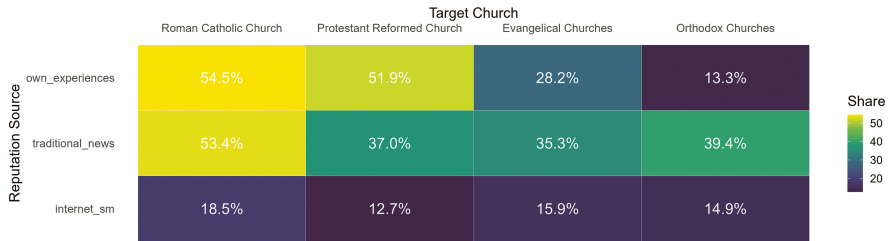
**Table 1:** Churches’ reputations from 2022 to 2024. For the dimensions: adjusted  $R^2 = 0.758$ ; t-tests for functional reputation (9.404), social reputation (27.156), and expressive reputation (54.236); significance of t-tests  $p < .00$  for all reputation dimensions.

Church	Year*	Functional reputation	Social Reputation	Expressive reputation	General Reputation	n
Roman Catholic	2022	8.47	-19.44	-45.19	-19.9	1,199
	2023	10.26	-18.74	-42.09	-18.37	1,207
	2024	5.03	-21.12	-44.04	-21.17	1,214
Protestant Reformed	2022	16.33	0.76	-28.55	-5.43	1,178
	2023	16.78	1.24	-27.9	-5.55	1,198
	2024	14	-0.47	-28.4	-6.91	1,199
Orthodox	2022	14.91	-29.88	-47.71	-21.92	572
	2023	14.98	-30.12	-50.51	-25.99	606
	2024	10.96	-29.6	-49.21	-26.06	631
Evangelicals	2022	15.99	-23.86	-49.77	-22.56	475
	2023	16.6	-22.86	-47.53	-20.66	479
	2024	13.37	-26.39	-53.03	-23.82	455

Secondly, the results for 2022–2024 show that most people rely primarily on journalistic online media when evaluating churches, with social media, including content received from various actors, not only churches’ own communications, playing a relatively minor role, influencing less than 20% of individuals (see Figure 1). Among the churches most prominent on social media are the RC (18.5%) and ECs (15.9%), indicating that these groups are more successful in leveraging digital platforms to shape their public image.

However, personal interactions and experiences remain the most important factors in building or damaging a church’s reputation. The OCs are primarily known through traditional media (on- and offline), with only 13.3% of the population having had personal experiences with them. This reliance on media reporting makes traditional outlets especially important in shaping the OCs’ reputation. In the case of the RC, 53.4% of people rely on traditional media combined with social media, making these channels the among most relevant sources of information, being second only to personal experiences. This heavy reliance on both forms of media highlights their important role in influencing the RC’s public image.





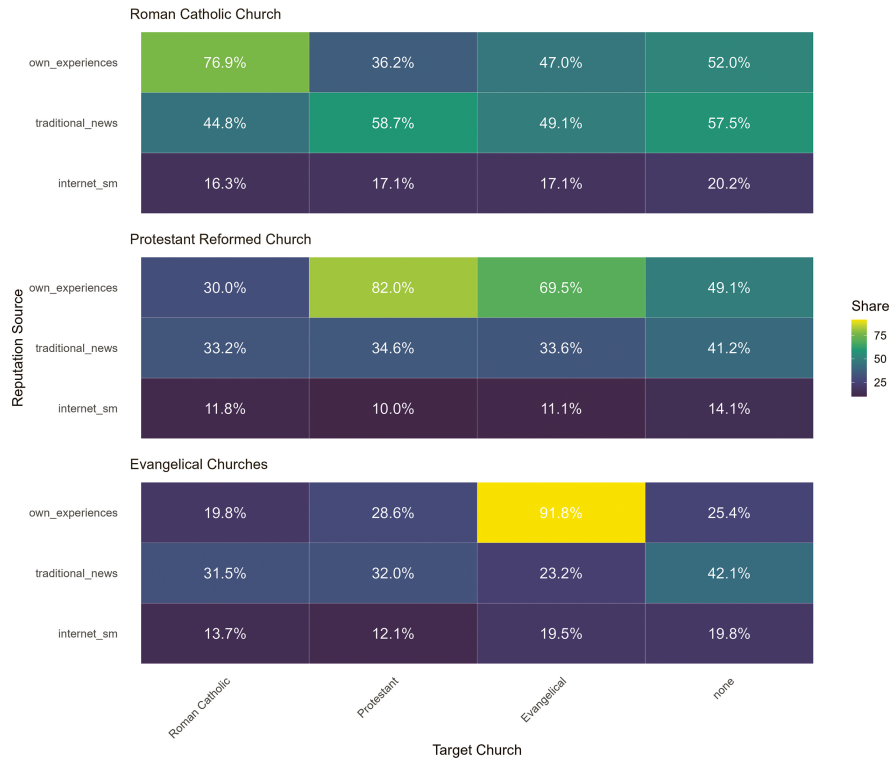
**Figure 1:** Reputational sources for churches 2022–2024.  $n = 1,221$  (2022),  $n = 1,223$  (2023), and  $n = 1,200$  (2024).

These results do not change when we take a closer look at the cohorts within the survey (see Figure 2).<sup>1</sup> For each church, personal experience remains the main reputational source for its own members (RC: 76.9%; PR: 82.0%; EC: 91.8%).

The traditional media is the main reputational source for non-members of the RC and ECs (RC: Protestant 58.7%, Evangelical 49.1%, and none 57.5%; EC: Catholic 31.5%, Protestant 32.0%, and none 42.1%). However, for the Protestant Church, for non-members, the main source is one's "own experience." Only for Catholics does the main source used to evaluate the Protestant Church remain "traditional media" (Evangelical: 69.5%, none: 49.1%, Catholic: 30.0% own experience but traditional media: 33.2%). These results may indicate a potentially close relationship (joint church services or other offerings, as well as postulating common values) between ECs and the PC and also some fluidity between the memberships of those churches (EVREF, 2024). Meanwhile, social media is mostly used by non-members as a reputational source for churches. (RC: 20.2%, PC: 14.1%; EC: 19.8%). This is a surprising finding and should be further discussed.

Third, the results of the latest survey, which was distributed in 2024, which focused on the actors perceived to be involved in distributing information or taking part in discourses on the themes surrounding churches, emphasize the pivotal role of journalists as touchpoints in shaping public opinion about churches (see Figure 3). This influence is particularly pronounced for the RC (29.60%), for which media outlets and journalists are the most visible players in the media landscape. However, for all churches, journalists and media brands (for example, *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (NZZ), *Swiss Radio and Television* (SRF), or *Blick*) are the most prominent sources in terms of discussing religious themes (Protestant Reformed: 19.60%, Orthodox: 16.80%, Evangelical: 17.70%). The religious organizations themselves are second

<sup>1</sup> In the following figure, only the Catholic, the Reformed Protestant and the Evangelical Churches are presented because for the Orthodox Churches, the number of members who completed the survey was too small.

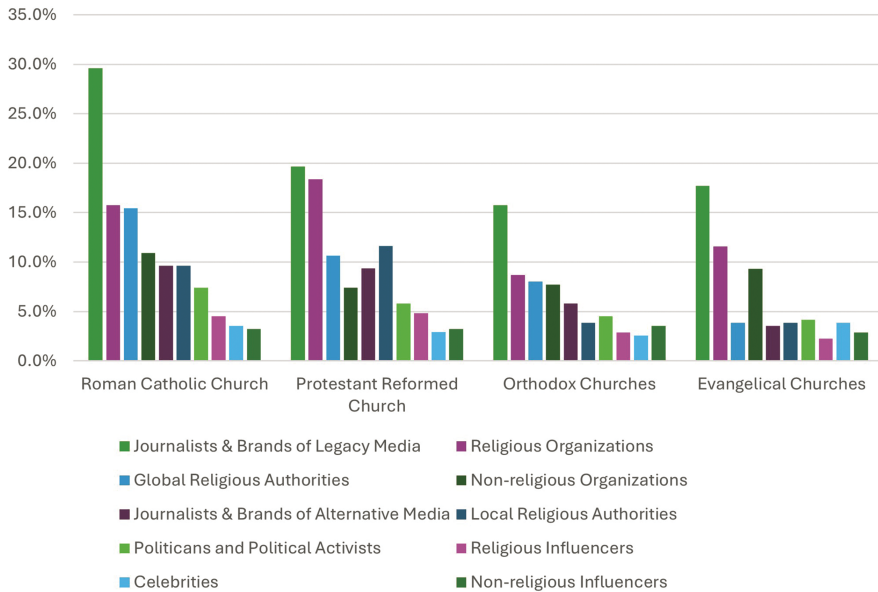


**Figure 2:** Reputational sources for churches by denominations 2022–2024. n = 1,221 (2022), n = 1,223 (2023), and n = 1,200 (2024).

among perceived actors in the religious media discourse, although these numbers are significantly lower than those for the traditional media (Roman Catholic: 15.70%; Protestant: 18.30%; Orthodox: 8.70%; Evangelical: 11.50%).

However, the differences between the churches in terms of actors are striking. For the RC, for example, prominent religious authorities are also very visible, indicating the media prominence of Catholic leaders and the Pope and the universality of the Catholic churches. This is supported by the fact that for the Reformed Protestant Church, local religious authorities are visible (11.60%) and, again, represent the church’s internal structure. In addition, one result stands out for the ECs: non-religious organizations also seem to be present (9.30%), potentially indicating the strong resonance of the film regarding an evangelical member and former patron of Läderach – a Swiss chocolatier (SRF Dok 2023).

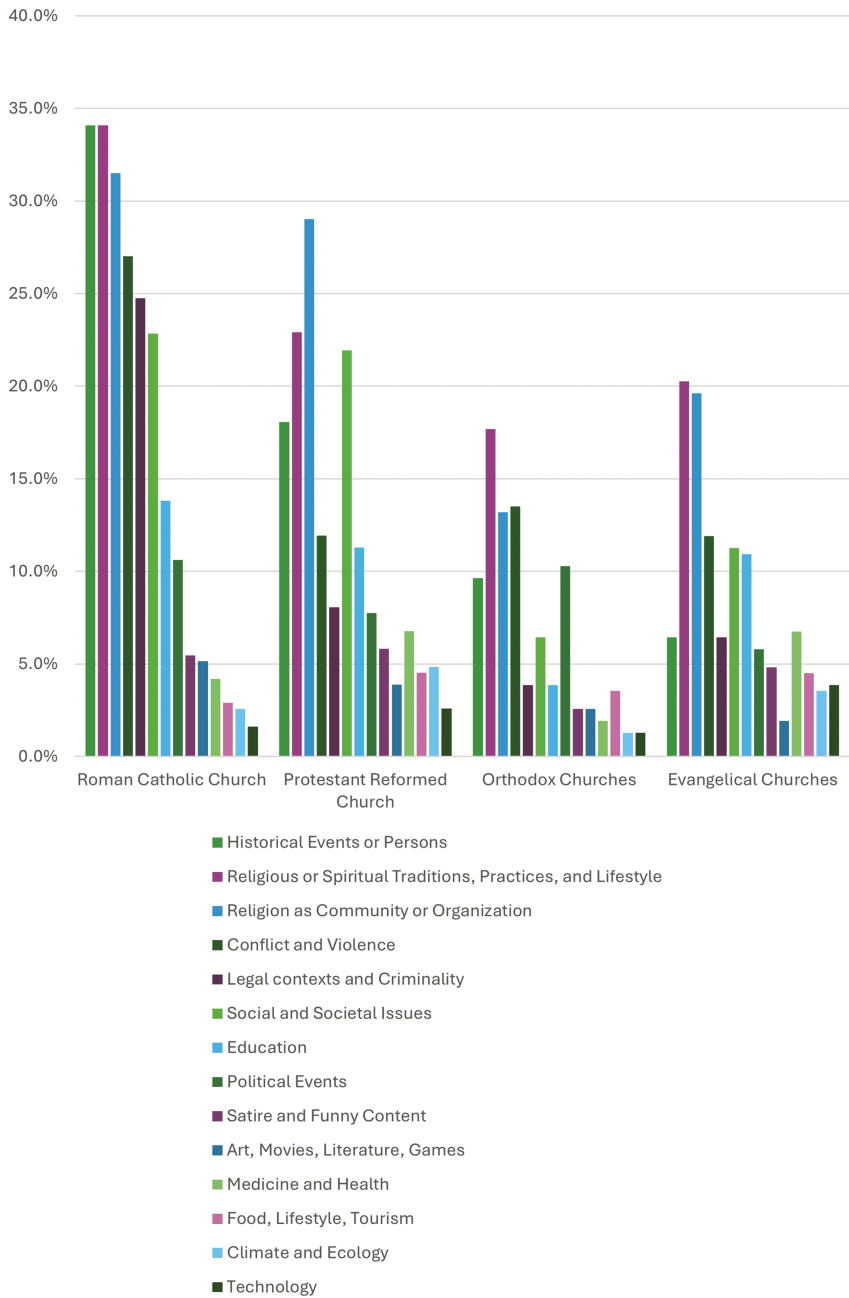
Regarding the perceived topics and, thus, the topic-related reputational touchpoints, the data show that the topic “Religious organizations and commu-



**Figure 3:** Aggregated perceptions of actors in social media or traditional media in 2024. The table shows only answers of “often” and “frequent” (n = 1,200).

nity” is very present for the four churches (RC: 31.51%; PC: 29.03%; OC: 16.80%; EC: 19.61%; see Figure 4). In addition, “religious or spiritual traditions, practices, and lifestyles” are particularly visible for the RC (34.08%), the OCs (17.68%), and the ECs (20.26%), indicating the very high institutional representation of the churches through their own online media.

For the Protestant Reformed Church, however, social engagement is the most frequently perceived topic (29.68%), which could indicate the public engagement of the church in recent political debates regarding the Corporate Responsibility Initiative (2020; Kirchenrat der Evangelisch-reformierten Kirche Schweiz) or “Marriage for All” (2021; Schweizerischer Evangelischer Kirchenbund 2019). On the other hand, the most frequent topic for the RC is “Historical Events or Persons” (34.08%), and the church also tops the list regarding perceptions of “Conflict and Violence” (27.0%) and “Legal Context and Criminality” (24.76%), potentially indicating the media echo regarding abuse in the RC (Dubec et al. 2023). “Conflicts and Violence” is also pre-dominant for the OCs (13.50%), potentially referring to the Russia–Ukraine War.



**Figure 4:** Aggregate perception of themes in social media or traditional media in 2024. The table shows only answers of “often” and “frequent” (n = 1,200).

## 5 Conclusion

The analysis of churches' reputations within Swiss Society confirms ongoing public debates and societal trends regarding the rise of negative images of churches. Not only are many people leaving churches (Stolz et al. 2022), they also evaluate these churches negatively. Furthermore, when we examine the media traces of reputational touchpoints for the churches, we discover a surprising finding. Despite the prevalent belief in the growing influence of digital media, our research indicates that the digital presence and representation of churches, particularly on social media or other online sources, are less important in evaluating them. Traditional news media, online or offline, and personal experiences remain more decisive in reputation formation. This underlines, on one hand, the fact that interpersonal, real-life contact or communication between churches and individuals remains essential in the digital age. On the other hand, it shows that traditional media influences, such as the gatekeeping function of journalists in building churches' reputations, remain influential in online environments and in spite of increased opportunities for churches to communicate directly in digital media environments.

Considering the thematic touchpoints, on the other hand, we see that churches (i.e., religion as an organization or community, remains a highly referenced theme, showing a great deal of publicly discussed content related to organizational structures, organizational governance, human-resource-related issues, or the representation of churches as social actors. Social engagement and religious teachings are also consistently prominent across most denominations, demonstrating the churches' ongoing visibility in social and religious matters. Topics such as conflict or violence, political events, and health are less uniformly distributed across the various churches. This finding aligns with previous research on news reporting on churches (Dubec et al. 2023), in which the focus is on the RC and its associated scandals.

To sum up, from the perspective of the research field of digital religion(s), this project offers a general conclusion regarding the concept of religious transformation. It underscores the well-established connection between religion and media. Our research project highlights the fact that even in the digital age, old and new media and forms of communication must be modeled as a complex interplay. Therefore, a one-sided view of purely digitalized sources and touchpoints falls short of the mark. In Swiss society, journalists still have the power to set the tone and agenda regarding churches. This conclusion is additionally supported by the results indicating that even on social media, the most seen actors are indeed journalists and media brands.

Furthermore, it is crucial to note that the internet and social media are mostly mentioned as reputational touchpoints by non-members. There are vari-

ous potential reasons for this, such as non-members having no physical touchpoints and relying more heavily on third-party opinions. However, the ability to sort and read information (religious and social media literacy) may be an essential variable as well. For example, it is possible that non-members are more likely to interpret all religion-related social media or internet content as information about churches or institutionalized religion, regardless of the content or actors involved, whereas members are more nuanced in their assessment of content either as “church-related content,” “religious content,” or “individual influencer content” (see the chapter of Müller and Friemel in this book). It could also indicate that non-members are more often confronted with social media or internet content distributed by traditional media actors, in which most coverage of Christianity-related topics is connected to the churches (Cohen 2023), while church members may avoid such content on social media or not automatically relate Christian social media content to the established churches in Switzerland. Further research on this topic is needed.

Consequently, this study underscores not only the intertwined on- and offline dynamics surrounding religious communities but also the ongoing challenges faced by religious communities, which are becoming digitally communicated objects that are publicly framed and constructed by third parties (e.g., journalists; Cohen 2023) but also use digital media as their own communication channels, potentially building their own public (digital) agency and authority regarding the communicated information, messages, and images. Furthermore, our study highlights the ongoing digital transformation of religion from a broader societal perspective and the way in which social media and the internet should be interpreted regarding these matters. It highlights the importance of asking to what extent the digital turn offers a completely new stage in terms of the visibility of churches in an extended public sphere (Bruns and Highfield 2015) and to what extent traditional media and communication channels, such as personal experiences and interpersonal communication, remain important drivers of reputational dynamics in hybrid media contexts (Chadwick 2017).

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