LAW ENFORCEMENT IN THE AGE OF SOCIAL MEDIA: EXAMINING THE ORGANIZATIONAL IMAGE CONSTRUCTION OF POLICE ON TWITTER AND FACEBOOK

A Dissertation Submitted to the
Temple University Graduate Board

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

By Lauren Mayes

August, 2017

Committee:

Kathleen Auerhahn, Ph.D., Advisory Chair, Department of Criminal Justice
Aunshul Rege, Ph.D., Committee Member, Department of Criminal Justice
Jennifer Wood, Ph.D., Committee Member, Department of Criminal Justice
Jan Fernback, Ph.D., External Reader, Klein College of Media & Communication

ABSTRACT

Law enforcement agencies across the United States are under pressure to renew their commitment to strengthening community relationships while continuing to promote public safety and reduce crime. This renewed commitment has been catapulted by a series of events that have served to tarnish the image and reputation of law enforcement. In response, there has been a reinvigorated national discussion of how to enhance the image of police as an organization that has positive community relationships. The International Association of Chiefs of Police (2015) and The President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing (2015) focus on the importance of building police-community relationships in the "Post-Ferguson" era of policing. Toward this end, the Task Force sees enormous potential of social media to bolster the police's image and reputation. Research on police uses of social media, however, is very limited.

This dissertation therefore explores the image-making efforts of twelve police organizations across the United States. By integrating organizational image construction from communication theory with the study of policing, this research examines the organizational identities and intended images that agencies are trying to project based on perspectives from interviews with those responsible for agency communications. It then compares these identities and intended images to the content produced on Twitter and Facebook over a twelve-month period using content analysis.

This research found that across the diverse agencies examined here, there is a clear and consistent commitment to enhancing the community-oriented image of police.

Respondents emphasized the value of humanizing police work and lending transparency to their actions and decisions as organizations. Content on agency websites equally revealed this commitment to positive community relationships. However, the content analysis of media feeds told a more nuanced story. Although each of the agencies examined disseminate community-oriented messaging, the traditional police mission of investigating crimes and solving criminal cases remains strong. Overall, social media content reveals efforts by police to delicately balance their crime-fighting and community-oriented identities. This balance varies by agency size, jurisdiction, and platform suggesting that the pressures governing image-making activities must be further examined in local context. This research seeks to demonstrate the value of applying an organizational image construction approach to police-community relations in our age of social media. This cross-disciplinary approach provides a framework for policy-makers and practitioners to assess whether their social media content aligns with their intended organizational identities and maximizes the ability to maintain a positive reputation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

When thinking about who to acknowledge for their help getting me to this point, the phrase, “It takes a village to raise a child” comes to mind. Even though I was not technically a child when I came here, I have experienced so much growth in Temple’s CJ department. I feel like the department has done a great deal to support me throughout my graduate schooling and this dissertation process. I saw that Nate hesitantly said that he has spent 22% of his life at Temple. Well Nate, hold on to your britches because I’ve been an Owl my entire adult life, or 40% of my whole life. I’ve spent 23% of my life in graduate school at Temple, which is pretty crazy to think about. I have a lot of people to thank for the growth I’ve experienced and for all of the fantastic mentorship that I’ve received within the CJ department here at Temple.

I must first and foremost thank the members of my committee. Kate, you’ve been a great advisor, mentor, committee chair, and friend over the years. May the beers in South Philly become less hoppy and the crowds less hip. A huge thank you to Aunshul for your support and guidance throughout my dissertation. Your mentorship and sense of humor were instrumental in moving through this process. There are not enough positive ways to describe Jen. Selfless, witty, thoughtful, driven, and passionate barely scrape the tip of the iceberg. You have inspired me and motivated me to succeed since I was an undergraduate student at Temple University, and I cannot think of a better example of someone who puts 110% into every single thing she commits to. Thank you so much for taking on my project and contributing enormously to it.

Unfortunately, committees can only be so big and there are many people beyond my committee I need to thank for helping me along the way. I'd like to thank Caterina for teaching me so much throughout all of our projects together. From interviewing youth suspected of being gang members to conceptualizing physical activity's relationship to the fear of crime – working with you has always kept me on my toes and has undoubtedly made me a much better researcher. Thank you for involving me in so many of your projects and for being so easy to talk to. You've not only been such a great mentor, boss, and role model, but also a great friend.

I can't thank Nicole enough for her mentorship. Through working on our article, I learned so much and value all of the insights you've given me over the years – most importantly the need for research to look up at systems of power versus down at the powerless. I love the fact that you're bringing CJ research to the masses – I really think that's how we're ultimately going to make a difference in larger social systems.

Jamie, you've been instrumental in getting me through the program while being great company. Navigating the job market would not have been the same without you. Laughing while learning is definitely the way to go, and I doubt you (or Kit!) know just how much I've learned from you. I'd also like to thank Jeff for his role in job market and general life advising. You're extremely generous with your time and are one of the nicest people that also knows way too much about math. I wish we had overlapped at Temple for longer but am looking forward to future collaboration.

Thank you to Tara for being such a great friend and teacher to assist over the years. We made a great team! Thanks to Stephanie for being a constant source of support, encouragement, and laughter throughout my time at Temple. I will miss you so much. A big thank you to Matt, without whom I would have just applied for the Masters program - good looking out. LaSaundra – thank you for keeping everything functioning all of these years and humoring me by sticking around (at least a bit) until I'll be gone. You can officially retire now if you want to, even though I still think the department will cease to exist when you actually leave. Kay – you were absolutely instrumental in igniting my passion for studying criminal justice through introducing me to my first Inside-Out class as a Freshman and for continuing to be a constant source of support and guidance throughout my graduate career.

And to many of those who have graduated from Temple before me – Cory and Evan, thanks to both of you for being such great cohort-mates. I really could not have asked for a better couple of dudes to start the program with. You kicked my butt getting out of here, but we all saw that coming. I would not be anywhere close to the scholar I am today without the two of you pushing me to keep up, and I can't thank you enough for that. To Caitlin and Jaime – thanks for teaching me the ropes, and bringing the lamp of luxury into my life. Brandy – you showed me what working hard is all about and that it's okay (not!) to cry over HLM (sorry RBT!). Justin, you were a wonderful roommate, fantastic temporary dog dad, supervisor, mentor, and great friend. I'm so glad Jersey Shore was on when we lived together and am even more glad that I don't have cable anymore.

I have been extremely fortunate to spend my time in the department with such great colleagues. To my accountabilibuddy, Nate, a huge thanks for keeping me accountable and being a great buddy while doing it. Mapping out our course of ~~escape~~ action was a huge help to me, as was having someone to go through the whole process of dissertating and job searching with. Even though we were technically competing for some of the same grants and jobs, and few would let us forget it, I never felt like I was competing against you and instead felt like I had the good fortune of having a friend going through the same processes. I look forward to years of collaboration and conference-related whiskey drinking (and hopefully disc golfing too).

Thank you to Ingrid for being so socially and environmentally conscious and being a great hiking and camping buddy. I got as close to Alaska as I could and await your arrival back West. Leah – thanks for all of your Canadian advice, I hope you get to come back to BC soon – you'll be done before you know it. Thanks to Jill and Hannah for not only being awesome, but also maintaining essential candy stashes. The candy was nice, but the conversation was even nicer. Courtney, Abbie, Joe, and Ryan – thanks for proving that grad students can be smart and real cool all at the same time. Thanks for providing solid conversation and support over the past few years.

And to those who have been extremely supportive throughout this process outside of the department, I need to thank my dear friend Daniel Remer for his editing abilities and early morning motivational .gif exchange sessions. And thanks to Emily Taylor for constantly reminding me how far we have (or haven't) come since age 17. Thank you for

actually being on the ground making a difference in the lives of marginalized Philadelphians. Thanks to Shane and Adriana – a girl couldn't ask to live with a better couple. I miss your wonderful meals and company – both were integral in getting me to where I am now. Bryan, thanks for being a constant source of friendship and darkness. And it feels weird to thank my dog, but I'm going to do it because she's been by my side through this whole process and provided fantastic comic relief and the motivation to get outside and away from the computer on a regular basis.

A huge thank you to my parents without whom I would definitely not be here today, in more ways than one. You treated life as a classroom, always encouraged me to ask questions, and have enthusiastically continued to provide crucial editorial support. And last, but certainly not least, a huge debt of gratitude goes to my partner, Danny, who has been supportive as I've spent many stressful nights and early mornings typing away. I couldn't have gotten through this without such an understanding and supportive partner. I'm looking forward to all of our adventures in BC. There are many more people I could thank for getting me to where I am and my dissertation to where it is, and I hope you can forgive me if I left your name out of here. It has been an honor to be here, and I can't thank everyone enough.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

ABSTRACT ..... **III**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ..... **V**

LIST OF TABLES ..... **XIII**

CHAPTER:

1. INTRODUCTION **1**

2. POLICING CHALLENGES - ENHANCING EFFECTIVENESS AND REPUTATION **12**

The Reinvigoration of Community-Oriented Policing 15
Communication and Policing in the Age of Social Media 18
Facebook 21
Twitter 23
Social Media, Social Interaction, and Policing 24
Known Uses of Social Media by Law Enforcement 27
Investigating Crimes 29
Disseminating Information about Emergencies and Crimes 30
Promoting Community Relationships and Collaboration 31
Gaps in the Current Research 35
Empirical Gaps 35
Theoretical Gaps 37
Reputation and Organizational Image Construction 39
Perceived Organizational Identity 41
Organizational Image, Reputation, and Legitimacy 43

3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS, DATA, AND METHODOLOGY **45**

Research Questions 45
Research Design 47
Semi-Structured Interviews 48
Content Analysis 50
Data Sources 53
Site Selection Criteria 53
Relevance of Department Size 55
Relevance of Violent Crime Rate 56
Region 57
Selecting the Research Sites 58
Size 58
Violent Crime Rate 59
Selection Process 61
Agencies and Cities 63
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 63
Jacksonville, Florida 64
San Diego, California 65

Buffalo, New York 65
Aurora, Colorado 65
Stamford, Connecticut 66
Canton, Ohio 66
Fargo, North Dakota 66
Orem, Utah 67
Hillsborough, North Carolina 67
Shiloh, Illinois 67
West Linn, Oregon 67
Study Period 68
Data Collection and Analysis 68
Content Analysis: Capturing and Storing Social Media Posts 68
Twitter 69
Facebook 70
Conducting Semi-Structured Interviews 71
Qualitative Data Analysis 73
Coding 73

CHAPTER 4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION 77
Departmental Identities and Intended Images 79
Identities: Community and Service 80
Mechanisms for Reputation Management: Transparency and Humanization 81
Transparency 82
Humanization 86
Images Projected on Departmental Websites 91
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 92
Jacksonville, Florida 92
San Diego, California 93
Buffalo, New York 93
Aurora, Colorado 94
Stamford, Connecticut 94
Canton, Ohio 95
Fargo, North Dakota 95
Orem, Utah 96
Hillsborough, North Carolina 97
Shiloh, Illinois 98
West Linn, Oregon 98
Twitter and Facebook Content 99
Wanted 110
Incident Details 113
Arrests 114
Community Engagement 115
Support from the Community 116
Event Information 117
Traffic and Weather 118
Safety Tips 119
The Concordance of Identity and Image 120

5. CONCLUSION 126

Implications for criminal justice theory, policy, practice, and research 131
Limitations 133
Future Directions 137
Conclusion 138
REFERENCES CITED 140
APPENDIX A: CODES BY DEPARTMENT 149
APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT 153
APPENDIX C: CATEGORIES AND CODES 156

LIST OF TABLES

Table Page

Table 3.1: The Six Most Frequently Occurring Codes 51

Table 3.2: Violent Crime Rates by City Population 61

Table 3.3: Law Enforcement Agencies..... 64

Table 4.1: Percentage of Content Relevant to Standard and Community Policing 102

Table 4.2: Percentage of Content on Facebook and Twitter..... 105

Table 4.3: Traditional and Community-Oriented Content by Violence Level 106

Table 4.4: Traditional and Community-Oriented Content by Department Size 108

Table 4.5: Ratio of Community: Traditionally-Oriented Content 110

Table 4.6: Organizational Image Construction Elements by Department 123

Table A1: Codes on Facebook by Department 149

Table A2: Tweet Codes by Department..... 151

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Law enforcement agencies across the United States are under social and political pressure to renew their commitment to strengthening community relationships. As social media becomes increasingly ubiquitous, it has gained attention as a way for law enforcement agencies to enhance their image and reputation as community-oriented institutions while continuing to promote public safety and reduce crime (Grimmelikhuijsen & Meijer, 2015; President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing, hereafter Task Force, 2015). A renewed national conversation about the importance of police-community relationships has led to an emphasis on finding ways to enhance the community-oriented reputation of police. Community relations is a core of concern that contributes to the overall ability of police in an area to effectively control crime (Gill et al., 2014).

Social media has become integral to modern communication (Carr & Hayes, 2015; Kent, 2015; Sheil et al., 2011). Individuals, businesses, organizations, traditional media sources, and governmental agencies have widely adopted social media as a means of collecting, disseminating, and sharing information. In 2015, the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing identified social media as a way for police to interact and communicate with the communities they serve to build community trust, engage the community on important issues, gauge community sentiment about the police, and to

locate criminal activity. In fact, a majority of law enforcement agencies in the United States use at least one form of social media (LexisNexis, 2014). Given its wide and growing adoption, social media presents an opportunity for police to interact with their constituents in a non-enforcement context and to project images consistent with community-oriented policing, a decades-old policing innovation aimed at increasing public trust in and satisfaction with law enforcement.

The President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing identified trust and legitimacy building as the foremost concerns currently facing law enforcement departments and renewed a decades-long call for more engagement in community-oriented policing. Legitimacy theorists emphasize the importance of continuous interaction between organizations and those they are trying to connect with – this is especially relevant for law enforcement because of the central role legitimacy (feeling that the actions of an organization are proper and desirable) plays in community support (Grimmelikhuijsen & Meijer, 2015). A negative perception of police may prevent members of a community from assisting law enforcement with investigations or providing proactive intelligence that could help prevent criminal activity (Task Force, 2015).

Practitioners and scholars alike identify social media as a potential image-maintenance tool with the ability to strengthen police community relationships. Social media could strengthen relationships between the police and community by building trust through demonstrating effectiveness, transparency, and the ability and willingness to

engage in “modern behavior”, participating in popular culture and using the latest technologies (Grimmelikhuijsen & Meijer, 2015: 601; Task Force, 2015). However, existing research questions the extent to which social media has changed the nature of communication between governmental agencies and their constituents (Brainard & Edins, 2015; Crump, 2011; Grimmelikhuijsen & Meijer, 2015; Heverin & Zach, 2011; Kennedy & Sommerfeldt, 2015). Such questions leave open the possibility that social media may not help achieve any sort of enhanced reputation related to community policing.

Since the 1980s, policing scholars have been recommending community approaches to policing to strengthen the reputation of the police within the communities they serve (Skogan & Frydl, 2004). To help guide this inquiry of whether and how the community-oriented identity of a law enforcement agency may be reflected by the image projected on social media, this research looks to communication theory as a “source of insights on how identity and identification affect social interaction” (Ravasi et al., 2003: 122). Importing the concept of organizational image construction (OIC), this current research explores whether police departments are posting social media content that reflects the perceived identities and the images they wish to convey. This research also explores whether these identities are consistent with community-oriented approaches to policing, paving the way for future research that examines whether the use of social media increases police legitimacy.

The theoretical framework of organizational image construction focuses on the relationship between two elements of reputation: an organization's perceived identity

(how members within the organization view the organization) and their image (what is projected to stakeholders – those outside of and important to the organization). In addition, organizational image construction looks at the images that organizations wish to project to their stakeholders (Gilpin, 2010). OIC is traditionally applied to study corporate image and how this relates to a corporation's reputation with its consumers and stakeholders; it is important that companies maintain a positive reputation so people will want to use their product. Similarly, it is important that the police maintain a positive reputation with their constituents so that when problems arise, community members look to the police for help and protection instead of taking matters into their own hands, potentially perpetuating a cycle of violence. As scholars and practitioners recommend the use of social media to address issues of reputation, organizational image construction theory is well suited to explore whether the image projected on social media aligns with the objectives of community policing, such as engaging the community and using non-enforcement tactics for solving problems (Skogan, 1995). According to the Taskforce (2015), social media may be integral in maintaining a positive, community-oriented reputation. Using OIC to analyze the extent to which police are using social media in a community-oriented way provided a novel intervention into the study of police-community relations.

The small but growing body of literature about law enforcement's use of social media finds that police departments have increasingly turned to social media to help achieve and convey their effectiveness and a positive reputation (LexisNexis, 2014; PERF, 2013; 2014). However, there is a lack of clarity surrounding the goals, policies,

and implementation of social media use by law enforcement (Task Force, 2015). Although law enforcement agencies increasingly use social media platforms, there are gaps in the literature about how agencies are using social media, specifically for community-oriented approaches to policing (Task Force, 2015). Existing literature fails to systematically analyze and compare the content of multiple social networking sites within the same department, describe the identities, images, and goals underscoring the use and content of social media accounts, or compare differences in the way social media is used across diverse agency contexts.

This dissertation builds on the growing empirical literature examining police use of social media by looking to the social media accounts of law enforcement agencies and those who maintain them to question whether there is a concordance between the organizational identity, intended images, and images projected on Twitter and Facebook. To answer this question, I first interviewed representatives from 11 out of the 12 departments and asked about their departmental identities and the images they wish to project. At the same time, I conducted a content analysis to find out what the content of social media accounts maintained by law enforcement agencies reveal about their projected images. These questions are important because they have gone largely unaddressed, in particular comparing what images departments intend to project and what images are actually projected on Twitter and Facebook. Given the importance of police community relationships for the wellbeing of police and the public along with the limited resources available to enhance the department's reputation, it is important to know if and

how police departments are using social media to project community-oriented images and if the elements of reputation – identity and image – are consistent.

Findings indicate that police project images consistent with both community-oriented demands, such as enhancing relationships and trust, combined with traditional objectives such as swiftly stopping, investigating, and solving crimes. Community-oriented images are focused on principles aligned with community-oriented policing such as engaging the community in non-enforcement activities, encouraging collaboration, and emphasizing service provision (Skogan, 1995). On the other hand, traditionally-oriented images reflect a more standard approach to policing that includes content such as arrest, incident information, and posts about wanted individuals. The projection of these images was largely balanced, with Twitter and Facebook housing content that was more community-oriented than traditionally-oriented.

The data demonstrated a high level of consistency between the perceived organizational identities, goals, and intended images articulated by police posting to departmental social media accounts. For many departments, these were also consistent with the images projected on Twitter and Facebook, although this varied by department. Overall, law enforcement agencies policing in higher crime contexts used social media in a more traditional manner, while police departments in jurisdictions with lower levels of crime generally posted more community-oriented content.

The findings from this research inform policing studies by using social media as a lens to examine the extent to which law enforcement agencies maintain and project

community-oriented identities and images. This is important because fostering a positive reputation and trust with the community are essential to achieving feelings of public safety. In a time of scarce resources and tenuous police-community relationships, it is important that law enforcement agencies have a framework to evaluate their effective use of social media to maximize its potential as a communication resource. If a department wishes to improve its relationship with its community via social media to project an image that is oriented more towards community engagement versus crime fighting, OIC provides a framework to evaluate the consistency between the identity of the department, the image it wishes to project, and the image it is projecting to its stakeholders. Maximizing consistency across the components of OIC increases the reputation-enhancing potential of the department's social media efforts. Not only is effective reputation enhancement important to maximize organizational efficiency, but also to protect the wellbeing of officers and the public when confrontations arise by fostering better police-community relationships and cooperation.

The following chapter provides a review of the literature about overarching issues currently facing law enforcement, focusing on challenges to enhancing effectiveness and reputation. This is followed by a discussion of whether community-oriented policing (COP) has successfully addressed these concerns and how social media and its growing use by law enforcement agencies furthers a community-oriented image. I will then identify and review gaps in the existing literature. After a discussion of gaps in the current research regarding how law enforcement agencies use social media, I introduce the concept guiding this research: organizational image construction, a framework

imported from communication theory, focused on optimizing an organization's reputation by examining the extent to which the image projected to stakeholders is consistent with the organization's identity (Gilpin, 2010). Reputation management and perceived legitimacy have emerged as key concerns among law enforcement agencies during this post-Ferguson era making OIC especially relevant and helpful in assessing an agency's use of social media, specifically regarding the consistency of the intended image and projected image in the image maintenance and reputation building process.

The "Ferguson Effect" refers to the shooting of Michael Brown by the Ferguson, Missouri police department in August 2014 and the other high profile killings of black people by white officers, the public outrage, and protests that followed. The Ferguson Effect is the hypothesis that the police are well aware of the public outrage against them in response to these shootings and that given how easily information can get recorded and shared (thanks largely to social media), officers are hesitant to do their job, leading to de-policing. Some point to this de-policing as a source of an uptick in violent crime across several major US cities, questioning whether the police have been maintaining effectiveness and transparency through the mid 2010s (Wolfe & Nix, 2016). While this hypothesis has yet to be empirically validated, interviews from this research indeed revealed concern with public distrust and dislike of police. Given these timely issues, and organizational image construction's focus on maximizing an organization's reputation, OIC is an ideal framework to integrate with the study of communication between the police and the communities they serve.

Chapter three introduces the research questions, design, and methodology used to answer these questions. Within this chapter I discuss the mixed-method design employing a content analysis of 12 departments Twitter and Facebook accounts and narrative data from semi-structured interviews with representatives from 11 of the 12 departments from the content analysis. In addition, I describe the department selection process, discuss the context of each agency selected, and detail the data collection and analysis processes.

Chapter four presents and discusses the findings that answer questions posed in chapter three. The chapter will conclude by comparing the findings of the interview analysis to the content analysis. Semi-structured interviews indicated that social media managers find social media to be largely indispensable for establishing a positive reputation within their communities. The interviewees largely articulated community-oriented identities and expressed a desire to portray the department in a community-oriented way. Many similar themes emerged from these interviews including the helpful role Twitter and Facebook play in serving and engaging the community.

Data from the content analysis show that while there are more community-oriented images projected overall, Twitter and Facebook are used differently and in some cases project different images of the same department. Quantifying the content revealed that while a majority of the images on Twitter and Facebook were community-oriented, the greater proportion of community-oriented material to traditionally-oriented material on Twitter indicates that departments may be more successful projecting an image consistent with community-oriented policing on Twitter, however this varies within each

department. This is interesting as departments may be conveying dissimilar images to members of the community given the different demographics of Twitter and Facebook users. Not only did the proportion of community to standard policing content differ according to platform, but also differed according to departmental context. These findings show that while in general, departments are projecting an image that balances the demands of traditional and community-oriented policing, looking more closely at individual departments and the contexts they police in reveals different patterns of social media use.

From an organizational image construction perspective, comparing the content analyses and interviews revealed that overall, there was consistency between the community-oriented identities and images projected on Twitter and Facebook, but that these were balanced and sometimes overshadowed by traditionally-oriented images of policing instead. These findings are interesting to scholars studying how governmental organizations communicate with their constituents as well as law enforcement practitioners interested in their departmental social media use. Chapter five concludes by examining whether and how police are using social media to project images consistent with community-oriented policing along with a discussion of implications, limitations, and directions for future research. Overall, the social media accounts operated by law enforcement agencies reflect a consistent commitment to strengthening the reputation of the department within the community. This community-oriented commitment is largely reflected by the content available on Twitter and Facebook, although departmental

context matters regarding the amount of community to more traditionally-oriented material projected to community members on social media.

CHAPTER 2

POLICING CHALLENGES - ENHANCING EFFECTIVENESS AND REPUTATION

Law enforcement is first and foremost tasked with maintaining public safety. While reducing violent crime is a key objective, law enforcement must also work to fulfill the public desire to feel safe and protected from crime and disorder in general (Skogan & Frydl, 2004). Crime rates have risen and dropped sharply over the past 50 years. At the same time, policing techniques and the public's opinion of how the police are performing have fluctuated as well. In reaction to a period of rising crime rates in the 1960s and 1970s, many questioned the effectiveness of criminal justice practices, including policing (Weisburd & Eck, 2004). During this time, two of the cornerstones of traditional or standard police work - random patrol and rapid response to calls - were found to be ineffective at reducing crime (Gill et al., 2014; Kelling et al., 1974; Weisburd & Braga, 2006; Weisburd & Eck, 2004). In response, community approaches to policing gained popularity in the 1980s and 1990s as law enforcement agencies focused on finding innovative approaches to combating crime and improving relationships with their communities.

Just over twenty years ago in 1994, in the midst of racially charged police scandals, the Department of Justice requested a review of social science research regarding policing practices and policies (Skogan & Frdyl, 2004). At this time, the National Research Council convened a committee of leading criminal justice researchers

to accomplish this task. This committee met over the course of several years, and in 2004 identified fairness and effectiveness as central cornerstones of police work.

The Committee recommended that police continue to turn away from what had become the standardized form of policing focused on patrol and arrest to instead focus on issues and goals specific to the communities they police (Skogan & Frydl, 2004). Research demonstrates that police are more effective at controlling crime and disorder when they are focused on achieving localized results (Skogan & Frydl, 2004). Effectively controlling crime and making people feel safe are integral to a community's perception that the police and the laws they enforce are legitimate. As such, enhancing legitimacy and effectiveness - just like fairness and effectiveness - are not competing, but instead are complementary and mutually reinforcing goals, suggesting that "policing that is perceived as just is more effective in fostering a law-abiding society, and that success in reducing crime enhances police legitimacy" (Skogan & Frydl, 2004: 2). As the most visible source of governmental power, the actions of the police are especially essential to legitimizing the authority of the law and legal process (Johnston & McGovern, 2013).

The committee identified a need to expand discussions of police effectiveness that reach beyond deterrence to incorporate more community engagement in policing (Skogan & Frydl, 2004). This means moving beyond crime control achieved through coercion, using the threat of arrest to produce law abiding behavior and instead achieving public safety and satisfaction through more community-oriented avenues such as promoting community collaboration and engagement.

While community-oriented policing, discussed in detail below, rose to popularity in the 1980s, in the early 2000s, research questioning its crime reduction benefits in combination with the terrorist attacks on September 11th, 2001 largely shifted attention away from issues of community policing and towards issues of homeland security (Skogan & Frydl, 2004). Then in August of 2014, the shooting of Michael Brown by a police officer in Ferguson, Missouri, followed over the next year by several subsequent killings of young unarmed black men by police officers over the next year, resulted in police-community relationships being thrust back into the center of the media, public, and political discourse. Although law enforcement agencies were engaging in community-oriented policing before, during, and after September 11th, community relationship building was not in the spotlight as a core concern of policing as strongly as it was pre-9-11 or post-Ferguson.

In December of 2014, President Barack Obama established the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing in response to a number of incidents that highlighted and escalated tension between local police and the communities they serve. President Obama ordered a thorough review of best practices in policing aimed at increasing the effectiveness of crime reduction while building public trust (Task Force, 2015). Similar to the focus on fairness from a decade earlier, the President's Task Force in 2015 strongly emphasized the importance of building trust between law enforcement and community members. To build trust and perceptions of legitimacy, the Task Force (2015: 1) recommended establishing a "culture of transparency" and planning non-enforcement

activities to engage communities that otherwise most often see the police conducting enforcement and investigative work in their neighborhoods.

With the public spotlight focused on police use of force, promoting community-oriented image of law enforcement presents an alternative means of increasing effectiveness. Feelings of trust in the police directly impact the effectiveness of crime prevention efforts by increasing the chances of engaging in law-abiding behavior - not because of a fear of punishment, but rather due to a voluntary willingness to obey the law (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2003). As such, legitimacy is an integral part of general law-abiding behavior on a day-to-day basis (Tyler, 2003; Tyler & Huo, 2002; Skogan & Frydl, 2004). This sort of buy-in is crucial to long-term effective policing and crime reduction (Grimmelikhuijsen & Meijer, 2015). Projecting a positive image and a positive reputation are integral to stakeholder buy-in for an organization's legitimacy (King & Whetten, 2008). For policing, the suggestions to use social media are reflected in this desire to establish a positive reputation which is rooted in a community-orientation.

The Reinvigoration of Community-Oriented Policing

Police departments employ a variety of strategies to respond to the challenges of demonstrating effectiveness and establishing a positive reputation. Given the renewed emphasis on community policing practices, this research focuses specifically on the role of community approaches to policing in contrast to standard or traditional approaches to policing. The standard model of policing aims to respond to the challenge of effectiveness through the use of random patrol, rapid response, investigatory power, and

the deterrent power of arrest (Skogan & Frydl, 2004). Community policing, on the other hand, aims to foster positive police-community relationships that support reputation management and increase the ability to coproduce safety through collaborative engagement (Innes & Roberts, 2008). By fostering a positive reputation among community members, police are more likely to have public buy-in and participation in crime fighting efforts, which are essential elements to achieving public safety.

Community-Oriented Policing (COP) encompasses the following four principles: a reorientation towards two-way conversations with the community; a focus on solving problems; addressing concerns specifically identified by the community; and a commitment to using non-enforcement tactics and resources for solving problems (Skogan, 1995). It responds directly to concerns of police legitimacy by aiming to foster enhanced trust of police and higher ratings of police performance through consistent and respectful policing (Gill et al., 2014). As a result it has become the most popular police reform to respond to the critiques of standard approaches to policing (Mastrofski et al., 2007).

During the 1990s, law enforcement agencies across the US invested heavily in COP training and resourcing – a move seen as putting the community back at the center of policing at a time when public satisfaction with law enforcement was at a low. COP was widely adopted during this time as a proactive solution towards increasing public safety and satisfaction with the police (Gill et al., 2014). By 1993, 98% of sampled chief

law enforcement executives agreed that community policing was worth pursuing (Skogan & Frydl, 2004).

At the same time, community policing has been criticized for being vague and difficult to implement (Mastrofski et al., 2007). COP emphasizes many of the service-based responsibilities that law enforcement agencies handle, and focuses on new metrics for success such as community satisfaction (Bullock, 2013; Gill et al., 2014). However, the emphasis on non-enforcement services may create implementation issues in that many rank and file officers do not view these duties as appropriate or important for law enforcement, instead seeing them as social work or public relations issues. Since traditional police work is so heavily focused on crime fighting, engaging in non-enforcement activities often fails to yield the same level of excitement and commitment from officers (Mastrofski et al., 2007).

Nevertheless, community-oriented policing is back in the spotlight as law enforcement agencies seek to again refocus on enhancing community relationships. COP focuses on identifying and systematically addressing underlying issues that contribute to community unrest and safety problems (COPS, 2012). It comes as no surprise then that the Task Force (2015) recommends that departments focus on community relationships and community policing as a solution for enhancing the reputation of the department and quelling community unrest. Given the role of community relationships and communication in community-oriented policing, social media has emerged as a technological innovation with the potential to increase communication between police

and their community members. For this reason, the theory of organizational image construction is useful for examining the degree to which community-oriented images are presented to the public via social media.

In the following section, I first discuss policing in the age of social media and then identify current gaps in the research. The literature review concludes with a discussion of organizational image construction and how importing communication theory into criminal justice research is beneficial for examining a communicative tool like social media. This is important for ensuring that in a time of limited resources and fragile relationships social media is being used as effectively as possible to enhance police-community relationships.

Communication and Policing in the Age of Social Media

The growth of information technologies has enhanced the tools available to law enforcement agencies (Colvin & Goh, 2005). The internet and computers have greatly changed society, including the techniques used in its policing. In the not-too-distant past, personal computers were too expensive (and large) to deploy as department-wide technology. Now, not only are personal computers commonplace in police cars across the nation, but most officers now also carry personal computers in their pockets in the form of smart phones and tablets. The merging of mobile technology with telecommunications has provided powerful tools for investigation, communication, and accountability.

With the increasingly high network speeds has come an almost instant ability to share data across the world, and people are more connected to each other than ever.

Information and communication technologies (ICT) have expanded rapidly; Since the 1990s, the internet has become widespread and is a fixture in many homes. According to the International Telecommunications Union, 40% of the world's total population and 78% of the developed world use the internet. This is a steady increase from 30% and 67%, respectively in 2010, demonstrating that internet use continues to grow and reach more individuals and households (ITU 2015).

Since 2000, social media has increased global communication between individuals, groups, and organizations. Many refer to this move towards the more user-generated content on the internet as Web 2.0, as the participatory nature of creating and sharing information departs from Web 1.0 as mainly a passive, informational gathering experience for the user (Aktas et al., 2014; Kidd & Carpenter, 2014).

In this wider context, new forms of digital technology and ICTs have been explored by law enforcement agencies as mechanisms for building legitimacy and increasing effectiveness. Social media has been explored in particular as a potentially useful tool to gather information from communities and has been identified as integral to contemporary law enforcement by the International Association of Chiefs of Police (2014). Carr & Hayes (2015: 50) define social media as, "Internet-based channels that allow users to opportunistically interact and selectively self-present, either in real-time or asynchronously, with both broad and narrow audiences who derive value from user-generated content and the perception of interaction with others."

In the age of social media, people are able to choose what information they disseminate and when and with whom they share it. Unlike face-to-face or phone-based

interactions, social media conversations do not have to take place in real time, giving people a longer opportunity to consider how they want to engage with other users and selectively share information (Carr & Hayes, 2015). In addition, mobile technology has made social media accessible not just from the internet on home computers, but from apps on mobile phones that are accessible from anywhere with cell service (Carr & Hayes, 2015).

Social media combines technological and social aspects of the internet, facilitating participation and collaboration between individuals, groups, and organizations across the world (Kidd & Carpenter, 2014; Lankshear & Knobel, 2006). When it comes to the flow of information today, the power of this new communication technology cannot be ignored. The use of social media has been rapidly growing for the past fifteen years and continues to grow as a medium through which people share information and ideas in a very immediate and responsive fashion (Lövheim et al., 2013). Such platforms include social networking sites such as Facebook, media sharing through sites like Instagram, Tumblr, or YouTube, and creative media works through podcasts, blogs, and microblogs including Twitter (Kidd & Carpenter, 2014). The popularity of each of these individual sites waxes and wanes, and new applications, platforms, and websites are constantly in development.

To provide a brief history and scope of the primary social media platforms (or social networking sites – SNS) that law enforcement agencies are utilizing today, the following is a brief review of Facebook and Twitter.

Facebook

Mark Zuckerberg, assisted by several fellow classmates, created Facebook in February of 2004 while enrolled at Harvard University (Facebook, 2016). The site was originally intended to facilitate communication among students enrolled at Harvard but was quickly expanded to a limited number of elite universities. In 2005, Facebook was opened to those with university email accounts, and then to high school students. By 2006, anyone with a valid email address could join (Wilson et al., 2012). Facebook's growth has been rapid; within the first year of its creation, Facebook had one million users. As of the end of 2015, it boasted 1.59 billion monthly active users, 1.04 billion of which are daily users (Facebook, 2016). In 2010, Facebook surpassed Google as the most visited website in the United States. Facebook is also very global in nature, with over 83% of users located outside of the US & Canada (Facebook, 2016; Wilson et al., 2012). Facebook's ubiquity cannot be overstated; 72% of internet-using adults (and 62% of all adults) in the US use Facebook (Duggan, 2015).

There are two main components of a Facebook account: the newsfeed, where one gets to see things posted by other users to whom they are connected via "Friend" status, and their profile, where they can share information about themselves and create and share content relevant to their lives, opinions, and interests (Caers et al., 2013). In addition to individual profiles, it has become commonplace for businesses, organizations, and governmental agencies – including law enforcement agencies – to maintain Facebook pages as ways of communicating with and advertising to relevant users.

Facebook's mission statement focuses on making the world "more open and connected," features that demonstrate the power of utilizing the internet to expand and strengthen social networks, transparency, and information-sharing (Facebook, 2016). For the most part, Facebook networks are much larger than people's real-world social networks. By the end of 2012, US users had an average of 214 Facebook friends, even more than the worldwide average of 130 friends (Caers et al., 2013; Wilson et al., 2012). Most people would be hard pressed to name 214 (or even 130) people they spend time with on a regular basis; Facebook networks typically extend a person's communicative reach far beyond their off-line social network. This gives Facebook the ability to let people and organizations share information and ideas with far more people than they would have otherwise, expanding the scope and potential power of Facebook communication beyond what would be possible in offline interactions. In fact, people in the United States reported only actually knowing an average of 50 of their friends on Facebook (Duggan et al., 2015). Facebook networks become captive audiences for individuals, businesses, and organizations – facilitating the communication and openness that is at the core of the Facebook experience.

While Facebook remains the most widely used social networking site – its growth has slowed among all but older adults (Duggan et al., 2015). While Facebook's membership may not be growing as fast as it used to, it is the social networking site used most actively on a daily basis, with 70% of users accessing the site daily, compared to 49% of Instagram users and 36% of Twitter users. (Duggan et al., 2015).

Twitter

Founded in the Silicon Valley in 2006, Twitter, like Facebook, has enjoyed rapid expansion as a social media platform. In 2007, users were sending 5,000 tweets per day and by 2009 this grew to 35 million tweets per day (Bilton, 2013). As of December 31, 2015, Twitter had 320 million monthly active users with 500 million tweets sent everyday, with 79% of the users being outside of the US – making Twitter a truly global social media platform (Twitter, 2016). Within the United States, 23% of internet-using adults have Twitter accounts, the largest growth coming from males, white people, those over 65, people within households making $50,000 or more a year, those who graduated from college, and those dwelling in urban areas (Duggan et al., 2015).

While Twitter and Facebook started within a few years of each other and have both experienced rapid growth, Twitter differs substantially from Facebook in that it limits users' posts to 140 characters – making posts much briefer than those on Facebook. Despite notable differences, the mission statement of Twitter is quite similar to Facebook's in that it seeks "to give everyone the power to create and share ideas and information instantly, without barriers" (Twitter, 2016). Twitter markets itself not only to individuals but provides guidance to governmental agencies, nonprofits, musicians, and faith-based groups about how to optimize Twitter to reach as wide of an audience as possible (Twitter, 2016). With governmental agencies in particular, Twitter markets itself as a way to "amplify your message, engage your constituents and join the real-time public conversation" (Twitter, 2016).

Social Media, Social Interaction, and Policing

Social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter are increasingly used as primary modes of communication and provide opportunities for "new forms of interaction and situational engagement" (Kidd & Carpenter, 2014: 199). Social media has not only changed the nature of communication but has also increased the consumption of content over the internet (Moule Jr. et al. 2013; Tong et al. 2008). As of 2014, over half of online adults were members of multiple social networking sites – an increase of 10% from 2013 (Duggan et al., 2015).

Communication scholars identify differences in the ways that individuals and organizations use social media. Compared to individuals who use social media to interact informally with people that have similar values, professional organizations are more likely to use it for image enhancement, developing community relationships, and relaying information (Sheil et al., 2011). Governmental organizations in particular approach social media in more formal ways that require careful planning and are less interactive than when individuals communicate on social media, although this is slowly changing as organizations are "...recognizing the value of conversations rather than monologues online" (Sheil et al., 2011: 56; Van Leuven, 2009).

Sociologist Dhiraj Murthy (2012) recognizes that Twitter has not just changed the nature and volume of information consumption, but has become a tool of self-presentation and self-production. According to Murthy (2012: 1065), we live in "an age of advertisement" and Twitter allows us to get a "posed view of the back stage." Twitter

allows for organizations to advertise themselves through posting about the organization, or giving a back stage glimpse of what the organization is all about. However, the 'posed view' is important, as this does not imply that Twitter should actually provide transparency, but instead provides an *appearance* of transparency in the context of advertising the organization. The President's Taskforce on Policing in the 21st Century (2015) suggested being transparent while using social media to connect with their communities. Thinking about Twitter as an image-maintenance tool, it is ideally positioned for law enforcement agencies that are looking to project community-oriented images to their constituents.

The need to project a certain image is indicative of the power that images and the potential meanings they convey can have in human interaction. Symbolic interactionism, a social constructionist perspective, posits that actions are influenced by realities created through meanings developed by social interaction (Blumer, 1969). In terms of law enforcement, this means that community members act towards police based on the meanings and ideas they hold about law enforcement. These ideas and meanings are based on interactions they have had with the police. Media and communication scholar Jan Fernback (2007) approaches online social communication from this social interactionist perspective and argues that people act accordingly to the meanings they derive from interactions they have with others both on and offline. Fernback (2007) found that whether online or offline, the end goal of interacting with other members of a community is achieving a level of shared commitment. Law enforcement is ultimately seeking a shared commitment to public safety. As such, the online interactions that law

enforcement agencies have with their community members likely influence the meanings people hold about the agency and how they ultimately act – whether deciding to break the law or when interacting with law enforcement officers. As community interactions, collaboration, and engagement are at the forefront of modern policing concerns, social media is positioned as a mechanism to project community-oriented images and meanings to the community with the ultimate goal of benefiting police-community relations.

The President's Taskforce (2015) specifically recommended social media as a means to engage communities. Even before this, social media was emerging as a key communication mechanism used by police in efforts to increase public confidence and perceived legitimacy (Johnston & McGovern, 2013). As early as 2010, the International Association of Chiefs of Police developed a policy guide regarding law enforcement's use of social media, emphasizing social media's potential to "enhance communication, collaboration, and information exchange; streamline processes; and foster productivity" (IACP, 2010: 1). According to Omand et al. (2012), law enforcement agencies have a responsibility to respond to the wide public use of social media, both in terms of monitoring social media and crowd-sourcing information for their own investigations. Existing research shows that most law enforcement agencies use social media for at least one of a variety of purposes including investigation, intelligence, notifying the public of crimes, and public relations (IACP, 2014; Kim et al., 2017; Lieberman et al., 2013). However, patterns of social media use are not consistent across departments (Kim et al., 2017; Lieberman et al., 2013; Miejer & Thaens, 2013). This is important as it indicates that some departments are projecting more of a community-oriented image on social

media than others – which experts like those on the Task Force (2015) predict will serve to benefit police-community relationships.

Known Uses of Social Media by Law Enforcement

To date, literature on the use of social media by law enforcement has concentrated primarily on the extent and objectives of its use. In 2013, Lieberman, Koetzle, and Sakiyama found that over 75% of the 61 largest US police departments had at least one social media account on Facebook, Twitter, or MySpace. Based on a survey with US law enforcement representatives, 82% and 69% of police departments reported having Facebook and Twitter accounts respectively (PERF, 2014). In fact, Johnston & McGovern (2013: 1679) describe police as being "masters of social media, with followings akin to politicians and celebrities."

The Department of Homeland Security Virtual and Social Media Working Group (2012) identifies social media as essential to emergency preparedness and response. In addition, The Task Force (2015) recommends that social media not just be used for intelligence and information gathering but for community relationship building. According to survey research conducted in 2014, police are more likely to use social media for investigative purposes rather than to connect with communities. However, more recent survey research that indicates more departments are reporting using social media for community outreach and engagement than for intelligence gathering and investigations (Kim et al., 2017). Findings from 2014 research found that of those law enforcement officers that employ social media, 81% reported its use for investigative

purposes, 34% of agencies use social media to inform the public of crimes, public emergencies, and disasters, and 30% of departments use social media to build positive community relationships (LexisNexis, 2014). And while the 2017 survey was conducted by a different research team, and comparisons should be made cautiously, 91% of respondents said their department used social media to notify the public of safety concerns, 89% used it for community outreach and engagement, 86% for both public relations and notifying the public of noncrime issues, and 70% reported using social media for investigative purposes. These findings may indicate a turning tide in the use of social media toward more community-oriented ends.

Meijer and Thaens (2013) interviewed representatives from three North American police departments and concluded that social media is not in and of itself transformative and that its use adapts to the cultural and organizational norms of each department. They further "conclude that the social media logic only manifests itself if it lands on fertile soil in a government bureaucracy" (Meijer & Thaens, 2013: 349). The social networking characteristics of social media that may benefit law enforcement in terms of their relationship with the community (rapid information exchange, allowing for dialogue with large numbers of people) may not be utilized to their full capacity, especially if departments do not engage in conversation with their constituents. While research increasingly questions the extent to which social media is used in novel ways by governmental agencies including law enforcement, a growing literature on how police use social media aims to explain the different ways social media is beneficial for law enforcement agencies.

Recent research finds that social media is increasingly viewed by law enforcement agencies as a tool for augmenting the effectiveness of crime control efforts. Not only is it viewed as effective, but social media reduces the costs associated with the coproduction of safety and increases this coproduction by supplementing face-to-face interaction with the instantaneous and widespread reach of social networking sites (Meijer, 2012). The existing research points primarily to two ways this happens: by enhancing criminal investigations and by sharing information with the public about crimes and emergencies (Johnston & McGovern, 2013; LexisNexis, 2014).

Investigating Crimes

The widespread use of social media has led many law enforcement agencies to monitor and use social media activity and content to inform tactical decisions and investigations (PERF, 2013). However, existing research also suggests that there is a lack of formal training and operating processes for using social media within the context of criminal investigations. According to a survey of law enforcement officers that use social media, while over three quarters use it for investigatory purposes, over half (52%) of the responding agencies do not have a formal process for using social media as an investigative tool. In fact, most (74%) officers report being self-taught at using social media for investigative purposes, compared with only 9% that were trained by their agency (LexisNexis, 2014). Some departments report maintaining at least minimal oversight of the use of social media for investigations; the NYPD gives officers

permission to access publicly available data but requires them to get approval before creating a fake online alias in an attempt to access non-public information (PERF, 2013).

Monitoring and researching social media posts during investigations remains the most popular use of social media by law enforcement. It is used for evidence collection, locating suspects, and identifying criminal networks (PERF, 2013). In addition to using social media to bolster the effectiveness of criminal investigations, existing research also finds that police use social media as a tool to provide information to the public.

Disseminating Information about Emergencies and Crimes

According to surveys with law enforcement representatives, just over 90% of agencies using social media use it to inform the public about emergencies and criminal activity (Kim et al., 2017). Agencies such as the Philadelphia Police Department and the Los Angeles Police Department monitor social media content to prepare for potential flash mobs or other large-crowd situations (PERF, 2013). Other law enforcement agencies including the Albuquerque Police Department use computer programs to scan for tweets utilizing certain keywords, monitoring trending topics among large groups to aid in making deployment decisions (PERF, 2014). Procter et al. (2013) analyzed over 2 million tweets from 700,000 different UK Twitter accounts during the London riots that took place from August 6-August 8, 2011, identifying Twitter as a crisis response and management tool. In the aftermath of the London riots in 2011, while some politicians and media outlets were blaming social media platforms such as Twitter for encouraging lawlessness and spreading the riots, Greater Manchester police stood firmly by their

decision to keep social media sites operational because they identified them as a key mechanism through which they could communicate with the public.

Existing research has found that about half of all posts are about crimes and criminal investigations. In a content analysis of 30 police Twitter accounts from cities with populations greater than 300,000, Heverin & Zach (2010) found that almost half (45%) of all police Tweets involved information about crimes and investigations. Similarly, Lieberman et al. (2013) found that 49% of the Facebook posts from the 20 largest police departments that had active Facebook accounts were about crime.

In addition, social media platforms can be used to inform constituents about effective policing successes (Lieberman et al., 2013). The importance of sharing an image of success and wanting to gain the community's approval speaks directly to the next section, which focuses on the ways in which social media has been used to in an effort to enhance community relationships.

Promoting Community Relationships and Collaboration

Social media has gained recent recognition as a potential resource for community engagement, especially as community policing has regained attention (Task Force, 2015). The President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing repeatedly emphasized a renewed interest in community-oriented policing, focusing on the importance of proactive police-community relationships. Social media purportedly helps governmental organizations connect with citizens and stakeholders more easily, allowing for improved and increased communication, providing opportunities for increased civic participation (Meijer &

Torenvlied, 2014). Law enforcement agencies are aware of the need to build and maintain community relationships - almost 95% of responding law enforcement representatives agreed that communities will have higher expectations of police to maintain trust and legitimacy in the next two to five years. Consequently, 82% of respondents agreed that their agencies will spend more resources to maintain their public image, and 99% agreed that their agencies intend to increase their social media use from the year prior (PERF, 2014).

Social media in particular is promoted as having the potential to enhance communication between law enforcement and community members – a central pillar of community policing (Lieberman et al., 2013). However, existing research questions the extent to which social media has resulted in more collaborative relationships between the police and the communities they serve (Brainard & Edlins, 2015; Brainard & McNutt, 2010; Meijer & Thaens, 2013). Social media acts as a resource for quick communication with many community members, potentially useful in widely disseminating messages about ways that the police are helping the community that may not be apparent in day-to-day operations. In addition, social media provides a forum in which community members can communicate directly with law enforcement, creating the opportunity for both increased transparency and collaboration. However, using a representative adult sample from the Netherlands, Grimmelikhuijsen & Meijer (2015) found that the police had virtually no interaction with the community on Twitter – it was used much more as a one-way method of communication.

While finding that police departments consistently used social media to increase transparency and collaboration, Meijer & Thaens (2013: 349) concluded that, "government organizations do not develop radically different relations with citizens through social media." In addition, Crump (2011) analyzed UK police Twitter content and found that police culture has limited innovative uses of Twitter to communicate with the community and instead supports existing communication practices.

An empirical analysis of 982 Dutch police Twitter accounts found that social media made communication with the public more important yet less formal, resulting in a de-centralized development in the organizational structure of governmental agencies like the police (Meijer & Torenvlied, 2014). However, Meijer & Torenvlied (2014) noted that social media's influence on governmental communication should not be overstated. According to the authors, social media has not superseded all other forms of communication for governmental agencies like the police but has become a rather modest (albeit growing) addition to established communication strategies. These findings are at odds with suggestions that social media could fundamentally transform the relationship between government and its constituents to make governmental processes more transparent and collaborative (Brainard & Edlins, 2015; Meijer & Thaens, 2013).

A survey of Dutch residents contributes to questions of how effective Twitter use can really be for increasing levels of perceived legitimacy. Despite finding that very few Dutch residents engaged with the police via social media, respondents expressed modestly increased feelings of legitimacy towards the police. These feelings were driven by increased perceptions of police effectiveness and feeling as though the department was

in touch with modern society (Grimmelikhuijsen & Meijer, 2015). While promising in certain respects, this research highlights an essential issue with relying on social media to fundamentally change the nature of police-community relationships: a lack of control over the audience. In their research, Grimmelikhuijen and Meijer (2015) found that so few people interacted with the police on Twitter, that it would be difficult to have any appreciable impact on police legitimacy overall.

Researchers also warn that social media may have an unintended negative impact on perceptions of law enforcement. Grimmelikhuijsen and Meijer (2015) caution that social media use by law enforcement has the potential to harm perceptions of police legitimacy and effectiveness. Grimmelikhuijsen & Meijer (2015) point to the New York Police Deparment's use of #MyNYPD, encouraging people to tweet pictures of themselves with law enforcement officers. This effort backfired, with most of the posts focused on negative treatment by police, highlighting tension between the police and community instead of strengthening ties. In addition, asking for the community's help could be seen as a sign of the police's ineffectiveness, further distancing social media use from its intended goals (Grimmelikhuijsen & Meijer, 2015).

The President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing (2015) recommended that agencies update their social networking sites frequently to stay current and actively engage with the community. However, Lieberman et al. (2013) determined that in the 23 largest police departments in the United States, only one third of the agencies using social media had posted within the last three months, indicating that most departments were not updating their accounts frequently.

Gaps in the Current Research

Although some of the extant literature highlights police uses of social media to enhance police-community relations and cooperation, there has been no comprehensive assessment of the community-oriented objectives of social media use across diverse departments. Nor has there been a systematic assessment of the concordance between intended and projected images in police departments' use of social media. Recent studies speak to the potential benefits of social media, the ways law enforcement representatives see social media as being used, and the content of social media accounts maintained by law enforcement. However, importantly, none of these studies compare the concordance between these subjects. Given the nascence of this subject, many gaps in the research continue to exist.

Empirical Gaps

Existing literature about law enforcement's use of social media, while integral to informing this new and growing subject, suffers from a number of methodological shortcomings. Current literature lacks analyses and comparisons of the content of multiple social media accounts within the same department, and does not compare differences in social media use across diverse departmental contexts. This is important because different platforms attract different demographics. Additionally, departments policing in different contexts may have different needs and concerns that are ultimately projected through the content on social media.

We currently lack research that compares the intended and actual images conveyed on social media by police. It is important to know whether this consistency between identity and image exists because many departments are under-resourced. Resources put toward building and sustaining a social media presence should project an image consistent with the identity the department and the image it intends to share with its constituents to elevate social media's reputation enhancing capabilities. It is possible that while a department has a community-oriented identity and intends to project this identity to its constituents, the image projected to the community could in fact be more consistent with traditional aspects of policing. If content related to arrests dominates its social media feed that could undermine a department's mission to enhance police-community relationships. At present, there is no research that speaks to this balance between community and traditionally-oriented image projection in law enforcement.

Another major weakness of the extant research is that the content analyses have all been conducted retrospectively and have not captured posts as they are made, leading to potential errors if departments regularly delete posts (Heverin & Zach, 2010; Lieberman et al., 2013). Given the ease and speed with which online data sources can change or be deleted, retrospective data collection decreases the accuracy of the data and the strength of the conclusions drawn from it. Existing research also suffers from the near complete reliance on large departments. Aside from LexisNexis (2012) and Kim et al., (2017), current research fails to examine cities of different sizes or take into account the different contexts in which they police, including levels of crime. In addition to these methodological concerns, there are also unaddressed theoretical areas of interest.

Theoretical Gaps

The literature to date on police use of social media has been conceptually limited; the existing literature focused on the content of police social networking sites highlights the use of social media to enhance criminal investigations and police-community relationships. However, there has been no comprehensive assessment of the community-oriented objectives of social media use. Previous research has focused on how law enforcement agencies use social media to share information (Brainard & Edlins, 2015; Heverin & Zach 2010), but no research to date has examined the community-oriented uses of social media. Given the prominence of the community relationship building goal of social media in the President's Taskforce's (2015) recommendations to engage in social media use, this is a gap ripe for exploration.

In addition, the current literature fails to explain the organizational identities, goals, and policies driving the use and content of social networking sites, and also fails to compare these to the images projected on social media. Organizational image construction seeks to maximize the effectiveness of reputation management by maintaining consistency between how the organization views itself and how it portrays itself. To date, no research has gathered data that correspond to the different elements necessary to assess the consistency of an organization's image construction.

Furthermore, the importance of having goals that structure social media use are emphasized by multiple law enforcement working groups. The Department of Homeland Security Virtual Social Media Working Group (2012: 6) noted the importance of goals in

choosing the "appropriate tools and activities to achieve success." It also identified core reasons why governmental agencies might engage in social media use that are consistent with law enforcement goals of effectiveness and community engagement: "To encourage individual connectivity and promote community resources...To build and promote agency or organization credibility...To promote and encourage efficiency credibility and transparency...To encourage the multi-directional sharing of essential information." Given that OIC aims to increase the effectiveness of an organization through promoting a positive reputation, it is poised to integrate into policing studies regarding the effectiveness of conveying a departmental image consistent with a community-oriented departmental identity.

In addition, the literature to date has focused primarily on what law enforcement departments think they are projecting on social media (their perceived internal identity) *or* the actual content on Twitter or Facebook (their external image), without comparing the two. Comparing what departments *think* they are posting to the content they are actually projecting speaks to the consistency of the internal and external elements of reputation and reveals whether departments are maximizing the reputation building potential of social media. This is important as departments seek to use resources as efficiently as possible at a time when many police-community relationships are tense. We currently do not know how police employees managing social media accounts articulate their department's identities or if these identities are consistent with the images they project on social media. For instance, if an interviewee says that their department identifies community service as an important goal and wishes to convey that to the

community, but then only posts content related to arresting people on their Facebook page, this would reveal an inconsistency between the type of image the department wishes to project and the image the community sees on Facebook.

This research responds to this gap by comparing and contrasting what departments think of themselves, what they wish to convey to their communities, and what they project on social media. This builds on previous work by integrating communication theory into policing research to assess how police manage their image and reputation within the community. This research also aims to gain insight into whether police are maintaining content consistent with the image they are intending to project in hopes of establishing a positive reputation in the community. Given the emphasis on improving relationships with the community in light of strained police-community relationships, examining the consistency between the internal and external facets of a departments' reputation building endeavors are of upmost importance. Drawing from organizational image construction, this research intends to address these empirical, methodological, and theoretical gaps, which are (respectively), the lack of diverse departmental context, the lack of prospective data collection, and most importantly, the lack of comparison between what departments intend to broadcast on social media and the content posted to Twitter and Facebook.

Reputation and Organizational Image Construction

Organizations seek to influence their reputations by presenting themselves in certain ways that express the organization's identity and project a particular image

(Gilpin, 2010). Traditional public relations scholarship conceptualized reputation as something that could and should be strategically managed, however more recent scholarship focuses on its dynamic and negotiated nature that emphasizes the transactional role between organizations and their stakeholders (Fombrun & van Riel, 2004; Gilpin, 2010; Murphy, 2010). While online social media environments such as Twitter and Facebook present new opportunities to promote an organization, they also present new challenges to engaging in public relations work (Gilpin, 2010).

According to Gilpin (2010), organizations build and portray a certain intended image based on their perceived identity – a construct internal to an organization. This internal identity is expressed to members of the public through a variety of channels, including social media, resulting in a certain external image of the organization. According to Brown et al. (2006), the study of organizational image, identity, and reputation is integral to maximizing organizational performance – and is best informed by interdisciplinary inquiry, positioning OIC to assist law enforcement agencies in maximizing their performance in terms of enhancing public safety and feelings of security. However, according to Brown et al. (2006), this interdisciplinary research has been limited by a lack of a coherent and consistent framework. Therefore, the authors synthesized an interdisciplinary framework clarifying the relationships and levels of inquiry between organizational identity and image.

Perceived Organizational Identity

According to Hatch and Schultz (1997: 357), "Organizational identity refers broadly to what members perceive, feel, and think about their organizations." Similarly, Brown et al. (2006: 102) describe identity as the "central, enduring, and distinctive...mental associations about the organization held by organizational members." While a wide range of associations can be held by individuals about the organizations they are a part of, only a small portion of these associations will emerge as integral to the perceived identity. For instance, within a police department an individual officer might associate the agency with professionalism, success in solving crimes, having a good K9 unit, and being sensitive to the community's needs, but when asked about the core values, may emphasize one particular aspect of these associations, such as being community-oriented.

In the entrepreneurship field, organizational identity has been useful in understanding the processes that are central to the way an organization forms and functions and has been used to understand how reputation-building affects the success of new firms (Ravasi & van Rekom, 2003). For instance, a new company may organize or structure itself in accordance with its identity, and similarly may interact with its stakeholders based on such an identity, whether it be something more conservative or radical. These identities must be explicitly conveyed to attract resources. Importing this concept into the criminal justice field, organizational identity and image construction could ultimately be used toward understanding how reputation building affects the

success of a law enforcement agency in its ability to protect and serve its public. While different than attracting resources in the corporate world, law enforcement agencies seek to gather the resources of positive reputation and community partnership. This current research seeks to explore the organizational identities of a diverse set of departments as a first step toward understanding how social media may benefit police community partnerships.

Brown et al. (2006) differentiate between the individual-level organizational identity articulated by individual members of the organization and the organizational-level identity. To aid in communication across disciplines, Brown et al. (2006) suggests that researchers use the term *organizational identity* to refer to the organizational-level construct (a combination of responses about an organization's identity that provide an overall assessment of how the organization as a whole views itself) and *perceived organizational identity* to refer to the individual-level construct – which is how individual members of the organization view the organization. This current research focuses on the perceived organizational identity of those managing social media accounts because they are the ones who will have direct control over its content and therefore the image that the department is projecting. However, for brevity's sake throughout the research I refer to this construct as organizational identity as well. This current research is also focused on what the organization wants others to think about them (Brown et al., 2006), which I refer to in this research as the *intended image.* This captures the image the department wishes to project to their community.

While traditionally thought of as discrete constructs, Cheney and Christensen (2001) question the extent to which organizational identity and image are distinct, and introduce the idea that the image an organization projects to its stakeholders actually serves to shape the organizational identity held by its members. Similarly, Gioia et al. (2010: 63) argue that organizational identity and image have a "close reciprocal relationship." While this current research continues to discuss organizational identity and image as distinct constructs, it does so with the acknowledgement that they are functioning within the same meaning-making system of communication and reputation building, and as such their meanings are likely intertwined.

Organizational Image, Reputation, and Legitimacy

According to Gilpin (2010), identity and image are the internal and external facets of reputation. Reputation and legitimacy are both positive perceptions about an organization that are "complementary, reciprocal concepts" (King & Whetten, 2008: 192) that can bolster the success of an organization (Brown et al., 2006). Reputation, according to Gilpin (2010), is a dynamic concept that is negotiated between an organization and its stakeholders while also influenced by media producers and consumers. For law enforcement departments in particular, the demands to demonstrate and achieve a positive reputation may drive the importance of constructing a certain image that conveys a community-orientation. Social media aims to enhance a department's reputation by helping to build community rapport, maintain a positive image, and build credibility (Gilpin, 2010). Hatch and Schultz (1997) point out however

that image building happens not just through fabricating and projecting a certain image but also through the everyday interactions between an organization and its stakeholders, serving as a reminder that both on and offline interactions matter for departments when looking to build a positive image within the community.

The recommendations that police use social media as one way to engage in community-oriented policing therefore come as no surprise. While social media presents law enforcement agencies with an innovative resource, it also presents the opportunity for a host of new challenges (Gilpin, 2010). Employing the perspective of organizational image construction is an innovative way to examine the intended and manifest uses of social media by law enforcement agencies in the context of community-oriented policing. For policy and practice, it is useful to know whether this concordance between identity and image exists because resources in many departments are tight and any efforts put toward maintaining a social media presence should project an image consistent with what the department wishes to project to maximize social media's reputation building potential. It is possible that while a department has a community-oriented identity and intends to project this identity to its constituents, the image projected to the community could be more consistent with traditional aspects of policing. If content related to arrests dominates its social media feed; that could undermine a department's mission to enhance police-community relationships. These questions are a first step to establishing how and why social media is being used and if its use is consistent with its stated goals and departmental identities.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH QUESTIONS, DATA, AND METHODOLOGY

This research is focused on whether there is a concordance between the organizational identity, intended images, and images projected on social media. To answer this question, I first interviewed representatives from a diverse set of police agencies and asked about their departmental identities and the images they wish to project to their community members. During the same time, I conducted a content analysis to find out what the content of social media accounts maintained by law enforcement agencies reveal about their projected images. Through answering these questions, this research adds to the growing body of literature on the use of social media by law enforcement as a potentially innovative means of engaging in community relationship building. It aims to provide an accurate understanding of the organizational identities articulated by those in charge of managing social media accounts and the images projected by the content of social networking sites.

Research Questions

This research aims to answer the following research question: are the images law enforcement agencies are projecting on Twitter and Facebook consistent with their perceived organizational identities and the images they intend to project? To answer this question, this research explores the following sub-questions: First, how do those working with departmental social media articulate their department's identity? This research focuses on the perceived organizational identity through interviews, and refers to this

concept interchangeably as identity, organizational identity, and perceived organizational identity, and departmental identity. Second, what images do those working with departmental social media wish to project to the public? This research inquires about the goals driving social media use and the images the departments hope to convey to their communities.

Finally, what are the images projected to the public via social media? More specifically, what is the relative frequency of different types of content on different agencies' pages specifically compared to posts conveying messages consistent with community-oriented versus standard approaches to policing? For instance, what is the relative frequency of posts providing information about community outreach endeavors compared to those seeking investigatory help with crimes that have recently occurred? Does this differ across departmental contexts? This is referred to as projected image, image, and external image throughout this dissertation.

Using organizational image construction, this research then compares the answers to these questions to examine the extent to which agencies are projecting images consistent with their identities and images they intend to project. Organizational image construction is used to structure this inquiry, as its focus is on maximizing the effectiveness of reputation building by evaluating consistency between how an organization views itself (perceived organizational identity), how it wants to present itself (intended image), and the image ultimately available to the stakeholders (projected image).

In the context of modern policing and its concerns with community-oriented policing, this research specifically applies OIC to evaluate how consistently a community-oriented identity is articulated and a community-oriented image portrayed. How do those responsible for the day-to-day operation of law enforcement social media accounts view the identity of their department and how does this compare with the image they think they portray? How does this compare with what they *think* they are posting on social media sites? How does this compare to the *actual* content of their social networking sites? What are the goals regarding social media use? Are social media accounts being used in ways that are consistent with any stated goals? Are these goals consistent with the President's Taskforce's emphasis on principles such as the enhancement of police community relationships?

Research Design

To answer the questions above, I employed a mixed-method approach combining semi-structured interviews with employees responsible for posting social media content with a content analysis of Twitter and Facebook accounts. Perceived organizational identity and projected image are best examined using this mixed-method approach combining content analysis and semi-structured interviews. While the content analysis of police social media accounts and the mission statements available on their websites offer a descriptive picture of the images projected through social media, the interviews are integral to examining the concordance between the perceived organizational identity and the projected image. This project does not seek to define these 12 departments'

organizational identities but compares how law enforcement representatives perceive the department's social media presence to what they convey directly through social media accounts.

Semi-Structured Interviews

This research employs semi-structured interviews to describe the identities, intentions, and goals driving social media use from the perspective of those tasked with maintaining law enforcement social media accounts. Interviewing is the most appropriate method to use when a researcher knows enough background information about a topic to form open-ended questions but not enough to create a close-ended questionnaire (Morse, 2012). Semi-structured interview techniques involve asking the same set of open-ended questions to all participants, centering around a pre-determined prompt while allowing the use of probing questions to elaborate on responses (Morse, 2012). For this research, questions revolve around the perceived departmental identity of the departments and the content that the social media managers post. This research protocol was cleared by Temple University's Institutional Review Board on January 14, 2016.

The following are five questions emblematic of those asked during the interview: What goals does your department have for using social media? What would you say are core aspects of JSO's identity? By identity I mean the strongest associations you have when you think about the department...So, when you think of describing your department, you would describe it as_____. What type of image does your department want to convey to the community? What benefits do you see from your department's

social media use? And finally, In what ways do you think using social media has improved the department's effectiveness at reducing crime? For a full interview schedule, please refer to Appendix B.

The content analysis and semi-structured interviews have been conducted simultaneously. The purpose of this design is so that the interviews can complement, elaborate on, and contextualize the findings of the content analysis (Palinkas et al., 2011). The interviews provided an opportunity not just to gain insight on subjects unavailable through examining the posts, like departmental identities and intentions, but also served to add a layer of contextualization and explanation about the content they posted on behalf of the department. While discussing posts that had been especially successful or emblematic of their social media use, interviewees would often describe posts that had been coded during the research – providing insights and narratives that provide a background story full of intention about a single post. For example, The Orem PD had posted a 'Wanted' Post with two males at an ATM. I saw that it had been subsequently taken down. The interviewee from the Orem PD brought this post up in a discussion of transparency. He said,

> One time, I posted a picture of two guys in the ATM that we're trying to identify. It turns out, the bank, we got them identified but it was the wrong people. The bank gave us the wrong footage. Ultimately, it was the bank's fault and nobody knew... The very next day when I found out about this...I put a post, hey everybody, just so you know, these kids, this wasn't them.

Getting to understand more about the intention behind the correction and the urgency and remorse expressed during the interview added a richness that would have

been missed by only looking at the content. Through the concurrent use of interviews and content analysis, this research explores the identities and goals driving social media use. Specifically, this research investigates the extent to which these perceived organizational identities align with community-oriented policing principles, and ultimately if identities are in harmony with the images projected on social media.

Content Analysis

A core component of this research is a structured content analysis that systematically sorts, compares, and quantifies different types of social media content across twelve departments. Content analysis is a rigorous method for describing qualitative data, relying on concept and data-driven categories and codes to guide the description of data (Schreier, 2014). For an example of the codes used in this research, please see Table 3.1 below which contains the codes occurring most often during this research. The same six codes were used most often across Facebook and Twitter. These referred to content related to seeking out information on people who were wanted, giving details of incidents, engaging with the community in non enforcement activities, providing event information to the community, and giving safety tips. A full list of codes can be found in Appendix C.

Table 3.1

The Six Most Frequently Occurring Codes

Category	Code	Description
Traditionally-oriented Content	StandWanted	Seeking information about a crime or a specific person who is suspected of a crime.
	StandBlotter	Details about crimes or events requiring police attention that have recently been committed or are currently unfolding. Can use when posts make mention of the crime along with when it happened. Only use for car accidents when there is specific mention of police activity at the scene.
	StandArrest	Notification about an arrest
Community-Oriented Content	ComNonEn	Non-enforcement activities with community. Not specifically with youth. Includes block club meetings, but if it specifically references meeting so that the community can share concerns and issues with police, that would be ComCollab as well.
	ComEventInfo	Information about an event before it happens. Events can either be held by the department or be other events that are not departmentally related.
Other	OtherSafety	General safety tips and suggestions for keeping persons and property safe from crime. Include posts that emphasize the importance of being safe in certain situations or in general. Also include warnings about scams.

Content analysis requires establishing a certain sequence of steps that guides the researcher through examining all relevant material in a way that minimizes the interference of the researcher's biases and expectations (Schreier, 2014). This research specifically employs a qualitative web-based content analysis, using an unobtrusive method to observe how law enforcement agencies communicate with their public using social media (Ackland, 2013). While internet mediated research (IMR) is still new compared to many other research approaches, it has well documented advantages including its potential ability to gather rich communicative data without interfering with

the subject, limiting the effects of social desirability while also providing potential time and cost-savings in terms of data collection (Hewson, 2017).

Content analysis is the most appropriate method for addressing these questions because it is a non-invasive and systematic way to describe the content that law enforcement agencies are posting to social media. Integral to the choice to employ content analysis is the ability to adapt the categories and coding schemes that structure content analyses of prior research to the specific context of one's current research. Given that this research is examining the community-relations building uses of social media, content analysis provides the necessary flexibility to adapt previously established categories and codes to focus on content specifically related to community-oriented policing.

As an open forum, social media pages allow for data collection without interaction with the departments and without interfering with their social media use. Analyzing the content of social media pages alone does not, however, speak to the perceived organizational identities or the images that law enforcement agencies intended to portray on social media. While the content analysis examines the projected image of each department, an interview approach is best equipped to answer questions about the perspectives, identities, goals, and policies of diverse departments because interviews can explore individual perspectives and rationales. The interviews in this research provided an opportunity not just to understand the perceived organizational identities and the

images the departments intended to portray, but also provided contextualization to the types of content found on Twitter and Facebook.

Data Sources

Two primary data sources are used in this project. The first of these are the Twitter and Facebook posts made by twelve law enforcement agencies over the course of a year. The second data source is the employees who manage the departmental social media content for these twelve law enforcement agencies. Agency websites were used to supplement the exploration of projected images and provided another glimpse into the image projected by each department on a more static platform than Facebook or Twitter provide.

Site Selection Criteria

Given interest in understanding how diverse law enforcement agencies project images consistent with community-oriented identities, it was most appropriate to employ maximum variation and criterion-based selection approaches. Maximum variation is a purposive selection technique used to ensure diversity across one or more criteria to understand if any of the criteria have an effect on the outcome (Daniel, 2012). Law enforcement agencies were selected based on department size and crime rate, using regional diversity as a secondary selection factor.

Due to the sampling approach employed in this research, there is no attempt to make statistical generalizations about social media use based on department size or the violence level in the jurisdictions they police. However, in selecting departments for

inclusion in the study, I sought to ensure that departments that police in different contexts were represented in this study. Extreme case selection (selecting the highest and lowest crime departments or the smallest and largest departments) was not appropriate here since that would likely lead to conclusions about departments that have unique circumstances (Daniel, 2012). Instead, this research aims to understand how typical departments across diverse departmental contexts use social media.

Another selection criterion is that each department must have Facebook and Twitter pages that have been updated at least once within the past month. Since this research seeks to understand the images law enforcement agencies project using social media, including departments with inactive social media accounts would be inappropriate. I chose to only set the minimum number of posts at one because I did not just want to capture departments that post often, but wanted to capture the volume of posts made by diverse departments on a daily, weekly, and monthly basis. If a department posts infrequently, that is a potentially important finding as well.

I selected one person in each of these departments for the semi-structured interviews. The interviewees were selected based on their direct involvement with posting content to the social media accounts. I did not limit the selection criteria to uniformed officers since public information officers, those most likely to be in charge of disseminating media, can be sworn or civilian employees (Chermak & Weiss, 2005). In fact, interviewees held a range of positions from civilian public outreach workers to

acting chiefs of police. Overall, the interviewees reported little oversight in regards to the content they were posting.

Relevance of Department Size

The size of a law enforcement agency matters because it may impact the resources and the existence of a social media strategy or communications plan. Existing research seems to indicate that smaller departments likely operate differently than the largest departments and are actually more likely to use social media for investigatory purposes; however, the research does not speak to the community-oriented uses of social media (LexisNexis, 2012).

Department size is also integral to this study because it aims to fill a major weakness in the existing literature – the near-exclusive focus on the largest US police departments. While most research has focused on large departments, the vast majority of police departments in the US are small. While almost half (48%) of all agencies employed fewer than 10 full-time officers, nearly two-thirds (63%) of sworn personnel worked for the 5% of local agencies that employed 100 or more officers (Reaves, 2015). Given that LexisNexis (2012) found that smaller departments (those with fewer than 50 personnel) use social media more than larger departments, and that local agencies use social media more than state agencies do, including smaller local departments provides a more accurate understanding of how law enforcement agencies across the US are using social media.

Relevance of Violent Crime Rate

The second criterion for selection is the crime rate of the department's jurisdiction. The violence rate is relevant because even though violent crime is less prevalent than other types of crime, such as property crime, it elicits more fear and dread, which may influence the demands and goals a police department has and the tactics they use to achieve these goals. When thinking about the sometimes competing organizational demands between the policing goals of effectiveness and legitimacy, in that higher crime areas may place more focus on demonstrating effectiveness, it is plausible to expect that departments that police higher crime areas may use social media differently than departments that do not experience high crime rates. High crime contexts may put more pressure on departments to increase effectiveness (as measured by violent crime arrests, for example) and communicate their effectiveness while a lower crime context may provide an opportunity to focus on improving community relationships. On the other hand, departments experiencing high crime may emphasize community relationships in an effort to legitimize the legal authority of the police, while departments in low crime jurisdictions may feel the need to emphasize their effectiveness to justify continued support and funding.

Larger departments are generally faced with higher crime, but this is not always the case. It makes sense to investigate the assumption that a large department that does not have a looming crime problem may take more opportunities to promote community policing through social media because they may feel less pressured to demonstrate

effectiveness through traditional enforcement-focused policing. Not needing to demonstrate effectiveness at reducing crime as much as other large departments may allow large low-crime departments – who still have more resources at their disposal than smaller departments – to engage in more community-oriented social media posting. Including department size and jurisdiction violence rate as selection criteria are essential for understanding if and how social media use varies across contexts.

This research includes departments that police areas of varying crime rates – areas that have high, medium, and low rates of violent crime. For each size tier the level of violence was compared to the average violent crime rate for cities of similar size (FBI, 2015b). For instance, since larger departments overall had a higher crime rate, the average violent crime rate is relative just to departments of that size, with an average violent crime rate of approximately 665 per 100,000 people (FBI, 2015b).

Region

While region is not a criterion for selection in this study, regional diversity was considered when finalizing the selected cities. Region is important because there could be cultural, political, or socio-demographic variation that may bias the findings if all of the departments were in the same region. Regional diversity is also important when understanding the use of social media as an informational tool. For instance, if all selected departments were in the same region that experienced an unusual amount of extreme weather during a study period, the results could show an inflated use of police social media to relay weather-related information. By using region as a way to ensure

contextual diversity, this research design aims to minimize the effect of regional bias on the findings.

Selecting the Research Sites

Departments were selected based on agency size and violent crime rate with the aim to select three departments in each size-crime tier. The selection process gave a secondary consideration to geographic diversity to examine any regional differences and enhance the robustness and validity of the findings. While these selections are not representative in any statistical sense, they are meant to be typical within the given size and crime range, meaning that they are not the most extremely violent places or the absolute lowest crime jurisdictions because those are more likely to be unique cases compared to those that fall closer to the center of the size and violence distributions. The selection process avoided an overabundance of departments from one region of the country. While representative regional diversity is beyond the scope of this research, it is ripe for future inquiry.

Size

The first selection criterion was the size of the department. To group departments by size, the research employed ranges adapted from the Bureau of Justice Statistics LEMAS 2013 survey (Reaves, 2015): Tier 1 = >1000 employees, Tier 2 = 250-999, Tier 3 =50-249, Tier 4 = <49 employees. While the LEMAS survey used 10 categories, five of them included departments with fewer than 50 employees. For the purposes of this study, collapsing these categories allowed for comparisons to be made between cities with other

attributes as well, in this case – violent crime – while still keeping the project manageable in scope. The number of employees in each department was obtained from the 2014 Uniform Crime Report (UCR) law enforcement employee data. The UCR is generated by the FBI using reports from over 18,000 law enforcement agencies across the country (FBI, 2015b). Since over a third of all police employees are not sworn officers (FBI, 2015) and public information officers can be unsworn (Chermak & Weiss, 2005), the total number of employees provides a more accurate measure of department size for this study.

Violent Crime Rate

The 2014 UCR was also used to assess the level of crime in the jurisdiction each department polices. According to the FBI (2015b) the national average violent crime rate was 365.5 per 100,000 residents. Departments were selected to maximize variation yet excluded extremes for cities relative to the same size. To determine what an average crime rate for a similarly sized city would be, I calculated the average violent crime rate for cities with a population over 250,000 (748.12), those between with 100,000-250,000 people (446.10), cities with between 10,000-100,000 residents (279.85), and towns with fewer than 10,000 people (236.68) (FBI, 2015b). While the selection criteria focused on department size, the method for determining the violence rate of the city where the department is located was based on the size of the city. While the most violent towns are some of the smallest, on balance, larger cities typically experience higher crime. The

minimum and average violence levels decrease with the size of the city; please see Table 3.2 for details.

Table 3.2

Violent Crime Rates by City Population

City Size	Min	Max	Mean
Xtra Large (250k+)	146.31	1988.63	748.12
Large (100k-250k)	49.39	1588.29	446.10
Medium (10k-100k)	0	3855.15	279.85
Small (<10k)	0	4175.99	236.68

UCR (2015b)

This selection technique was used to ensure that all departments included in the analysis were not at the extremes of their distributions, which could have happened if only using the national average violent crime rate.

Selection Process

The step-by-step explanation of the selection process is as follows: First, a 3x4 matrix was created to select three departments from each size tier – one low, medium, and high violence city of each size. Next, all cities were sorted by violent crime rate. Starting with a high crime city with more than 1,000 employees (quadrant 1), there were 32 cities that fell between the most violent large city and the average violence large city. In the middle of this distribution was Philadelphia. Given the researcher's location in Philadelphia and pragmatic research accessibility concerns, Philadelphia was the first city selected for inclusion in this research. Before inclusion, active accounts (one post within the last month) on Twitter and Facebook were verified.

To verify the existence of active social media accounts throughout this selection process, multiple tactics were employed. First, Google was used to search for a Twitter

account since fewer departments have Twitter than Facebook accounts. The first search was for the city name followed by "police department twitter." If the Google search did not yield an official Twitter account, the department name was entered directly in Twitter's search bar. If that yielded nothing, the official department website was checked for links to a Twitter account. If an official Twitter page was located through any of these methods, it was verified that there had been at least one post made in the past month. Once an active Twitter account was confirmed, this process was repeated to confirm an active Facebook account. If both accounts existed and were currently in use, the department was selected. Then the selection process moved to the next blank quadrant in the matrix to find the next department.

To select a department that polices in a city with an average level of violence, a city was located that sat between the mean and median violent crime rates. Then, the UCR employee data was verified to ensure that the department had more than 1,000 employees. The same methods were followed as above for verifying the existence of Twitter and Facebook accounts. For the low violence cities, the same methods were used, but selected cities between the minimum and average violent crime rates. The same methods were followed as above for verifying the existence of accounts and the size of the department. Twelve police departments were selected for inclusion in this research. See Table 3.3 for a list of the departments included in the study.

To select the interviewees within each department, this research identified those managing social media accounts in each of the twelve chosen departments. Potential

interviewees were identified through a sequence of methods. First, the name of the police department followed by 'social media manager' was entered into Google's search feature. If that did not yield a name within the first 10 suggested websites, I went to each department website and searched through organizational information to find the employee listed as being in charge of managing social media accounts. Once these names were found, contact information was located on the department's website.

If a social media manager was not apparent, the first point of contact was the Public Information Office or the Public Affairs Unit. If this information was unavailable, emails were sent to general inquiry accounts. If no email address was found, I made a call to the department's PIO (or listed point of contact) to request the contact information of the person who manages social media accounts for the department. Interviews were ultimately conducted with 11 out of the 12 departments. Unfortunately, while the representative from Jacksonville Sheriff's office was open to answering questions, we were unable to schedule an interview before the research concluded.

Agencies and Cities

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Philadelphia is the fifth most populated city in the United States, with a population of over 1.5 million (FBI, 2015b). It sits in the Mid-Atlantic region between New York City, Baltimore, and Washington, DC. It is considered a high-crime city with a violent crime rate of 1021.46 per 100,000 (FBI, 2015b). There are 7235 police department employees in Philadelphia (FBI, 2015a), one of which is a dedicated social

media manager. The Philadelphia Police Department maintains a number of social networking sites including Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube (Philadelphia Police Department, 2015).

Table 3.3

Law Enforcement Agencies

Tier	Police Department	State	Region	# of PD Employees	Population	Violent Crime Rate
1	Philadelphia	Pennsylvania	Northeast	7235	1,559,062	1021.46
1	Jacksonville	Florida	South	3161	856,021	683.74
1	San Diego	California	West	2520	1,223,021	380.95
2	Buffalo	New York	Northeast	911	258,419	1228.24
2	Aurora	Colorado	West	808	350,948	412.60
2	Stamford	Connecticut	Northeast	331	127,385	240.22
3	Canton	Ohio	Midwest	191	72,391	1008.41
3	Fargo	North Dakota	Midwest	164	115,686	354.41
3	Orem	Utah	West	122	92,409	43.29
4	Hillsborough	North Carolina	South	27	6451	852.58
4	Shiloh	Illinois	Midwest	19	12,991	184.74
4	West Linn	Oregon	West	30	26,202	30.53

Data from FBI (2015a) Number of full-time law enforcement employees in 2014. Population and violent crime rates are from FBI (2015b) and are based on rates per 100,000 from 2014 UCR data.

Jacksonville, Florida

Jacksonville, Florida is home to over 850,000 people and is considered an average crime city with a violent crime rate of 683.74 (FBI, 2015b). Their police department has 3161 employees (FBI, 2015a). Jacksonville is located in northeast Florida, between Orlando and Savannah, Georgia. The Jacksonville Sheriff's Office (JSO) maintains an active social media presence with accounts on several social networking sites: Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube, Periscope, and SnapChat, the last two of which are not listed on the department's website (Jacksonville Sheriff's Office, 2016).

San Diego, California

San Diego is a low crime large city with a violent crime rate of 380.95 and a population of over 1.2 million people. The police department employs 2520 people (FBI 2015a; 2015b). The San Diego Police Department has links on their website to a number of social networking sites: Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, and NextDoor (City of San Diego, 2016).

Buffalo, New York

Buffalo, New York sits in Northern New York, near Niagra Falls and the border to Ontario, Canada. With a population of 258,419 It has an above average violent crime rate of 1228.24 (FBI, 2015b). The Buffalo Police Department employs 911 people (FBI, 2015a). The Buffalo Police Department maintains Facebook and Twitter accounts; however, they provide no mention of their Facebook account on their website while displaying a Twitter feed on their front page.

Aurora, Colorado

With a population of just over 350,000, Aurora, Colorado is a suburb located due east of Denver (FBI, 2015b). Aurora has an average violent crime rate for cities of similar size at 412.60 (FBI, 2015b). The Aurora Police Department employs 808 people (FBI, 2015a). The department's website provides links to a number of social networking sites: Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Periscope, and NextDoor (City of Aurora, n.d.).

Stamford, Connecticut

Stamford, Connecticut - a suburb of New York City - is home to over 125,000 people and has a below average violent crime rate, with 240.22 violent incidents per 100,000 people (FBI, 2015b). The police department employs 331 people (FBI, 2015a). Stamford has Facebook and Twitter accounts, although their website only links to their Facebook account.

Canton, Ohio

With a population of just over 72,000 people, Canton, Ohio sits in Northeast Ohio, roughly between Cleveland and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (FBI, 2015b). Its crime rate, 1008.41, is above average for similarly sized cities (FBI, 2015b). The Canton Police Department employs 191 people (FBI, 2015a). The department maintains Twitter and Facebook accounts, with links on its website hosted through The City of Canton's government site.

Fargo, North Dakota

Fargo, North Dakota is a Midwestern city located along North Dakota's eastern border with Minnesota. It has a population of 115, 686 and a violent crime rate of 354.41, which is average for cities of a similar size (FBI, 2015b). The Fargo Police Department employs 164 people (FBI, 2015a). The department maintains Facebook and Twitter accounts, but only provides a link to their NextDoor account on their website.

Orem, Utah

With a population of just over 92,000 and a violent crime rate of 43.29, Orem, Utah is a city with low violent crime (FBI, 2015b). The Orem Police Department employs 122 people (FBI, 2015a) and maintains Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram accounts. Orem is located south of Salt Lake City, near the shores of Utah Lake.

Hillsborough, North Carolina

Hillsborough, North Carolina sits North of Durham and Chapel Hill and is one of the smallest departments included in this study with just 27 employees (FBI, 2015a). It is home to nearly 6500 people and has a violent crime rate of 852.58 (FBI, 2015b). The Hillsborough Police Department maintains Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube accounts, and maintains a website through the city of Hillsborough's government website.

Shiloh, Illinois

Shiloh, Illinois has a population of 12,991 and is the smallest department included in this research with 19 employees (FBI, 2015a; 2015b). It has an average violent crime rate for a smaller city at 184.74 (FBI, 2015b). Shiloh is located in Western Illinois, near St. Louis, Missouri. According to their website, Shiloh Police Department maintains Twitter and Facebook accounts. The Department's website is one page on the Village of Shiloh's website.

West Linn, Oregon

West Linn, Oregon is a suburb of Portland, Oregon with 26,202 residents and a violent crime rate of 30.53 (FBI, 2015b). It has won multiple awards for being a safe city

and a great place to live (City of West Linn, 2016). Their police department has 30 employees (FBI, 2015a), and maintains active Facebook and Twitter accounts.

Study Period

Tweets and Facebook posts were collected between April 1, 2016 and March 31, 2017. Collecting data for a year addressed potential seasonality issues that may occur had the researcher only done so for a shorter length of time. Interviews were conducted with individuals from 11 of the 12 departments included in the content analysis. These interviews took place between January 15, 2017 and March 1, 2017. Jacksonville Sheriff's Office was the only department that was not represented in the interviews. Unfortunately, multiple attempts to schedule an interview were unsuccessful. While interviewing someone from each department would have been ideal, given the convergence and consistency of themes in the other interviews, the research concluded on time without the final interview.

Data Collection and Analysis

Content Analysis: Capturing and Storing Social Media Posts

Posts from Twitter and Facebook were captured and stored for a content analysis that illuminated the images projected by police on social media. This research focuses only on the text of social media posts made to the primary official Twitter and Facebook accounts of local law enforcement agencies. Although pictures and videos contextualized the text and are occasionally presented alongside this project to provide visual aids while

explaining the content of social media posts, a systematic analysis of images and videos is beyond the scope of this study but would be ripe for future exploration.

This research makes use of multiple applications to collect and store the social media data: Facebook, Twitter, Inoreader, IFTTT, and Google Drive. This combination of applications automatically stores information about Facebook and Twitter posts from selected departments in two spreadsheets on Google Drive, one for Facebook posts and one for Twitter posts. Since the two platforms generate slightly different content and information, content from each was analyzed separately. The web-based spreadsheet function on Google Drive, called Google Sheets, is an application (compatible with Microsoft Excel) that allows users to update spreadsheets and share them online. To help protect against data loss, original data from the spreadsheet on Google Drive was imported into a Microsoft Excel file on a daily basis. The coding took place in this Excel file.

Twitter

Even though Inoreader is compatible with Twitter, the content that was exported into Google Sheets was filled with scripts and codes, making it unreadable and difficult to use for data analysis. To solve this issue, IFTTT was used to directly link Twitter to Google Sheets. For Twitter, a recipe was created for each of the twelve departments that directed IFTTT to populate a new line of a spreadsheet each time a Tweet is posted, just like with Facebook posts. The Twitter posts contain information on the date and time posted, the author of the Tweet, the text contained in the Tweet, and a URL to the Tweet.

Facebook

While a number of automated data collection options exist for Twitter, there were no existing methods to prospectively collect the content of other user's Facebook posts. This research only focuses on publicly available accounts, which mitigates any privacy concerns stemming from capturing and storing Facebook posts that may have motivated the developers to limit Facebook's use in this way. The posts for the content analysis were captured using the following method: First, Inoreader, an RSS reading application, was used to subscribe to the Facebook pages of the twelve police departments listed above. RSS readers put new posts from subscribed sites into one place for the user to access later and in the case of Inoreader, indefinitely. Inoreader was chosen primarily for its access to Facebook – which can follow up to 60 public Facebook accounts without needing a developer account with Facebook or knowledge of computer programming, making this a highly useful way to engage in social media research for academics who do not have programming knowledge or capabilities. It should be noted, however, that Inoreader needs to be monitored regularly, Facebook 'tokens' that link Inoreader to Facebook can expire. Tokens are basically passwords that applications use to provide temporary, secure access to Facebook data (Facebook, 2017) While it requires only clicks to get the token reinstated, any time between token expiration and reactivation means potentially lost posts that must to be accounted for manually.

To convert the data into a usable format for analysis, the application IFTTT (If This Then That) was used to linked Inoreader to Google Drive. IFTTT is a free application that connects two applications together to create automated workflows. The

interface can connect over 270 applications together. Since IFTTT is compatible with both Inoreader and Google Drive, integrating them together by creating a 'recipe' was intuitive and user-friendly. According to the recipe written for this research, every time a new article comes into a specified folder on Inoreader, it automatically populates the last row on a specified Sheet in Google Drive with the following information: Date and time of import into Google Drive, the department that authored the post, the title of the post, the URL of the post, and the text content of the post. Since the exact time of the Facebook post cannot be captured using this method, before coding, each original Facebook post is queried and the time it was posted is recorded.

Conducting Semi-Structured Interviews

The semi-structured interviews in this research serve to better understand the identities and goals of law enforcement agencies as articulated by those managing official social media accounts. Along with the content analysis, the interviews are integral to comparing the perceived organizational identity with the intended and actual images projected on social media. The interviews help to identify goals for social media use, providing complementary material to the content analysis that cannot be obtained without the flexibility afforded by asking open-ended questions or the perspective of someone within the organization. This mixed-method approach revealed unique insights about the concordance of departmental identity and image while providing contextualization and a glimpse into the intention behind the content on social media. Without these methods,

understanding the concordance of the internal and external elements of reputation through the lens of OIC would not have been possible.

The semi-structured interview instrument is based on a protocol developed by Heverin and Zach (2011) but has been adapted to focus on content related to community-oriented and traditional policing. Heverin and Zach (2011) interviewed 17 public information officers and conducted a content analysis of 30 law enforcement Twitter accounts. However, they were focused specifically on its use in crisis situations and collected the data retrospectively. Unlike Heverin and Zach (2011), this research goes beyond the scope of crisis management to engage those in charge of social media about the intentions and goals of social media use, specifically as they relate to community policing. Heverin and Zach's (2011) interview schedule focuses on why departments adopted social media tools and what they saw as the advantages and disadvantages of social media use. This research expands on these questions to explicitly ask about perceived departmental identity, the intended image, and community-oriented policing. Please see Appendix B for the interview protocol. A majority (n=9) of the interviews were conducted over the phone, with one interview conducted via Skype (with the representative from West Linn, Oregon) and one in person interview (with the representative from Philadelphia). The interviews varied in their length of time with the phone interviews lasting between 20-53 minutes each. The Skype and in person interviews lasted for approximately 1 hour and 15 minutes each.

Qualitative Data Analysis

The multiple qualitative methods in this study inform a more complete understanding of how law enforcement agencies are using social media platforms than currently exists in the scholarly literature. This section outlines the analysis processes for this research. In the content analysis portion of the study, the unit of analysis is one post. The posts differed in length within and across social media platforms; however, in terms of understanding how law enforcement agencies are using social media, looking at each post individually provides detail about the different uses but avoids issues of fragmentation that may arise by looking at too small of a unit of analysis – such as a single word.

Coding

The first step to the content analysis of the social media content and semi-structured interviews was to form a codebook to guide the coding and analysis process. The primary coding scheme in this study is adapted from the categories pioneered by Lieberman et al. (2013) and Heverin and Zach (2010) and informed by pilot investigations that took place from January to March 2016. The categories and codes for this project are focused on whether a post is conveying a message that is more consistent with a community approach to policing or a standard approach to policing. The formation of the coding scheme was an iterative process, refining the codes and categories as inadequacies in the measures were exposed throughout their development, following best practices outlined by Tremper et al. (2010). As each post could have multiple types of

content, each post could have an unlimited number of codes that correspond with one of the coding categories. Please see Appendix # for a full list of categories and codes.

Coding was deductive, as the aim of the study was to compare how different departments utilize, approach, and justify their use of social media. Deductive coding generally relies on earlier models or theories that drive the creation of categories that are then applied to the data being analyzed (Elo & Kyngas, 2008). For the content analysis, I employed a constrained categorization matrix, meaning that only data that fit into the pre-established matrix were coded. Interview coding began with the same matrix, but was left unconstrained to allow for the addition of inductive codes that would be unique to the interviews and not the content analysis, such as codes regarding public negativity or the desire to engage more with social media (Elo & Kyngas, 2008).

For the social media content analysis, coding took place every one to five days. The majority of posts were coded within 48 hours of being posted. Since this research employed a deductive coding approach, the research committee conducted an inter-rater reliability check during the yearlong data collection process. This involved a committee member taking a day's worth of posts and coding them separately using the established codebook, and comparing their consistency with what the researcher had coded.

There was a high level of agreement between coders, and the discrepancies that did exist were symptoms of poorly articulated coding definitions rather than improperly applied codes. Out of 41 of codes there were only six where there were slightly differing interpretations of the code definitions that were resolved easily through discussion. This

issue was easily resolved by clarifying the definition within the codebook. For instance, I clarified the 'Traffic' Code from being "Alerts about current or potential future traffic" to "Alerts about current or potential future traffic. Not about traffic enforcement or safety in traffic. Includes traffic information like road closures, and traffic that is expected to stem from an event or weather incident." It is important to note that this did not influence the codes themselves or the way the codes were applied throughout the research. These changes only influenced the way the codes were described so that the project has improved replicability. We achieved a level of consensus where no further analyses were needed to achieve confidence that the codes were being applied in a systematic manner.

Comparing the codes and categories from the content analysis to those from the semi-structured interviews elucidated the concordance between the perceived departmental identity, intended image, and the departmental image projected on social media. SPSS was used to analyze the content from the social media accounts and qualitative data analysis software ATLAS.ti was used to analyze the interview data. While SPSS was useful in quantifying the content posted over the course of 12 months, the interview data analysis from ATLAS.ti provided elaboration and contextualization to the content by applying the same set of codes from the social media content analysis. Additional codes were used in ATLAS.ti that were interview-specific, providing insights into the way those in charge of social media view their department (perceived organizational identities) and hope to portray their department on social media (intended images).

The following are examples of interview-specific codes used for coding the interview data along with a description of when the code was applied. The first is 'Discretion' which included mentions of the use of discretion when posting content to social media. Engagement was another theme that emerged from the interviews and was applied when there was discussion of using social media to engage the community (versus showing the department engaging with the community in the content analysis). Within the interviews, the subject of 'hazards' arose on multiple occasions. This code was applied to passages discussing potential hazards, pitfalls, or issues that have arisen with the rise of social media use. And as a final example, the issue of 'reputation' emerged as a recurrent subject. This code was applied to references to reputation including managing the reputation of the department or a desire to use social media to improve the department's reputation. A complete list can be found in Appendix C. In the next chapter, findings from this mixed-method analysis focus on whether community-oriented policing is at the core of these organizational identities and images projected on social media.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Organizational image construction guided this analysis of law enforcement's use of Twitter and Facebook. Integrating this communication theory into policing research provided a new framework through which to analyze the consistency between the departmental identity and the image they wish to project to their stakeholders. By inquiring simultaneously about the departmental identities, the images they wish to project, and the images actually projected on their websites, Facebook, and Twitter feeds, this research uses OIC to assess the extent to which police are using social media in ways that are consistent with the goals they have for the use of social media.

The main question this research seeks to answer is whether the images law enforcement agencies are projecting on Twitter and Facebook are consistent with their perceived organizational identities and the images they intend to project. To answer this question, this research explores the following sub-questions: First, how do those working with departmental social media articulate their department's identity? Data from the interviews provided insight into the departmental identities. Second, what images do those working with departmental social media wish to project to the public? Data from the interviews were also valuable in examining the image the department intended to be projecting to their communities on social media. Finally, what are the images projected to the public via social media? The data from the content analyses address the descriptive aim of this research and speak to what type of content law enforcement agencies are

posting to their social media pages. This question will be answered by presenting relative frequencies of the content posted by the twelve law enforcement agencies involved in this research.

The President's Taskforce (2015) suggested that social media be used for community engagement. As such, this content will be analyzed according to a community-oriented lens, focusing on whether content is more community-oriented or traditionally-oriented. Comparing content as community versus traditionally-oriented provides a framework to structure and think about the different types of images police are conveying. As community-oriented policing is offered as an innovation to traditional policing, using this dichotomy is helpful for understanding whether the images being projected are more in line with community-oriented innovation or project a more traditional policing image. This will speak to whether social media is being used in community-oriented ways, as the Task Force (2015) recommends.

Using organizational image construction, this research then compares the answers to these questions to examine the extent to which agencies are projecting images consistent with their identities and images they intend to project. The primary research question addresses whether the image projected on Twitter and Facebook, based on the content from question one, is consistent with the departmental identities and images those posting to Facebook and Twitter wish to project to their communities. By using the theoretical framework of organizational image construction, the findings from the second research question speak to the level of consistency between these facets of reputation.

Given the limited resources facing many law enforcement agencies, having a high level of consistency between identity and the image actually projected is important for ensuring maximum reputation management from the time and resources put into social media use.

Presented below are findings from the interviews, websites, and content analyses of Twitter and Facebook posts. Discussion focuses on the content most often projected on these sites and how it relates to community and traditionally-oriented policing. While the first and second sub-questions are answered primarily using data from the interviews, data from the social media content analysis will speak to the images projected on social media. Data from the interviews also serve to contextualize and elaborate on data produced from the social media content analyses.

Departmental Identities and Intended Images

Organizational image construction structures this inquiry to examine the behavior of law enforcement agencies vis a vis their social media content. According to OIC, an organization's effectiveness is maximized through ensuring that the reputation of the organization is upheld by making sure the organization's identity is consistent with the image it is projecting. First, this research looks to the departmental identities and goals for social media use that social media managers articulated during the interviews.

A number of themes emerged from the interviews around departmental identity and the intended uses of social media. These findings focus on the most recurrent emerging issues including the community and service orientation of departmental

identities and the desire to use social media to humanize the department while projecting a transparent image. The theme of reputation building and the primacy of the department's reputation emerged as a primary objective of social media use throughout the interviews. This focus on reputation and the public's perception of the department emphasizes the intended image that the department wishes to project. These themes are detailed below.

Identities: Community and Service

Departmental identity and the image an organization wishes to project are central to organizational image construction theory. All interviewees explained that they wanted to project a community-oriented image to their constituents, indicating that identity and the image they intend to project are largely consistent. However, that's not to say that interviewees did not also articulate traditionally-oriented identities as well, such as professionalism and being safety-oriented. The interviewee from the Fargo PD demonstrated an orientation towards both community and service – a balance of community-oriented policing and traditional policing orientations. This representative also noted that many people interact with police at negative times in their lives, and spoke of the intention to balance these experiences with positive content on social media.

> A lot of times...we're out and about with community orientated type of stuff or when an officer stops and plays basketball with some kids...and someone will take a picture and post that information, it's important for us to share that... But it's important for us to show that...not only are we professional and we're not just there to respond to the negative instances because a lot of times people's first or current or most recent interaction with police is not during pleasant times. It's something that when there's a person they're in a car crash or they were...something negative happened

> in their life and we want them to know that...they can trust us and to be professional and provide quality service.

The representative from the West Linn PD echoed similar sentiments about the importance of emphasizing the role of service as part of the department's identity.

> We're passionate about serving the community. We're passionate about doing the best jobs that we can do, and I know probably every department would say that, but honestly, in a small town like this where we have an uber amount of contact with the public in positive ways...I think that's kind of one of the tenets that we really identify with is that we're passionate about serving the community.

Much of the dialogue around departmental identity specifically referenced the centrality of the community to the department's identity. The interviewee from the Orem PD discussed the importance of youth engagement to the Orem PD's identity and said:

> I think it's our community involvement. We have so many programs with kids. With young kids all the way down to four-five years old up to teenage years. We've got so many community involving activities to do with police because we want to foster that relationship with our youth.

These quotes highlight a recurrent theme around the community and service orientations that comprised the identities of the departments. Please see Table 4.5 for a list of summarized departmental identities and the images they wish to project on Twitter and Facebook.

Mechanisms for Reputation Management: Transparency and Humanization

Interviewees articulated a number of goals and intentions for using social media that emphasized the importance of maintaining a positive reputation. Interviewees largely emphasized the need to project an image of transparency and humanization that allows

the community to see the police as community members and not the opposition. Humanization and transparency were seen as mechanisms to maintain a positive reputation, using social media as the platform to convey these images of the department. Transparency is about keeping the public informed about what the police are doing and the justifications for their actions. As such, in a democratic society, transparency in policing in crucial to maintaining public accountability (Friedman & Ponomarenko, 2015). Social media is poised as a way to increase transparency through establishing a direct line of communication with constituents instead of relying on traditional mass media outlets (Meijer & Thaens, 2013).

An additional reason that moving beyond the mass media's coverage of policing is advantageous is the power to push out the types of content the department wants. Instead of only seeing the parts of policing that largely have negative associations, such as people getting arrested or when there are instances of the misuse of force, respondents reported that a key goal of social media use was to convey that officers are humans and part of the community as well. Instead of only showing the negative sides of policing, interviewees emphasized the potential that social media has to shed a more gentle light on officers. According to the interviewees, this need largely arises from negative views that people have of law enforcement.

Transparency

Interviewees identified using social media to convey a transparent image in response to challenges of negative public attitudes and perceptions. As a method of

communication, social media is ripe for quickly sharing virtually limitless information about a department. Such capacity for communication and disclosure creates a space to maximize transparency between a department and the community it serves. Transparency is important in the quest for a positive reputation because it signals that the department is open with its community and is not hiding or withholding information from them. Given the high profile police shootings over the past couple years, transparency has emerged as a key element of a community-oriented police force. In fact, the IACP (2015) identified transparency as one of the core elements of sustainable police-community relations. While no questions directly mentioned transparency, it emerged as a theme throughout several interviews in response to a number of questions.

When asked if social media has had an impact on the community's perception of police legitimacy, the interviewee from the Orem, Utah PD said:

> I definitely believe so because I think people see this as-- I mean, the big term out there right now is transparency. Ultimately, people think if we're talking about stuff, we're being transparent and that's great, that's a part of transparency. I think this shows everyone that we're open for discussion, we're open to say, we don't do everything right....For instance, when we do something wrong...we're the first one to say it on Facebook. For instance, we had a complaint coming to us and it had quite a big social media following about a dog that was left unattended in a car and the officer didn't show up, and we were getting a lot of backlash from it. I researched a little bit... looked at the call and...that's not exactly how it happened. I explained how it happened but I also say this is what we're going to do to correct the problem so it doesn't happen again. We lay our dirty laundry out there...I think the one thing I really like about this is this gives us an opportunity to say, 'We were wrong, but we're going to do it right.'

Emphasizing the importance of transparency and trust, the interviewee from the Fargo PD discusses the unwritten goals the department has for their social media use. She

mentions the importance of controlling the message about the department in a time of crisis, specifically when there is a shooting involving a police officer – precisely the type of incident that has brought police-community relationships into the forefront of national dialogue.

> The biggest thing that what we want is the transparency and trust...we need to make sure that we control the message and the content. So, when something big happens we need to be the first ones out there releasing that segment and information...we'll be in control how that message is portrayed especially when it's an officer involved shooting.

This passage highlights not just the intention to use social media to portray a transparent image, but also speaks to the desire to "control the message" within the department instead of relying on traditional mass media. After discussing the goals of social media use, the Fargo, North Dakota PD interviewee reflected on their chief's support of social media in relation to transparency and trust:

> So, I feel like he's done really a great job with enabling our social media use especially through our command staff and with myself and letting us post as much as we possibly can to make sure that we are transparent and the public around here knows that they can trust us and that we're going to step out and talk about something even if it makes us look bad.

And when asked what advice could be given to departments considering the use of social media, the representative from the Fargo PD said:

> I believe that it's probably one of the number one priorities that a department should have in order to be able to control the message and to be able to build trust and transparency with the people they serve, and it provides another avenue to reach people...if you don't have time to provide that content...or to monitor it and to be engaging with the people that are following or engaging with you that's not going to be beneficial.

According to the interviewee from the Hillsborough, North Carolina PD, transparency is a key element to public cooperation:

> We're trying to be a 100% transparent agency...We consider the community to be our partners and we try and push every piece of information we can get out to our community that we possibly can because...it gives us a better working relationship. The more that they know, the more we keep them informed, the more information they're willing to provide, the better we work together.

And when asked specifically the type of image the department was hoping to convey, the representative from the Hillsborough PD reiterated the importance of transparency and the coproduction of safety:

> We want to convey an open transparent image where they can come to us with anything, no matter what the issue is, we will try and help them solve that issue or problem...we want to be their partner. We don't want to be the police and we're policing them, we want to help each other police the community and work together to do it.

The emergence of transparency as a core use of social media for the interviewees reflects a concern with public image and a positive working relationship with the community. This concern with generating a positive image through transparency is informed by importing organizational image construction theory to the study of how law enforcement agencies are using social media to communicate with their communities. In a time of fiscal scarcity and tense police-community relationships, maximizing the effectiveness of social media to connect with communities is essential.

Humanization

Respondents spoke about the importance of portraying police officers in a positive light and showing the humanity of the officers. Demonstrating that officers are community members, family members, and have good intentions for their communities emerged as important goals for many of the interviewees. The representative from the West Linn PD emphasized both the public safety role and the image maintenance roles that social media can play. His focus was on projecting an image of humanity to remind the public that West Linn PD officers are members of the community.

> My job as I see it is to number one, disseminate information out that is important for the community to have, public safety information…about crime events, things that 'we're doing in the community to make them safe. Secondary to that is to really have a reflection of this department that is positive and to, for lack of a better term, market it in such a way that people feel good about who we are... And then on a personal level, I want to personalize us. You know, there has been so much demonization of law enforcement in the last really 12 to 24 months…The video updates that I do to show a little more personal side of us and you know, kind of with the hope that folks realize that you know, we're humans.' We're part of the community...We're your neighbor. Our kids go to your schools where we have the same day to day life, joys, follies and so...I 'don't edit out the foibles and the mistakes and so sometimes they're are little self-effacing and but you know, that's good stuff.

The interviewee from the Orem PD echoed the sentiments of the interviewee in West Linn, Oregon about the desire to humanize the department. In addition, this passage exemplifies a pattern of wishing to put officers in a good light in response to the fact that they largely encounter people in undesirable situations.

> I think that main image we want to convey is, we have a job to do and we are going to do that job to the best of our ability. And we are husbands, wives, mothers, fathers, brothers, sisters, we're just like everybody else

> doing a job. Unfortunately, you know, our job, like I said, can take away someone's freedom, and that's the bad part of it because, you know, when we deal with people, we deal with them usually on one of the worst days of their lives...The kids are the ones who have to see the police department take their mom or dad off to jail and things like that. So we just want them to know that we are somebody that you can talk to. We make mistakes but we're also generally just out there for the right reasons.

The interviewee from the West Linn, Oregon PD started discussing social media's role in marketing the department and brought the conversation back around to humanization by showing a different side of policing. To him, marketing the police department is akin to marketing a product – it is about how the image is presented to the public. He concludes by contrasting this with the way the traditional news media tends to focus on the negative side of law enforcement.

> What I do now as opposed to marketing for a product... I kind of consider I'm marketing the police department. I'm marketing what we do, who we are. Right now, I'm on a big kick of getting people to the point of seeing that police officers are humans, not these nameless faceless people that drive around and take away cars, you know, make your life hell but we're actually human beings and here is how we're going to do it. We're going to show you kind of a more just a different side of who we are. So it's marketing but it's not the same and unfortunately, marketing a lot in law enforcement is if it bleeds it leads.

The Shiloh, Illinois PD interviewee reiterated this idea that police are seen as bad guys but that social media has helped with their community relationships. He makes a direct reference to humanizing policing and emphasizes how this helps form relationships with community members, especially children.

> I think a lot of people now talk to us because of what they've seen on Facebook. One of our officers stopped and made friends on the street with a little boy and his grandmother, the boy was somewhere around 7 years old, and because now he knows the police officer he wanted to bake the

> police officer a cake, so he baked him a cake, and we put the picture of that on Facebook and it went a long way to humanizing the badge. To letting people know that the police officers aren't always just the bad guys.

Humor emerged as a useful technique to humanize the department and combat perceived negativity toward police. Interviewees reported using humor to market their departments, combat negative attitudes toward law enforcement, and humanize their officers. Humor emerged as a device used differentially among departments; a third of the departments did not use humor at all, while Orem used humor in about a third of its posts. Recent survey results found that 10% of departments reported using humor almost always or always, with about 45% using it never to almost never, and the remaining 45% of respondents reporting occasional humor use (Kim et al., 2017). When asked how humor may be beneficial, the interviewee from the Canton, Ohio PD said: "...better connection with the public, you know, if we can joke about different things, I mean, everybody likes to laugh. So the more you can get someone to laugh, the better they see you." The interviewee from the Buffalo, New York PD said: "humor is a great way to break the ice..." According to the representative from the Fargo PD: *"*Humor is also another big aspect that I try to incorporate...to show them that there's a human side to our police department and that we're people too."

The representative from the Orem PD also reiterated the importance of humanization and the role that humor plays in achieving this end. He then proceeds to discuss some of the pushback he has received from community members when using humor but defends its use by pointing out that people like a more easy going, jovial officer when getting pulled over. His articulations reflected that critiquing humor on

social media is a double standard when the community wants to be treated in a more casual manner once they have been caught breaking the law. He proceeds to relish in the satisfaction of seeing supporters on Facebook comment on these critiques so that he does not have to get involved yet feels like his message gets across anyway.

> I want people to see that we are human and we can joke...You know, every once in a while I will get a comment where someone's saying, "Why are my tax dollars used to go having someone act like a 12-year-old on Facebook?" Well, people can't have it both ways. You want that guy that comes up to your window and says, "License registration, you were speeding, here's your ticket, press hard, five copies." Is that the kind of cop you want? Or do you want the guy or gal that says, "Hey, why were you speeding man, what's the deal? Why are you going so fast? Tell me about it." What do you want? So, to those people I don't say anything...this is one reason I love social media, everything I would love to say to that person, I don't. Because what I do is, I just sit back, put my hands behind my head, and I just watch this go. Because every other supporter on that page will say exactly what I want to say, but they say it, and they're not going to get in trouble for saying it.

The interviewee from Orem then connected the use of humor to his ultimate goal of marketing the department by saying:

> So we use it as a way to engage, and the more engaging posts we have, the more followers we have, the more followers we have, the better we are able to communicate with our public and the better job we are able to do. So it's because it's an extension of me and because humor sells. And that's what we're ultimately trying to do, is sell us, sell our officers and get more followers.

The interviewee from the Philadelphia Police Department reiterated this use of humor to market the department in a certain way and to draw attention. He discussed two social media posts that went viral and made national news: the first was a recruitment video where he had taken a Sizzler employee training video from the 1990s, put a title

frame that said, “Philadelphia Police Recruiting Video” and added voice overs about how awesome the Philadelphia Police Department is to work at. He told the New York Daily News that fun videos or tweets keep people interested in what the department is saying, and noted that it greatly increased the number of hits to the careers page (Landau, 2015). During our interview, he pointed to a printed out article from TMZ where they wrote an article about a public service announcement he made, labeling it the “WORST PSA EVER!!!” (TMZ.com, 2015). He had taken an anti-drug PSA from Saved By The Bell, a popular TV show among youth in the 1990s, and crudely photoshopped the police commissioner’s head in the last frame with his own voice saying don’t do drugs. Instead of agreeing with TMZ’s assessment of the PSA being terrible, he saw it as one of his proudest achievements, and defends the use of over the top humor.

> We're a police department. We're inherently uncool. There's no way we can be cool... They’re always going to be the people that send you to your room for doing a wrong thing...We can't put out a recruitment video with cops rappelling out of helicopters and wearing all this tactical gear and helping old ladies cross the street and think that's going to get people who aren't interested in being a cop...I just never wanted to be the guy with the clock around his neck and a backwards hat, at a high school, like hey kids let me rap to you about how drugs are bad. It's inevitable being a cop, being my age. You're going to be that no matter what so that's why stuff like this happens. So it’s the worst PSA of all time but this little block up here on TMZ [points to a print out of the article hanging next to his desk]...They left this on their front page for 3 days. And to buy advertising on the front page this big is $30,000/day. It is called the worst PSA ever...but we got more hits to our website and our recruitment site in one day than we had from January to that day combined...there's the value.

This focus on projecting a certain image of the department was made apparent when three of the departments directly referenced social media as a marketing tool and talked about using it to market a positive image of the department. This incentive to

market the police in a good light and to use humor and other techniques to do so was largely articulated as a response to negative public attitudes toward law enforcement and the need to improve or maintain the department's image. The emphasis on humanization and transparency throughout the interviews reflect the desire to be seen as part of the community and to have community support, two elements essential to community-oriented policing.

The identities and intended images were heavily influenced by community-oriented policing ideals including the emphasis on transparency and fostering community trust and partnerships. While the interviews spoke to the identities and intended images the department held, departmental websites provided an additional source of information pertaining to the image that they project, albeit in a more static fashion than on social media. These mission statements reflect a balance between the demands of building community relationships while also fulfilling the role as crime fighter.

Images Projected on Departmental Websites

This section includes descriptions of each department's mission statement available on their websites. While many, like Philadelphia, made direct mention of the word 'mission,' other departments used terms like Aurora Colorado's 'Individual Value Statement' or Fargo PD's message from the Chief. Below are statements taken from departmental websites, and demonstrate the community and traditional orientation of the images projected to the public.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

According to the Philadelphia Police Department's website (emphasis in original),

> OUR MISSION is to be the model of excellence in policing by working in partnership with the community and others to: FIGHT crime and the fear of crime, including terrorism; ENFORCE laws while safeguarding the constitutional rights of all people; PROVIDE quality service to all of our residents and visitors; and CREATE a work environment in which we recruit, train, and develop an exceptional team of employees.

In this statement, the Philadelphia Police Department mentions a commitment to community-oriented ideals by emphasizing the provision of quality service, however the mission statement overall is much more traditionally-oriented towards crime-fighting concerns.

Jacksonville, Florida

According to their website, the Jacksonville Sheriff's Office's (2016) mission statement is, "To serve and protect in partnership with our community." The Jacksonville Sheriff's Office (2016) "has a pro-active policy of making timely and accurate information available to the public and news media." Adding that, "Exceptions will be made when the law enforcement mission or fair administration of justice might be hampered by premature disclosure of information."

Many community-oriented elements are apparent in JSO's mission statement, including statements about the collaborative nature of public safety and pro-actively sharing information with the community. Community policing is seen as a proactive policing reform in that it attempts to identify and address issues before they become

major instead of reacting to issues as they arise. JSO does, however, still emphasize the importance of fair law enforcement saying that proactive information disclosure cannot impede the work the police are doing.

San Diego, California

SDPD's mission statement reflects an organization focused on community-oriented values. According to their website, the department's mission is, "To maintain peace and order by providing the highest quality police services." Their vision is, ""A Police Department whose employees feel valued, works together in community partnerships to be a model of excellence in policing and fosters the highest level of public trust and safety." And their goals are to, "Improve Quality of Life for All", "Ensure Accountability to High Standards of Performance, Ethics and Professional Conduct", and to "Strive for Continuous Improvement in Efficiency and Effectiveness." The mission statement reflects community-oriented values while also emphasizing traditionally-oriented values such as professionalism and effectiveness.

Buffalo, New York

The Buffalo Police Department's mission statement, which reflects both community-oriented and traditionally-oriented issues, emphasizes the importance of collaboration. The mission statement is present on its own page and reads as follows (Buffalo Police Department, 2011):

> The primary mission of the Buffalo Police Department is to improve the quality of life in the City of Buffalo. This goal will only be accomplished through the cooperative effort of the Police Department and the community. By working together we can maintain the peace, provide

> safety and security for our citizens, reduce the fear of crime and solve problems. To be successful in our mission requires the commitment of the Administration, every employee of this Department and the citizens of our City, all working together to maintain the Buffalo Police tradition as a trusted source of help. To accomplish this mission, the following values must be the basis for all of our actions:
> RESPECT...INTEGRITY...EXCELLENCE.

Aurora, Colorado

The Aurora Police Department's Organizational Mission Statement is, "To make Aurora safer everyday." While this is a very traditionally-oriented mission statement, it was coupled with a much more community-oriented Individual Value Statement that acknowledges the role of collaboration in crime reduction (emphasis in original),

> *Our commitment to community service is driven by the expectation that we maintain the highest core values*. The Aurora Police Department is responsible for providing law enforcement services to a growing, urban/suburban community with unique and ever-changing needs. We strongly believe that the challenges facing the police department can only be addressed effectively by connecting with community leaders, school administrators, members of the business community, non-profit organizations, other government agencies, neighborhood groups and most importantly, individual citizens. It is through this spirit of partnership that we will continue to see further reductions in crime and we will enhance the quality of life for those who live, work and play in our city.

Stamford, Connecticut

According to Chief Jonathan Fontneau (Stamford Police Department, 2016), "the FBI has ranked Stamford as one of the safest cities in the nation for nine consecutive years." Chief Fontneau adds that,

> The department is firmly committed to a collaborative, cooperative and interactive community policing philosophy. District Commanders regularly attend meetings with neighborhood associations and community groups, and are committed to working with residents to identify and solve

> community issues before they become crime problems. The success of the Stamford Police Department has also been achieved in part because the department has significantly enhanced its capacity to provide excellent police services by adding several specialty units, as well as acquiring advanced tactical and technological equipment. The department plans on significantly expanding forensics capabilities as well as implementing advanced tactical training to ensure that both visitors and Stamford residents continue to feel safe and secure in their neighborhoods and schools.

The Chief's statement echoes a number of traditionally-oriented themes such as the emphasis on safety, technical units, and training yet also balances this with talk of community collaboration.

Canton, Ohio

Canton PD's mission statement is focused primarily on traditionally-oriented material such as enforcing laws and crime prevention. According to their website (The City of Canton, 2016),

> The mission of the Canton Police Department is to protect the lives and properties of the citizens of Canton, enforce all city, state, and federal laws, prevent crime, and educate the public. We, the men and women of the Canton Police Department, shall perform these duties with honesty and fairness through strong leadership and continuous training. We will strive to serve as role models for the community, applying professional standards and commitment to integrity, sensitivity and compassion to those we serve.

Fargo, North Dakota

On the front page of the Fargo PD's website, Chief David Todd (2016) specifically mentions community-oriented policing when he states,

> I'm incredibly proud of the professionalism, dedication and service the men and women of the Fargo Police Department provide to our

> community. We focus on community-oriented policing and building relationships and partnerships to better serve our community. Our officers have chosen this profession based on their strong ethics and desire to make a positive difference and we strive to maintain the highest levels of integrity and professionalism. I feel fortunate to be the chief of such a wonderful organization of people.

The department's mission statement echoes these community-oriented sentiments, saying:

> The work of the Fargo Police Department is driven by the principles expressed in our mission statement: The Fargo Police Department strives to provide the citizens of Fargo quality service and a secure community. We are committed to the professional growth of our officers and department in order to better create and preserve a positive partnership with the community we serve. (City of Fargo, 2016)

Orem, Utah

Emphasizing the importance of community relationships, The Orem Police Department says that their mission is to, "Proactively serve and protect our community with honor, respect, and accountability, to make Orem the safest place to live, work, and play" (City of Orem, 2016). In addition, the message from the Chief on the front page of the website balances a community and traditionally-oriented image when he emphasizes the importance of community policing, safety, and high standards. Chief Gary Giles (2016) says,

> Orem Police employees have always had the highest standards, with service being our primary goal. We have seen our city grow rapidly and have had to work even harder to provide the services the citizens of Orem have come to expect from us. Orem continually ranks among some of the safest cities in the nation. This comes from the joint efforts of Department employees and the community working together to find solutions to problems, root out crime, and plan for a great future. With emphasis on community-oriented policing and problem solving, we will continue to

> serve and protect the citizens of Orem as well as those who come to our community to live, work, and play.

Hillsborough, North Carolina

The Hillsborough, North Carolina Police Department projects an image that balances traditional and community-oriented approaches to policing. According to their website:

> The Hillsborough Police Department is responsible for general public safety, crime prevention, responding to and investigating crime, apprehension of those who commit crimes, public order, traffic safety, criminal justice records and safety education. The department exists to serve all people within its jurisdiction with respect, fairness and dignity through community-based policing and building partnerships. (Town of Hillsborough, 2016)

The department then outlines how they plan to achieve their goals:

> The department will achieve its mission by committing to excellence through: Integrity — honesty, compassion, trust, and accountability. Police officers have the courage to do what is morally, ethically and legally right, regardless of risk. Fairness — the Police Department will treat everyone impartially without favoritism or bias. Respect — the Police Department will treat everyone with dignity and courtesy without prejudice. Professionalism — the Police Department will deliver quality services through cooperation, open communication and a commitment to continuous improvement.

These goals highlight important tenets of community-oriented policing like cooperation and communication, but also traditionally-oriented goals such as professionalism and crime prevention.

Shiloh, Illinois

The Department's website is one page on the larger Village of Shiloh's website, and does not contain a mission statement or employee information beyond the Chief and Assistant Chief. It does, however, provide brief statements and information about Neighborhood Watch, drivers licensing info, better business bureau, missing children info, bad check restitution program, this month's safety tip, employment, and fingerprinting services (Village of Shiloh, 2016). The Shiloh PD's web presence seems quite traditionally-oriented. Other than information about Neighborhood watch, there was no noticeable mention of community relationships or collaboration.

West Linn, Oregon

West Linn PD's mission statement is the most overtly community-oriented. According to the mission statement available on WLPD's website (City of West Linn, 2016), "We are committed to providing superior police services by enhancing the quality of life to the West Linn Community through dedication, collaboration and innovation." Elaborating on this, the Chief's message says,

> The West Linn Police Department treats all people with courtesy, fairness, professionalism, politeness and respect. We honor diversity and work diligently with members of the community to resolve concerns and ensure the highest possible quality of life in West Linn. Members of the West Linn Police Department are highly dedicated professionals who continually demonstrate a willingness to assist others. The men and women of the West Linn Police Department are prepared and highly trained to protect our community. The West Linn Police Department believes in community-based policing and seeks involvement with all community groups, civic groups and Neighborhood Associations. We have open lines of communication and are adaptable to a changing society.

While these twelve departments are quite different from one another and police in different contexts, a majority (n=10) of the departments had a balanced mission statement, including both community-oriented that emphasized the importance of collaboration, cooperation, and enhancing the quality of life for its citizens along with traditional themes emphasizing the importance of professionalism and a commitment to fighting crime and ensuring public safety. Overall, these mission statements show that departments are largely using their websites to convey balanced images between a community and traditional orientation to policing.

These findings show that law enforcement agencies continue to grapple with multiple functions and roles in society. Not only is this dynamic evident from the mission statements located on departmental websites, but this balancing act is playing out in new ways in their social media messaging. Although interviewees emphasize the importance of enhancing police-community relationships, they cannot abandon their traditional, crime-fighting function. These online platforms could therefore be seen as a new stage on which this delicate balancing act is playing out. The following section focuses on the findings from the social media content analysis which speaks to the images the departments project to their communities via social media – a potentially much more dynamic online platform than departmental websites.

Twitter and Facebook Content

Descriptive findings from the content analysis of the posts law enforcement agencies made over the course of 12 months are presented below. Overall, there was a

balance of both traditional and community-oriented material on Twitter and Facebook. For instance, The Jacksonville Sheriff's Office posted a video about helping a man propose to his girlfriend. The Facebook post from March 10, 2017 read:

> Officer Kelly was flagged down to assist with a marriage proposal. Of course he said he would help to make their day memorable. Officer Kelly called Melissa and told her that her boyfriend was being detained and she needed to come to the scene and collect his belongings. When she arrived, this is what happened. Officer Kelly even gave step by step instructions! Congratulations Melissa and John.

Posts such as this one project an image of the police being willing to engage with the public and help provide them with valuable services, all while having a good sense of humor. However, this post from the same department on November 19, 2016 provides an example of a much more traditionally-oriented post announcing an arrest and demonstrates a very different image from the one previously projected through the proposal:

> Attempted Murder Suspect Arrested. Suspect William Scott Howell was apprehended today by the Jacksonville Sheriff's Office Criminal Apprehension Unit when he returned to his residence in the 6300 block of W. Tintern Circle. The suspect has been booked into jail and charged with two counts of Attempted Murder in reference to a double shooting that occurred on Sunday, November 13, 2016.Thank you to everyone in the community who sent in tips reference [*sic*] the location of this suspect. We appreciate the community's involvement in getting this wanted suspect behind bars.

Traditionally-oriented content such at this reinforce the crime-fighting demands of police work. On Twitter and Facebook alike departments overall projected more community-oriented images compared to traditionally-oriented images. Individual departments

exhibited a great deal of variation with respect to the content posted to social media, as can be seen in Appendix A and Table 4.5.

Since the suggestions that police maintain a social media presence are largely rooted in community-oriented policing, focusing on the dynamic between community and traditional policing provides an analytic structure specifically suited to understanding whether organizational identities, intentions, and images are in line with community-oriented objectives or if they are more harmonious with traditional policing concerns. Below are results from the content analyses. Full results tables for each department can be found in Appendix A. Tables 4.1 and 4.2 below indicate that the content on Twitter and Facebook is largely balanced between traditional and community-oriented policing related content. Both Twitter and Facebook contain more community-oriented than traditionally oriented material. Twitter contains a greater proportion of community-oriented material, with 1.85 times the amount of community-oriented to traditionally-oriented content, while Facebook has 1.20 times of the amount of community-oriented material compared to traditionally-oriented material. This means that while there is a greater proportion of traditionally-oriented material on Facebook compared to Twitter, both platforms ultimately project a community-oriented image.

Table 4.1

Percentage of Content Relevant to Standard and Community Policing

Type of Content	Percent of Twitter Codes*	Percent of FB Codes
Traditional Policing	24.90	34.58
Community Policing	46.16	41.54
Other*	29.27	24.76
Ratio of Community to Traditional Policing Content	1.85	1.20

*The total number of other posts does not include responses on Twitter

To examine the content on Twitter and Facebook more specifically, Table 4.2 provides a breakdown of the percentage of posts that contained codes on Facebook and Twitter that relate to community or traditional policing. For instance, traditional policing codes were applied to posts where the department announced that they made an arrest like the post from The Jacksonville Sheriff's office above or provided details of a crime incident, and perhaps identifying a wanted individual. For instance, the Orem, Utah PD took a tongue-in-cheek approach when looking for someone suspected of shoplifting from Target. They posted a screenshot of a Craigslist "missed connection" where people post personal ads of unrequited love of someone you may have seen at the supermarket or crossing the street. This post from March 29, 2017 said:

> "It was a cloudy day on the 26th of March," the message read. "I saw you at Tar-Shay (Target) in Orem. You didn't see me, but I was watching you from above. Your hair was long, brown and draped to the side. The blue cardigan you were wearing looked so soft. You selected some clothes, diapers and a curling iron (Which you don't need because I liked your hair just the way it was). I was waiting with anticipation at the checkout line, hoping to get to know you better. That time never came, you didn't show

> up, but I did see you leave the store without any bags to carry your stuff. As you left, the sun had just broke through the clouds as a sign that we should've met, my car was parked at the red curb out front. But alas, it wasn't so ;(…… You left in a hurry in your 4-door, burgundy colored car. I hope you read this and will take a shot and give me a call. My number is 911. Signed-LT Orem PD."

Apparently, the ad worked and within an hour police believe they had identified the woman through public tips (Adams, 2017).

Community policing codes were applied to content related to things such as engaging with the community as the first post from The Jacksonville Sheriff's showed, and to content such as playing basketball with a group of kids. For instance in October, the Aurora Police Department posted about playing a basketball game with high school students. The Facebook post from October, 20 2016 read: "Gateway High School students teamed up with our officers to host a unity basketball game. The event was beyond successful in strengthening community ties. #GoBlue #CommunityCommitment." Posts such as these emphasize the importance of community ties and demonstrating commitment to the community.

Tables with the frequency of all codes organized by the department that posted them can be found in Appendix A. Table 4.2 shows the percentage of selected types of content that comprise the categories in Table 4.1. Even though more of the content was related to community-oriented material on Twitter and Facebook, traditionally-oriented 'wanted' content accounted for the greatest percentage of Facebook content, while incident details were the most frequently occurring on Twitter. If considering community engagement and youth engagement together, they would comprise the most common type

of Twitter content. Thus, even though these departments overall projected a more community-oriented image, traditionally-oriented images were the most often-occurring single type of material.

Comparing Facebook and Twitter content is interesting because it demonstrates that the platforms are in fact used differently and as a result may project different images of the departments posting the material. This is important to do because Twitter and Facebook attract different demographics, which may in turn mean that different parts of the community are seeing different images projected by the same law enforcement agency depending on what platform they use. Overall, departments used both platforms to project a more community-oriented than traditionally-oriented image. Twitter was used much more often to convey traffic information, which may reflect its emphasis on quick information sharing. However, as Table 4.5 shows, departments are pretty evenly split on whether they are projecting more community-oriented images on Twitter (n=9) than on Facebook (n=8), calling into question whether the character limits on Twitter actually places limitations on its community-oriented potential. For the most part, both Twitter and Facebook reflect images that demonstrate the multi-faceted demands of policing.

Table 4.2

Percentage of Content on Facebook and Twitter

Code	Percent of Facebook Content	Percent of Twitter Content*
(t) Arrest Announcements	5.22	2.91
(t) Wanted	15.82	8.34
(t) Incident Details	8.82	9.86
(t) Training	0.71	0.56
(t) Recruitment	1.42	1.38
(c) Support from Community	2.69	5.52
(c) Traffic Alerts	1.51	7.09
(c) Event Information	6.18	4.58
(c) Community Engagement	9.23	7.80
(c) Youth Engagement	4.02	3.15
(o) Missing Persons	3.47	3.65
(o) Injured and Fallen Officers	3.08	4.69
(o) Safety Tips	5.30	2.21
(o) Department Information	2.47	1.81
(o) Other*	3.33	4.58

*The total number of other posts does not include responses on Twitter.
(t) = traditionally-oriented content, (c) = community, (o) = other.

One of the strengths of this research is that it goes beyond looking only at the largest police departments and examines how agencies that police in different contexts use social media. While the sampling approach renders inferential statistical analyses inappropriate, descriptive analyses of the relationships among department size, violent crime rate, and the type of content posted to social media illustrate patterns that emerged from these data on this set of diverse law enforcement agencies.

Below are cross-tabulations that show the frequency of traditionally-oriented to community-oriented content analyzed by city violence levels (Table 4.3) and department size (Table 4.4). Table 4.3 shows that law enforcement agencies that police in an above average violent crime context posted more traditionally-oriented content while

departments policing in below average crime contexts were more likely to post community-oriented material. This may reflect the practical needs of a department policing in a higher crime context that has a greater volume of criminal activity that needs attention.

This is important because it reveals that departments policing in different crime contexts may be using social media to project images to their communities in different ways. Given the emphasis on projecting community-oriented images, seeing that departments that police in high crime contexts are posting more traditional than community-oriented content, it calls into question whether there is breakdown in reputation management or whether this is reflective of different organizational objectives related to different policing contexts. If communities in the highest crime areas are also the least likely to see community-oriented policing images, this could further complicate the mission to be community-oriented and establish a positive reputation.

Table 4.3

Traditional and Community-Oriented Content by Violence Level

Violence Level	Percent of Traditional Content on FB	Percent of Community-oriented Content on FB	Percent of Traditional Content on Twitter	Percent of Community-oriented Content on Twitter
Above Average	48.82	33.57	39.22	31.49
Average	24.37	40.63	18.41	37.33
Below Average	27.51	49.46	21.40	46.16

Table 4.4 shows that the largest departments posted a greater percentage of traditionally-oriented content. This difference was much larger on Facebook than on Twitter. Conversely, small departments posted nearly twice as much community-oriented versus traditionally-oriented content on both Twitter and Facebook. This is important because it demonstrates that smaller departments are more consistently projecting community-oriented images across platforms. This could reflect the organizational demands of a larger department that deals with larger volumes of information to be communicated to the public, while smaller departments could feel more strongly integrated into the community already. Smaller departments typically police in smaller jurisdictions, so the community engagement type of material might be more accessible compared to the largest departments. This is interesting and important as much of the discussion of police social media has focused mostly on the largest departments, while the majority of the departments across the country are small. These findings show that departments of different sizes are projecting different images on social media, which means that communities that live in different size places may be receiving very different images of the police depending on where they live.

Table 4.4

Traditional and Community-Oriented Content by Department Size

Department Size	Percent of Traditional Content on FB	Percent of Community-oriented Content on FB	Percent of Traditional Content on Twitter	Percent of Community-oriented Content on Twitter
Largest (1,000+)	51.58	35.08	22.43	42.67
Large: (250-999)	27.67	43.07	18.61	31.36
Medium (50-249)	32.26	35.36	18.07	25.74
Small (<50)	24.42	53.51	19.32	46.03

Individual departments differed in the proportion of community to traditional (or standard) content they posted to their Facebook pages, as can be seen in table 4.5. Half of the departments portrayed a more community-oriented image on Facebook, while the other half had more community-oriented Twitter content. This means that different departments project community-oriented images in disparate ways between Facebook and Twitter. West Linn, Oregon, a small department that polices in a below average violence context, had the highest ratio of community to standard content on Facebook. The Stamford PD, a large department which polices in an average crime context had nearly 20 times the amount of community-oriented content compared to standard policing type content on Twitter; however, this was driven by the near exclusive use of Twitter for traffic messages. While traffic messages were coded as community-oriented since they provided the community with valuable information about non-crime issues, only using Twitter to convey this one type of content may ultimately take away from the community-oriented message of the content.

At the other end of the spectrum, the Philadelphia PD, which is among the largest departments and policing in an above average violent crime context had just over 10 times more traditionally-oriented posts than community-oriented posts. Similarly, the Orem Utah PD had about half as much community-oriented content as compared to traditionally-oriented content on Facebook. However, it is interesting to note that both Orem and Philadelphia used humor at some of the highest rates among the departments included in this research. These findings prompt future research questions about how the use of humor or the lack of variety in posts (such as the traffic posts made by the Stamford PD on Twitter) influence the projected image and the way it is ultimately perceived by the community. For instance, even though the Stamford PD had the highest ratio of community to standard content on Twitter, *only* using it for traffic calls into question how much of a community orientation such an account really has. Additionally, for Philadelphia and Orem, the tongue in cheek approach to reporting crime details and the solicitation for crime tips may convey more of a community-oriented image by projecting a casual, approachable demeanor. For a detailed list of the frequency of each of the codes from each department, please see Appendix A.

Table 4.5

Ratio of Community: Traditionally-Oriented Content

Department	Ratio of Community to Traditionally-Oriented Content on Facebook	Ratio of Community to Traditionally-Oriented Content on Twitter
Aurora	2.05	1.76
Buffalo	1.45	0.94
Canton	1.98	2.18
Fargo	1.68	1.69
Hillsborough	2.52	1.88
Jacksonville	1.40	2.97
Orem	0.48	1.03
Philadelphia	0.09	0.75
San Diego	6.07	2.09
Shiloh	0.61	0.55
Stamford	0.73	20.17
West Linn	13.56	6.96

The images projected on Twitter and Facebook reveal that overall, law enforcement agencies are projecting community-oriented images. These content analysis findings speak to the external images projected on Facebook and Twitter and demonstrate that while they are overall community-oriented, all departments projected a balance of community and traditionally-oriented images. Findings from the content analyses speak to the external facet of reputation – image – and provides information about the images that departments are projecting on social media. Below is a discussion of the different types of content posted most often to Twitter and Facebook accounts maintained by the twelve law enforcement agencies included in this study. Findings from the interviews contextualize and elaborate on the different types of content posted.

Wanted

The most common occurring post is a ‘wanted’ post on Facebook. Nearly 16% of all Facebook content and over 8% of all Twitter content contained a reference to an

individual who was wanted by police for criminal investigation and/or arrest. Identifying suspects and solving crimes are traditional elements of policing. Throughout the interviews, social media's help with identifying suspects by soliciting community help and collaboration emerged as a common reprise. Wanted content emerged as the most common type of content posted to social media sites, and was mentioned by all but one department. The following passages highlight a recurrent theme about a perceived benefit of social media use – identifying suspects and solving crimes through the use of posting wanted content.

According to the representative from the Orem, Utah PD:

> Well, one thing we really like and we've had very much success on is the more followers we have the better were able to solve crimes. When we have a crime... and it's basically going cold...we have pretty much to date about a 90% success rate on those. Some of them we identify in minutes after I post it...we've had people tell us that people don't want to come and cash bad checks in Orem because they're afraid of their picture getting plastered all over social media...It does make us better at our job. It closes up dozens and dozens of cases a year that, otherwise would have went without any charges being filed or any property being recovered.

Echoing the success with soliciting crime tips from the community, the interviewee from the Canton, OH PD also noted how quickly social media can help:

> We've used it in the past to identify people. And then there was one incident a while ago, where an elderly gentleman was in a store, paid for something but left his wallet on the counter. And in view of the camera, the guy walks up and takes his wallet. We didn't know who it was. We posted it on Facebook and I think within an hour, we knew who it was, and then ended up getting warrant for arrest... So we took something that would ordinarily take weeks of police work down to a few hours. And that was obviously with the help of the community.

The representative from the Hillsborough, NC PD echoed that sentiment:

> We do suspects all the time. We did one the other day where a larceny had been committed at a local business, we probably had 20 people, based upon the photos that we put on Facebook...private message or send emails identifying who they were. The case was cleared up within four hours of us putting it on there. We had another one where there's a large larceny/robbery of the business a couple of months ago and the video was kind of humorous just based on the guy's mannerisms. I post it to Facebook and it ended up getting viewed either 40,000 or 50,000 times. That was even after the guy was identified. It seems like when the community sees something like that, they always wanted to help because they don't want to be the next victims.

All but one of the interviewees mentioned using social media for soliciting crime tips, and success they have had while using social media was emphasized throughout the interviews. According to the representative from the police department in Fargo, North Dakota:

> ...we solicit the help of the public by putting photos of suspects that we have not been able to identify through our internal networks and putting them out there and giving them the opportunity to call us to submit an anonymous call or submit a text.

Departments used a number of alliterative hashtags to post wanted material including ‘Tattletale Tuesdays”, “Wanted Wednesdays”, and “Felony Fridays” in an effort to receive information that may lead to an arrest. Posts seeking information about criminal activity and suspects represents a traditional use of Facebook that many interviewees espoused as one of the greatest benefits of social media use. Even though the recommendations to use social media largely focus on community-oriented goals, the heavy balance of ‘wanted’ type posts demonstrates the practical realities of police work and the pressures to investigate and solve crimes. It is interesting that ‘wanted’ material is

the most often posted on Facebook even given the capacity for story telling and the emphasis on community-oriented policing. Yet, it is unsurprising that agencies use the platform to elicit crime tips and demonstrating that investigation is at the core of police work given the ever present demands of public safety.

Incident Details

Information about crime incidents accounted for just shy of 10% of the content on both Twitter and Facebook. This sort of content includes details about incidents requiring police attention that were either in progress or had occurred recently. The interviewee from West Linn, Oregon PD said: "We put out crimes that had been happening or things that had been happening. We do our daily brief or daily shenanigans." Examples include events that are unfolding, like details of a hostage situation and providing a summary of the events that have transpired over the past week if they included details about criminal activity. This sort of content is traditionally-oriented because it demonstrates that police are actively answering calls for service, seen as one of the primary objectives of a traditional approach to policing. Many times, incident details would accompany information about an arrest or wanting information about an incident, or occasionally traffic-related content. Incident details are interesting because they serve multiple functions in regards to image projection. First, it demonstrates that police are responsive to the criminal incidents happening within the community. It shows that police are answering calls for service – one of the primary roles they fulfill as a civil servant. This first emphasis on responsiveness leads to a second function, which is demonstrating the need for the police to be in that community. Sharing crime activity shows that there is a

need for police, and perhaps even more police in an area. However, as interviewees indicated, sharing too much information about crime could potentially give the city a reputation as dangerous, which is undesirable from a reputation and public relations point of view.

Arrests

Content related to arrests similarly projects a traditional image of police work, as arrests are a central part of a deterrence framework and evidence of effective policing. Facebook was used almost twice as often as Twitter to communicate information about arrests. Approximately 5% of Facebook content was about arrests compared to approximately 3% of Tweets. This is interesting because it shows another way in which platforms are used differently and ultimately project different images to the users of Twitter and Facebook. Users of Facebook are almost twice as likely to get information about an arrest. Given Twitter's emphasis on disseminating news as quickly as possible and Facebook's ability to share more content in one post, perhaps Facebook is more amenable for posting this type of content.

Even though arrest information represented a substantial portion of the content (especially on Facebook), discussion of using social media to announce arrests specifically came up during only one of the interviews. The interviewee from the department in Shiloh, Illinois noted that they are able to use social media to fulfill state legal requirements: "In Illinois, the law says that if the press asks we have to notify them within so many hours of any person who was arrested. So instead of them continuously

asking us, we post it on social media...” When asked what sort of content gets posted the most, he said: “I would like to say it spreads evenly, my tendency is to lean more into community involvement than just posting that somebody gets arrested repeatedly.” When looking at the content the Shiloh PD posted to Facebook over the past twelve months, approximately 13% of the content involved arrests while just over 7% of the content projected an image of community involvement (both with adults and youth). This is interesting given the intention of the interviewee to post more community involvement material than arrest information. However, the Shiloh PD has a much more even balance of this type of content on Twitter, with just shy of 3% of the content devoted to information about arrests, while nearly 4% is related to community involvement. Content referencing arrest may serve to provide a deterrent effect by making an example of people breaking the law, and at the same time demonstrates the police’s effectiveness. These are classic concerns to policing, so it comes of no surprise that much of the content on Facebook and Twitter would involve information about arrests.

Community Engagement

The third most common type of content on both Twitter and Facebook references police engaging the community in some sort of non-enforcement context. Posts of this nature comprised nearly 10% of Facebook posts and 8% of Tweets. If also including posts that specifically reference engaging youth in non-enforcement activities, these numbers rise to just over 13% and 10% respectively. Community engagement posts ranged from announcing events like “Coffee with a Cop” where the community was encouraged to come talk to police officers in a casual setting to showing the police at

various community events, joining in on sporting events with the community, or hosting community events.

The interviewee from the Orem, Utah PD emphasized the importance of community engagement and how his department goes out of the way to engage the community.

> We want to build those relationships so that five-year-old kid when he is 20, he remembers that time that he got to go to a swimming party with the police department and he got to play games with some police officers like kickball.

Given that engaging with the community in non enforcement activities was so heavily emphasized by the President's Task Force (2015) in building police-community relationships, this level of emphasis on non enforcement activities within the content of social media accounts indicates that police are projecting community-oriented images consistent with the Task Force's suggestions.

Support from the Community

About 5% of the content captured on Twitter and just over 2.5% of the content on Facebook was related to the community showing their support for the department. On Twitter, this often took the form of Re-tweeting community members who had tweeted their messages of support to various departments. Other support posts showed community members and businesses bringing or donating gifts or food to officers as a thank you and show of support for their service. The Orem Police Department demonstrated this type of content with a post from July 23, 2016 that showed officers posing with two children at a lemonade stand. The post showed not only community support but also youth

engagement when it said, “We met some cute kids in Orem that are selling lemonade and want to donate the money they make to Orem Police!”

Roughly half of the interviewees directly mentioned receiving support from their community. According to the representative from the Fargo, North Dakota PD, they do sometimes get people posting negative comments on their Facebook pages, but also see community members defending the department. Emphasizing the positive reinforcement to the department she says:

> ...there are sometimes even people who do live in the city of Fargo who will stand up and they’ll comment back, you know, supporting us. We get several posts... some comments...we support you and thank you for doing what you’re doing and so we get that, you know, positive reinforcement almost every day.

Demonstrating support from the community helps convey a community-oriented image as it shows that the community is invested in what the police are doing and are supportive of their actions and decisions. This type of content demonstrates to the larger community that other members of the public approve of and support what the police are doing and convey an image of solidarity with the public.

Event Information

Just over 6% of Facebook content and just over 5% of Twitter content was related to sharing event information with community members. Sharing event information is community-oriented because it reflects providing community members with a service. While some events have nothing to do with the departments themselves, others are events where the officers are also engaging with the community such as this post from the San

Diego Police Department on October 13, 2016 providing information about an upcoming event hosted by the department. The post said, “Come hit the heavy bag with us to punch out racism, gang violence, and police mistrust, Monday October 17th 6am-10am. A great workout for an even greater cause. See you there!” Included in the post is a flyer with more information about the purpose of the event, along with sponsors and details. In addition to posts that notify the community of events where the department will be directly engaging with community members, alerting the community to events also may help project a community-oriented image by showing that the department is in touch with community events and cares about what is happening in the community. Being integrating in the community, caring about what is happening in the community, and alerting constituents to events help project an image in line with community-oriented ideals aimed at strengthening community ties with the police and with fellow community members.

Traffic and Weather

There were about four and a half times as many traffic alerts on Twitter compared to Facebook, with just over 7% of the content on Twitter being related to Traffic, compared to just over 1.5% of the content on Facebook. Traffic alerts included content referencing both current and future traffic conditions and warnings. Weather alerts included warnings about thunderstorms, tornadoes, snow, wildfires, floods, and hurricanes. While in a typical day, there were approximately 33 Tweets among the 12 departments, during Hurricane Matthew, the Jacksonville Sheriff’s Office tweeted several hundred times about the hurricane between October 5th and October 9th. However, only

one department mentioned the weather during the interviews, and four mentioned using social media to notify the community about traffic. The interviewee from the police department in Stamford, Connecticut reported using the department's Twitter account exclusively for disseminating traffic alerts. Providing the community with traffic and weather updates is a service that allows community members to better plan for their days and to stay safe when conditions are potentially hazardous. By letting the community know that the department cares about non-crime issues, it conveys a community-oriented image.

Safety Tips

Facebook contained just over twice as much content (5.30% vs 2.21%) related to safety tips than did Twitter. These types of posts included content such as warnings about scams, reminding people to lock their car doors, and providing tips about gun ownership and safety. These included both crime and non-crime prevention tips with the objective of keeping people safe. Each representative interviewed mentioned scam and safety-tip related content as being a primary use of official social media accounts. The interviewee from Orem, Utah PD pointed out that providing tips on how to stay safe are vital to the coproduction of safety when s/he says that:

> We want to educate people with these PSAs that we do or these scams we sent out. We want everybody to try to help themselves from becoming a victim of a crime, to take away that opportunity to become a victim.

The interviewee from Hillsborough reiterated that social media was useful in this way as well.

> At reducing crime, I would say, obviously the phone scams and check scams and power company scams, any kind of scam that you can think of nowadays. It used to be that people wouldn't know about the most current scams going around. Now, as soon as we hear about a specific scam, we are able to put out on the social media and those 4,000 people on our Facebook will then share it with all their friends and you get a large amount of people who might not be victimized because they're now familiar with it.

While community relationships are a recurrent theme throughout the social media content and interviews, this last quote emphasizes that the ultimate goal is to prevent crime and to keep people safe. Overall, the findings from the content analysis demonstrate image projection consistent with the multitude of demands placed on law enforcement. While a majority of the images projected on Twitter and Facebook were community-oriented, both platforms contained a balance of images related to traditional and community-oriented content. The findings speak to the next research question regarding the consistency of departmental identities and images, which according to organizational image construction theory, maximizes the ability to maintain a positive reputation when consistent.

The Concordance of Identity and Image

The primary research question examined in this dissertation focused on whether the images projected on social media are consistent with the departmental identities and images they wish to convey as articulated by those in charge of social media accounts. This research employed organizational image construction to understand if law enforcement agencies are maximizing social media's reputation building capabilities by projecting an image they intend to and one that is consistent with their departmental

identity. Findings from the interviews complement those from the content analysis to show that overall, there is consistency between the community-orientated identities departments convey and the content posted to Twitter and Facebook.

Thematic findings from the interviews reveal that overall departmental identities are consistent with the images projected on social media, as can be seen in table 4.6 which summarizes information provided during the interviews along with the ratio of community to standard content as an indicator of the type of image projected on Facebook and Twitter. The perceived organizational identity and intended image summaries were developed by coding the interview transcripts and identifying the codes and themes that occurred and emerged most often. The ratios of Community: Traditional content were calculated by dividing the number of community-oriented codes by traditionally-oriented codes for each department in Facebook and Twitter. Departments with ratios greater than 1.0 had more community-oriented content, indicating the projection of a more community-oriented image while ratios less than 1.0 indicate a more traditionally-oriented image being projected. Table 4.6 provides a quick overview of the consistency between the different elements of organizational image construction theory and shows that some departments have more consistency between components than others.

Through integration organizational image construction to the study of police communication, these findings show an overall concordance between departmental identity, the images they intend to project, and the images they project via social media.

While all interviewees expressed a desire to project community-oriented images to the public, the actual departmental identities they expressed and images they projected to Twitter and Facebook had more variability. However, overall these images reflected a balance between the nuanced demands of policing while working to improve community relationships.

This consistency is a key aspect of organizational image construction, and findings demonstrate that a majority of social media managers (7 out of the 11 interviewed) articulated and emphasized a community-oriented identity, which is consistent with the majority of the intended images and those that were ultimately projected on social media. This is not to say, however, that more traditional concerns related to crime control were not core to both the identities and images projected on Twitter and Facebook. While the identities and goals articulated by the interviewees were generally more community-oriented, the images projected on Twitter and Facebook were much more evenly split between a traditional and community orientation, as five out of the 12 departments had either Facebook or Twitter content that was traditionally-oriented.

Table 4.6

Organizational Image Construction Elements by Department

Department	Perceived Organizational Identity (Internal)	Intended Image (Internal)	Community: Traditional Ratio on Facebook (External)	Community: Traditional Ratio on Twitter (External)
Aurora	Responsive, Transparent, Reduce crime & Fear of crime, Building community relationships	Safe city, Embraces diversity, Importance of Public Engagement	2.05	1.76
Buffalo	Department is full of good people doing their best	Feelings of safety	1.45	.94
Canton	K9 Dept; Good department, burdened by lack of funding; Busy; Good at solving homicides	Connected to community; there to help	1.98	2.18
Fargo	Forward thinking; Integrity; Emotional intelligence	Professionalism; Quality service; Community engagement to show the positive side	1.68	1.69
Hillsborough	Customer service; Focused on the community	Transparency; There to help	2.52	1.88
Jacksonville	n/a	n/a	1.40	2.97
Orem	Community involvement; Good community relationship	We are doing the best we can and are human too.	0.48	1.03
Philadelphia	Honor, integrity, service	Guardians, not warriors	0.09	0.75
San Diego	Community-oriented; Sharing responsibility of public safety	Communication	6.07	2.09
Shiloh	Community Service	Community organization	0.61	0.55
Stamford	Community-based	We are open; We are not in this alone	0.73	20.17
West Linn	Service; Compassionate; Professional	Professionalism; Preparedness; Human	13.56	6.96

In those departments such as the Philadelphia and Orem PDs that had more traditionally-oriented social media content, the interviewees were more likely to articulate goals consistent with these types of crime-focused content like wanted persons and incident information. However, all departments wished to convey a community-

oriented image, regardless of whether they conveyed a community or traditionally-oriented departmental identity or image. Therefore it may be useful for these departments and those posting similar content to reconcile their departmental identities, intended image, and projected images on Twitter and Facebook, even though this may mean adapting departmental identities and the images they project to be more community-focused.

This research found that across the diverse departments in this inquiry, there is a clear and consistent commitment to enhancing the community-oriented image of police by both the interviewees and the content they post to Twitter and Facebook. Respondents emphasized the intention to and importance of projecting a transparent organizational image and emphasizing the humanity of police officers and the work they do. Although each of the departments espouse and communicate community-oriented messaging, the traditional police objectives of criminal investigation and apprehension remain apparent. This research shows that applying an organizational image construction framework to police-community relations in our age of social media is useful to departments as they look to build positive reputations within their communities by maintaining a community-oriented image. As departments seek to project community-oriented images and social media continues to gain popularity, applying communications theory to the study of how police are portraying themselves on Twitter and Facebook is a timely innovation in the study of police communications and community-oriented policing. By applying a mixed-methods approach that allowed for the collection of data on both the internal (identity) and external (image) facets of reputation, these findings speak to the way law

enforcement agencies are using social media and provide a framework to study the reputation building potential of social media across disciplines.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Law enforcement is constantly challenged to adapt to policing a world with rapidly evolving technology. Social media is part of a new digital frontier of communication, and a majority of police departments have adopted social networking sites as a method to communicate quickly with the public. Interviewees consistently identified the primacy of promoting a positive image, acknowledging widespread contention and dismay for police in general. This research contributes to the growing literature on how police use social media by focusing on the role of image projection as a first step to examining social media's benefit for police-community relationships.

This research employed a mixed-method design to examine whether law enforcement agencies are maximizing the reputation building capacity of social media by projecting images consistent with departmental identity and the images they wish to project. To explore this question, this research combined interviews and content analysis to answer two related sub-questions about the way law enforcement agencies use social media. This first question asked was: what were the departmental identities articulated by those in charge of social media content and the images they intended to portray to their communities? To answer this, I interviewed those responsible for social media content in their respective departments which allowed for insight into departmental identity and the images they wish to project. Second, I asked: what is the image projected by the content posted to official departmental accounts - was it more community-oriented or oriented

towards more traditional police work such as making arrests? To address these issues, I prospectively collected the Tweets and Facebook posts of twelve diverse law enforcement agencies from across the US and coded their content.

I applied an organizational image construction perspective from communication theory to analyze the departmental identities and images each department intended to project against the content on Twitter and Facebook to determine if the content on Twitter and Facebook consistent with the departmental identities articulated by those in charge of social media content. In addition, interviews contextualized and provided elaboration for the images captured through the social media content analysis. The content analysis also allowed for the quantification of qualitative data, providing a structure to analyze the balance of community and traditionally-oriented images. Findings indicate that overall there is a preponderance of community-related content on Facebook and Twitter, but that these platforms are used differently within and across departments. It is important to note, however, that a fully complete examination of organizational image construction necessitates the inclusion of data on how the images are received by constituents. This research necessarily sets the stage for examining the community's perspective to provide a holistic view of the organizational image construction of police on social media.

Law enforcement agencies are called on to identify and implement the most effective policing tactics for reducing crime while fostering a sense of legitimacy and trust within the community. As a primary mode of communication, social media is

increasingly presented as a tool to assist in these roles. This research contributes to the growing literature on the use of social media by law enforcement by providing a contextualized snapshot of a year of social media use by twelve diverse municipal law enforcement agencies across the United States. Most importantly, this research systematically analyzed and compared the perceived organizational identities of social media managers and the images projected on Twitter and Facebook. Overall, it was determined that social media is being used in ways that are consistent with community-oriented objectives. However, the balance of community-oriented material to traditionally-oriented objectives and content varied between departments and social media platforms. As table 4.5 showed, some departments had far more consistency between the identities and goals conveyed though the interviews and their social media content when compared to other departments. This indicates that some departments are constructing images of their department more in line with their identities than others.

Social media platforms were used differently; the ratio of community-oriented to traditional content was higher on Twitter than Facebook, indicating that overall departments are portraying a stronger community-oriented image on Twitter compared to Facebook. Since Facebook allows for a far greater number of characters in each post, it may allow for more flexibility in the type of content posted. Or, perhaps Twitter's character limit makes it more useful for disseminating quick bits of information and pieces of stories that serve to humanize officers and portray them as community-oriented. Since stories may be spread over multiple tweets, this may have resulted in coding the same story multiple times on Twitter while it just received one code on Facebook. Such

differences in platform use within departments remains ripe for future exploration. While some departments (such as Fargo, ND) had very similar ratios of community to traditional content on Facebook (1.68) and Twitter (1.69), others such as San Diego had much wider disparities with nearly three times the ratio of community-oriented to standard content on Facebook (6.07) and Twitter (2.09). As Twitter and Facebook have very different demographics, different members of the community may be receiving very different images of the police department for agencies that use the platforms in different ways. Comparing the overlap of followers between social media platforms is also ripe for future inquiry.

When comparing the content analysis to the interviews, there was far less emphasis on delivering crime information during the interviews compared to the volume of crime-related material on Twitter and Facebook. Interviewees spoke very little about crime and traditionally-oriented material during the interviews compared to how frequently traditionally-oriented content was posted to Twitter and Facebook. This could reflect that community policing is a normative priority for those interviewed, but that the traditional mission remains important. However, the interviewees that focused more on traditionally-oriented identities and objectives for social media use came from departments that had more of a traditional orientation to their social media content overall, indicating an overall consistency between the elements of OIC studied here (perceived organizational identity, intended image, and projected image).

The findings from the content analysis indicate that departments are disseminating both community-oriented and traditional content. These findings are relevant as some departments may ultimately project an image that is inconsistent with the community-oriented goals of social media. This may mean that traditional goals remain important and may sit in tension with community relationship building. Thus, agencies continue to grapple with multiple public demands and roles. If content is too focused on traditionally-oriented images of policing then it may project an image focused on the law and order aspects of policing rather than on those projecting a sense of community engagement. Given the increasingly limited resources available to many law enforcement agencies, maximizing efficiency and effectiveness is of utmost concern across the United States. Since OIC aims to maximize effectiveness in respect to reputation maintenance, it is opportune for integration with policing theory, policy, practice, and research. While the core of policing involves communicating with the public, and social media has become a dominant form of communication today, there is currently no theory within policing that speaks to how police communicate with their constituents using social media. OIC can add a theoretical framework consistent with the goals and objectives of community-oriented policing, specifically reputation-building. Policing policy should guide best practices concerning the use of departmental social media, and OIC can be used to structure these policies and practices by providing a framework to promote consistency between the internal and external components of reputation: identity and image. Organizational image construction also provides a framework for researching police communication not just over social media, but with any type of media that allows

departments to project images to the public. In addition, OIC provides a framework to engage the community and evaluate the consistency between the image the department is projecting on social media and how the community actually perceives this content. This will be key to establishing the legitimacy-generating potential of social media for police departments across the nation.

Implications for Criminal Justice Theory, Policy, Practice, and Research

Organizational image construction was applied as a guiding framework and demonstrates the value of integrating communication theory into criminal justice practice. Given that projecting a positive image was articulated as a primary goal of social media use and seen as vital to the department's ability to police effectively, organizational image construction theory provided a novel framework to evaluate and understand criminal justice practice and research. OIC is also useful here because it provides a framework to assist departments in reflecting about whether they are actually projecting the transparent image that they reported intending to project. If a department fails to project images that convey transparency, they may not be using social media in the most efficient or effective ways possible. Given that social media's direct line of communication allows for police to be transparent with their public in real time and that many of the suggestions that police use social media are rooted in increased transparency, it is crucial to know if social media is truly being used in this way. The emphasis on transparency by the interviewees reveals that transparency is an important goal driving social media use, making OIC useful to determine whether these goals are being met. In

addition, this theoretical framework can continue to usefully guide future inquiry into whether the use of social media contributes to community perceptions of the police.

As marketing is all about projecting a certain image to stakeholders and promoting a positive reputation, organizational image construction and its concern with maximizing reputation and effectiveness provided an informative theoretical framework for analyzing the findings. Image projection is at the heart of what social media managers report using social media for. Through the lens of organizational image construction, the content and interview data show that while overall law enforcement agencies are projecting community-oriented images, there remain some departments projecting images more consistent with traditional models of policing. It is not that these departments lack the projection of community-oriented images but that they use their social media platforms to project more traditional-oriented images. Nevertheless, all departments undertook some degree of projecting community-oriented images, using social media as a mechanism to engage communities and build more cooperative relationships.

The methods employed in this study provide an original framework that allows social scientists with limited or no computer programming skills to access and archive social media posts for data analysis. Currently, there are no research methods outlined in the literature to automatically and prospectively extract text from social media posts that do not require a knowledge of coding. This is exciting because the restrictions of retrospective data collection, including selective deletion, limit the conclusions drawn from data collected retrospectively. The prospective data collection method of this

research overcame these limitations inherent in the existing literature on the content of social media managed by law enforcement agencies.

This methodology is easily accessible to young scholars since it can be executed without funding resources or coding skills. Additionally, it produces unique datasets without the need for any prerequisite agreements with organizations since it captures publicly available information. Being able to collect data in near-real time empowers researchers to quickly collect data on relevant and timely topics while still allowing for longitudinal data collection to run indefinitely with minimal maintenance. This methodology can be used to capture a snapshot of a large number of organizations' use of social media in response to a single event, or can be used like it has been here to follow multiple public organizations over a period of time. Researchers looking for an unobtrusive way to study communication via social media may find this methodology useful for answering a multitude of questions across disciplines such as communications, sociology, political science, and psychology, and can act as a template for the collection and analysis of social media content, increasing its potential influence within the academic community.

Limitations

As with any study, this one is also subject to limitations. This dissertation focused on the official departmental social media accounts and did not examine the social media use of individual officers. Even though it is outside of the scope of this study, it is reasonable to believe that the personal social media accounts of police officers could

enhance or undermine the agency's projected image. The interviews made it clear that the private use of social media by individual officers is a primary issue surrounding social media within departments, indicating that this may be a widespread concern in policing and is worthy of future inquiry. It is also possible that the individuals interviewed within each law enforcement agency have an understanding of the departmental identity that differs from that of the department at large. However, interviewees were selected because of their direct involvement with social media and their influential role over maintaining the department's social media presence.

One limitation inherent to the study of online content is how quickly content can be changed or deleted. This research addressed this by using automated processes to capture social media content in real time. Even when posts were deleted after being posted, the data collection method retained the content of the original post. Coding was performed on a near-daily basis, with no more than a week lapsing between the time the content was posted and coded. While coding from the content of a deleted post was sometimes impossible (e.g., because of it containing an image), the prospective data collection method employed in this dissertation research reduced the impact that deleted posts had on the analysis. This is a substantial methodological improvement over prior studies that have used web crawlers to access content retroactively, meaning they would miss any material deleted between the time the content was posted and whenever the content was obtained.

Studying online content in the form of social media may itself be a limitation. Technology is constantly evolving, and while social media as we now know it is

currently seen as an increasingly vital communication tool, chances are that it will be replaced by the next form of technology we currently have yet to imagine. The interviewee from the Philadelphia Police Department spoke about the idea that social media is just the latest form of communication, emphasizing that the core of their mission is to communicate a positive image of the department.

> The first time we got a tip over Facebook messenger that led to large narcotics arrest that was like a big deal. Like, oh my god, this is going to change the way...policing is done...once you come back down to earth, you realize well, this has happened many times before. You know? The first police cars that were given a radio...you weren't having to check-in with the call box every so often, or ride back to headquarters and get a job from the desk-Sergeant...Every time there's a shift in the way information is spread, it's going to...wear off on us. I mean right now...more than anything it's just to keep those lines of communication open and...just make people hopefully have a more positive outlook of the Philadelphia Police Department.

This interviewee expressed a tempered optimism for the usefulness of social media in acknowledging that initial excitement over social media technology had waned with the realization while technology is constantly changing, the core concerns facing the police remain rather consistent. This interviewee reminds us that social media might not last forever, and will likely be replaced by a newer form of ICT. However, the findings from this research still will be relevant for understanding the consistency with which law enforcement agencies project images consistent with their departmental identities. Social media may die, but the need to communicate effectively and efficiently with the public will always be at the core of policing.

While this study explores the image law enforcement agencies project via social media, and the rationales behind law enforcement's use of these technologies, it does *not*

engage the perspectives of community members about how these images are received. It does not examine whether they interact with police online or if they believe that social media increases their perception of police legitimacy. Ultimately the suggestions to use social media to increase police legitimacy are based on the underlying premise that social media - being a relatively new and widely used method of communication - will help police departments better engage the public. This is thought to strengthen community-oriented approaches to policing and promote a positive reputation, increasing perceptions of police legitimacy that ultimately foster effective crime control and public safety.

However, before we can know whether social media improves a department's legitimacy and is worth the resources necessary to operate, it is crucial to understand how police are using social media and if they are using it in ways consistent with their intentions. Specifically, do departments even intend to post content related to community engagement, and do they post as much of it as they think they do in comparison to other types of content? While determining whether social media is effective at enhancing their reputation, this dissertation is a necessary first step toward fully understanding the impact of social media on law enforcement.

Mindful of these limitations, this work imported organizational image construction from communication theory to contribute to an understanding of how police are using social media. This research also helps inform other law enforcement agencies about the potential benefits of maintaining a social media presence.

Future Directions

This dissertation was the first step in a research trajectory ultimately seeking to understand if law enforcement's use of social media has a positive and measurable impact on police-community relations and public safety. The current study is situated in a larger research agenda that ultimately aims to shed light on the extent to which social media may influence the public's perception of the police and how this might affect police legitimacy. However, this field is young and growing, and the present research study paves the way towards this ultimate goal. Given that this research answered questions about the types of content posted to Twitter and Facebook and how this content aligned with departmental identities, the groundwork has been established to ask the community if they embrace the images projected by law enforcement and if this contributes to the enhancement of their reputation. Therefore, an important next step in this research is exploring the impact that law enforcement's social media use has on the public. Any community-relations benefits rely on the assumption that people who are in communities are aware of and following law enforcement social media postings.

It may also be valuable to explore the potentially negative effects of using social media. While social media use is intended to enhance its reputation as community-oriented, what about instances where it tarnishes this reputation? Additionally, it would be beneficial to examine the most effective ways in which police can communicate with the communities they serve, including what types of social media interaction have the greatest impact on improving community relationships and affecting crime prevention.

The content analysis portion of this research can run indefinitely, and it could be instrumental in understanding how law enforcement use of social media evolves over time. It could also contribute to understanding processes of adopting and adapting to new communication technologies more broadly. Conducting 5, 10, and 20-year follow-ups could be possible through longitudinal data collection of social media posts, assuming that Facebook and Twitter remain relevant and operational for that long. In addition, future research could examine patterns of social media use with respect to other characteristics of departments such as region, urban, suburban, or rural locality.

Conclusion

New technology will continue to present both opportunities and challenges for law enforcement and this will likely increase the need to look to new disciplines for optimal analysis and evaluation tools. By integrating organizational image construction theory from the field of communications with studies of policing in the criminological literature, this research provides a new approach to looking at police-public communication. This research looked to the Twitter and Facebook accounts of twelve diverse law enforcement agencies across the United States, comparing the content to interviews with those involved with maintaining those accounts.

This research found that while law enforcement agencies are projecting varying proportions of community to traditionally-oriented material on their Twitter and Facebook accounts, the organizational image was largely consistent with regard to the goals and identities held by each interviewee. Common community-oriented goals and

themes that emerged from the interviews included humanizing the officers and increasing perceptions of community legitimacy. Overall, there was more community-oriented content than traditionally-oriented content, which referenced police responsibilities such as searching for and arresting people responsible for criminal activity. All departments projected a mixture of images, reflecting the realities of the diverse roles that police departments are tasked to fill. This was reflected in the finding that departments that policed in higher crime contexts tended to project more traditionally-oriented images online, and interviewees from these departments expressed more traditionally-oriented identities than department representatives from jurisdictions with average or low levels of crime.

Law enforcement agencies across the United States are embracing social media to help maintain and improve community relationships. Prior to this inquiry, no research had systematically examined the nature of the content posted to social media by law enforcement agencies with these objectives in mind. It is clear that community relationships are of utmost importance to police departments, and are seen as integral to successful policing, public safety, and officer safety. Given that the concern for addressing police-community relationships is so strong on both sides of the blue line, research pertaining to new frontiers of police-community relationships is more vital now than ever.

REFERENCES CITED

Ackland, Robert. (2013). Web social science. SAGE Publications Ltd. Retrieved from http://www.myilibrary.com.libproxy.temple.edu?ID=581881.

Adams, Andrew (2017). *Orem police placed 'missed connection' ad on Craigslist to snare suspected shoplifter*. KSL Broadcasting. Retrieved from https://www.ksl.com/?sid=43680528&nid=148&title=orem-police-place-missed-connection-ad-on-craigslist-to-snare-suspected-shoplifter

Aktas, H., Akyol, M., Kartal, H., & Gurel, K. T. (2014). New media and youth: Differences in the use of social network sites between young men and women users. *Journal of Research in Gender Studies, 4*(1), 721.

Bilton, N. (2013). *All is fair in love and Twitter*. New York Times Magazine. October 9, 2013. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2013/10/13/magazine/all-is-fair-in-love-and-twitter.html

Blumer, H. (1969). Symbolic interactionism: Perspective and method. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Brainard, L., & Edlins, M. (2015). Top 10 US Municipal Police Departments and Their Social Media Usage. *The American Review of Public Administration, 45*(6), 728-745.

Brainard, L. A., & McNutt, J. G. (2010). Virtual Government–Citizen Relations Informational, Transactional, or Collaborative?. *Administration & society, 42*(7), 836-858.

Buffalo Police Department (2011). *Buffalo Police Department.* Retrieved from http://www.bpdny.org/

Bullock, K. (2013). Community, intelligence-led policing and crime control. *Policing & Society, 23*(2), 125-144.

Caers, R., De Feyter, T., De Couck, M., Stough, T., Vigna, C., & Du Bois, C. (2013). Facebook: A literature review. *New Media & Society, 15*(6), 982-1002.

Carr, C. T., & Hayes, R. A. (2015). Social media: Defining, developing, and divining. *Atlantic Journal of Communication, 23*(1), 46.

Chermak, S., & Weiss, A. (2005). Maintaining legitimacy using external communication strategies: An analysis of police-media relations. *Journal of criminal justice, 33*(5), 501-512.

Cheney, G. and Christensen, L.T. (2001) 'Organizational identity at issue: linkages between 'internal' and 'external' organizational communication', in New Handbook of Organizational Communication, F.M. Jablin and L.L. Putnam (Eds), Sage, Newbury Park, 231–269.

City of Aurora Colorado. (n.d.) *Police*. Retrieved from https://www.auroragov.org/residents/public_safety/police

City of Fargo. (2016). *Fargo Police Department*. Retrieved from http://www.cityoffargo.com/CityInfo/Departments/Police/

City of Orem. (2016). *Police*. Retrieved from: http://www.orem.org/departments/police/

City of San Diego (2016). *Police.* Retrieved from: https://www.sandiego.gov/police

City of West Linn. (2016). *Police*. Retrieved from http://westlinnoregon.gov/police

Colvin, C.A. & Goh, A. (2005). Validation of the technology acceptance model for police. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 33*(1), 89-95.

Community Oriented Policing Services. (2012). Community policing defined. Washington, DC: *Department of Justice.*

Crump, J. (2011). What are the police doing on Twitter? Social media, the police and the public. *Policy & Internet, 3*(4), 1-27.

Daniel, J. (2012). Chapter 4: Choosing the type of nonprobability sampling. In sampling essentials: Practical guidelines for making sampling choices. (pp. 81-125). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.

The Department of Homeland Security Virtual and Social Media Working Group. (2012). Social media strategy: Virtual social media working group and DHS first responders group. Homeland Security, Science and Technology. Retrieved from http://www.firstresponder.gov/TechnologyDocuments/Virtual%20Social%20Media%20Working%20Group%20VSMWG%20Social%20Media%20Strategy.pdf

Duggan, M. (2015). Mobile messaging and social media. Pew Research Center. August 2015. Retrieved from http://www.pewinternet.org/2015/08/19/mobile-messaging-and-social-media-2015/

Duggan, M., Ellison, N.B., Lampe, C., Lenhart, A,. and Madden, M. (2015). Social media update 2014. Pew Research Center, January 2015. Retrieved from http://www.pewinternet.org/2015/01/09/social-media-update-2014/

Elo, S., & Kyngäs, H. (2008). The qualitative content analysis process. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, *62*(1), 107-115.

Facebook. (2017). *Facebook for developers: Access tokens*. Retrieved from https://developers.facebook.com/docs/facebook-login/access-tokens

Facebook. (2016). *Company info*. Retrieved from https://newsroom.fb.com/company-info/

Fernback, J. (2007). Beyond the diluted community concept: a symbolic interactionist perspective on online social relations. *New Media & Society, 9*(1), 49-69.

Fombrun, C., & van Riel, C. (2004). Fame and fortune: How successful companies build winning reputations. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Friedman, B. &Ponomarenko, M. (2015). Democratic policing. New York University Public Law and Legal Theory Working Papers. Paper 537.

Gentles, S. J., Charles, C., Ploeg, J., & McKibbon, K. A. (2015). Sampling in qualitative research: Insights from an overview of the methods literature. *The Qualitative Report, 20*(11), 1772.

Gill, C., Weisburd, D., Telep, C. W., Vitter, Z., & Bennett, T. (2014). Community-oriented policing to reduce crime, disorder and fear and increase satisfaction and legitimacy among citizens: A systematic review. *Journal of Experimental Criminology, 10*(4), 399-428.

Gilpin, D. (2010). Organizational image construction in a fragmented online media environment. *Journal of Public Relations Research, 22*(3), 265-287.

Gioia, D. A., Schultz, M., & Corley, K. G. (2000). Organizational identity, image, and adaptive instability. *Academy of management Review, 25*(1), 63-81.

Grimmelikhuijsen, S. G., & Meijer, A. J. (2015). Does Twitter increase perceived police legitimacy? *Public Administration Review, 75*(4), 598-607.

Hatch, M., & Schultz, M. (1997). Relations between organizational culture, identity and image. *European Journal of marketing, 31*(5/6), 356-365.

Heverin, T., & Zach, L. (2011). Law enforcement agency adoption and use of Twitter as a crisis communication tool. In C. Hagar (Ed.), *Crisis information management: Communication and technologies* (pp.25-42). Oxford, UK: Woodhead Publishing.

Hewson, C. (2017). Research design and tools for online research. In N. Fielding R. Lee & G. Blank The SAGE Handbook of online research methods (pp. 57-75). 55 City Road, London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

IACP. (2015). IACP national policy summit on community-police relations: Advancing a culture of cohesion and community trust. Retrieved from

http://www.iacp.org/Portals/0/documents/pdfs/CommunityPoliceRelationsSummitReport_web.pdf

IACP Center for Social Media. (2014). International Association of Chiefs of Police 2014 social media survey results. Retrieved from http://www.iacpsocialmedia.org/Portals/1/documents/2014SurveyResults.pdf

International Telecommunications Union: Data and Statistics Bureau. (2015). ICT facts & figures: The world in 2015. Geneva, Switzerland: International Telecommunications Union.

Innes, M., & Roberts, C. (2008). Reassurance policing, community intelligence and the co-production of neighbourhood order. The Handbook of Knowledge-based Policing: Current Conceptions and Future Directions, John Wiley and Sons, West Sussex, 241-62.

Jacksonville Sheriff's Office. (2016). *Jacksonville Sheriff's Office.* Retrieved from http://www.coj.net/departments/sheriffs-office.aspx

Johnston, J., & McGovern, A. (2013). Communicating justice: A comparison of courts and police use of contemporary media. *International Journal of Communication, 7,* 1667-1687.

Kelling, G. L., Pate, T., Dieckman, D., & Brown, C. E. (1974). The Kansas City preventive patrol experiment: A summary report. Washington, DC: Police Foundation.

Kennedy, A. K., & Sommerfeldt, E. J. (2015). A postmodern turn for social media research: Theory and research directions for public relations scholarship. *Atlantic Journal of Communication, 23*(1), 31-45.

Kent, M. L. (2015). Social media circa 2035: Directions in social media theory. *Atlantic Journal of Communication, 23*(1), 1.

Kidd, T. T., & Carpenter, B. S. (2014). Rethinking educational spaces: A review of literature on urban youth and social media. *Journal of Educational Multimedia and Hypermedia, 23*(2), 189.

Kim, K., Oglesby-Neal, A, & Mohr, E. (2017). 2016 Law enforcement use of social media. Urban Institute. Retrieved from http://www.urban.org/research/publication/2016-law-enforcement-use-social-media-survey/view/full_report

King, B. G., & Whetten, D. A. (2008). Rethinking the relationship between reputation and legitimacy: A social actor conceptualization. *Corporate Reputation Review, 11*(3), 192-207.

Landau, J. (2015). *WATCH: Philadelphia police use dated 90s Sizzler commercial to promote laughs, recruitment.* New York Daily News. April 23, 2015. Retrieved from http://www.nydailynews.com/news/national/watch-philadelphia-police-parody-sizzler-ad-recruitment-article-1.2195811

Lankshear, C. and Knobel, M. (2006). New literacies: Everyday practices and classroom Learning (2nd ed.). Maidenhead & New York: Open University Press.

LexisNexis Risk Solutions. (2014). Survey of law enforcement personnel and their use of social media. Retrieved from http://www.lexisnexis.com/risk/downloads/whitepaper/2014-social-media-use-in-law-enforcement.pdf

LexisNexis Risk Solutions (2012). Law enforcement personnel use of social media in investigations: Summary of findings. Retrieved from http://www.lexisnexis.com/risk/downloads/whitepaper/Infographic-Social-Media-Use-in-Law-Enforcement.pdf

Lieberman, J. D., Koetzle, D., & Sakiyama, M. (2013). Police departments' use of Facebook: Patterns and policy issues. *Police Quarterly, 16*(4), 438-462.

Lövheim, M., Jansson, A., Paasonen, S., & Sumiala, J. (2013). Social media: implications for everyday life, politics and human agency. *Approaching Religion, 3*(2), 26-37.

Mastrofski, S. D., Willis, J. J., & Kochel, T. R. (2007). The challenges of implementing community policing in the United States. *Policing, 1*(2): 223-234.

Meijer, A. (2012). Co-production in an information age: Individual and community engagement supported by new media. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations, 23*(4), 1156-1172.

Meijer, A., & Thaens, M. (2013). Social media strategies: Understanding the differences between North American police departments. *Government Information Quarterly, 30*(4), 343-350.

Meijer, A. J., & Torenvlied, R. (2014). Social media and the new organization of government communications an empirical analysis of Twitter usage by the Dutch police. *The American Review of Public Administration*, 1-19.

Morse, J. (2012). The implications of interview type and structure in mixed-method designs. In J. Gubrium, J. Holstein, A. Marvasti, & K. McKinney (Eds.), The SAGE

handbook of interview research: The complexity of the craft. (2nd ed., pp. 193-206). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Moule, J.,Richard K., Pyrooz, D. C., & Decker, S. H. (2013). From 'what the F#@% is a Facebook?' to 'who doesn't use Facebook?': The role of criminal lifestyles in the adoption and use of the internet. *Social Science Research, 42*(6), 1411.

Murphy, P. (2010). The intractability of reputation: Media coverage as a complex system in the case of Martha Stewart. *Journal of Public Relations Research*, 22, 209–237.

Murthy, D. (2012). Towards a sociological understanding of social media: Theorizing Twitter. *Sociology, 46*(6), 1059-1073.

Omand, D., Bartlett, J., & Miller, C. (2012). Introducing social media intelligence (SOCMINT). *Intelligence and National Security, 27*(6), 801-823.

Palinkas, L. A., Horwitz, S. M., Chamberlain, P., Hurlburt, M. S., & Landsverk, J. (2011). Mixed-methods designs in mental health services research: A review. *Psychiatric Services*.

Pew Research Center. (2014). African Americans and technology use: A demographic portrait. Retrieved from http://www.pewinternet.org/2014/01/06/african-americans-and-technology-use/

Philadelphia Police Department. (2015). *Philadelphia Police Department.* Retrieved from http://www.phillypolice.com/

Police Executive Research Forum. (2012). How are innovations in technology transforming policing? Washington, DC. Retrieved from http://www.policeforum.org/assets/docs/Critical_Issues_Series/how%20are%20innovations%20in%20technology%20transforming%20policing%202012.pdf

Police Executive Research Forum. (2013). Social media and tactical considerations for law enforcement. Washington, DC: Office of Community Oriented Policing Services. Retrieved from https://ric-zai-inc.com/Publications/cops-p261-pub.pdf

Police Executive Research Forum. (2014). Future trends in policing. Washington, DC: Office of Community Oriented Policing Services. Retrieved from http://www.policeforum.org/assets/docs/Free_Online_Documents/Leadership/future%20trends%20in%20policing%202014.pdf

President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing. (2015). Final Report of the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing. Washington, DC: Office of Community Oriented Policing Services. Retrieved from https://cops.usdoj.gov/pdf/taskforce/taskforce_finalreport.pdf

Procter, R., Vis, F., & Voss, A. (2013). Reading the riots on Twitter: Methodological innovation for the analysis of big data. *International journal of social research methodology, 16*(3), 197-214.

Ravasi, D., & Van Rekom, J. (2003). Key issues in organizational identity and identification theory. *Corporate Reputation Review*, *6*(2), 118-132.

Reaves, B.A. (2015). Local police departments, 2013: Personnel, policies, and practices. US Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics.

Schreier, M. (2014). Qualitative content analysis. In U. Flick (Ed.), The SAGE handbook of qualitative data analysis. (pp. 170-184). London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Sheil, A., Violanti, M. T., & Slusarski, K. (2011). Explaining attitudes toward and experiences with social media among public information officers through adaptive structuration theory. *Communications of the IIMA,11*(4), 51.

Skogan, W. G. (1995). Community participation and community policing. Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research, Northwestern University. Retrieved from http://www.ipr.northwestern.edu/publications/papers/urban-policy-and-community-development/docs/caps/caps4.pdf

Skogan, W., & Frydl, K. (Eds.). (2004). Fairness and effectiveness in policing: The evidence. National Academies Press.

Stamford Police Department (2015). *Stamford Police Department*. Retrieved from: http://www.stamfordct.gov/police

Sunshine, J., & Tyler, T. R. (2003). The role of procedural justice and legitimacy in shaping public support for policing. *Law and Society Review*, 37(3), 513–548.

The City of Canton. (2016). *Police Department – Welcome.* Retrieved from https://cantonohio.gov/police/

TMZ.com. (2015). *PHILADELPHIA POLICE DEPARTMENT WORST PSA EVER!!!* August 18, 2015. Retrieved from http://www.tmz.com/2015/08/18/philadelphia-police-department-worst-psa-ever

Tong, S. T., Van Der Heide, B., Langwell, L., & Walther, J. B. (2008). Too much of a good thing? the relationship between number of friends and interpersonal impressions on Facebook. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 13*(3), 531-549.

Torenvlied, R., & Meijer, A. J. (2014). Social media and the new organization of government communications: An empirical analysis of twitter usage by the Dutch police. *American Review of Public Administration.*

Town of Hillsborough. (2016). *Police.* Retrieved from https://www.hillsboroughnc.gov/government/departments-and-divisions/police/

Tremper, C., Thomas, S., & Wagenaar, A. C. (2010). Measuring law for evaluation research. *Evaluation review, 34*(3), 242-266.

Twitter. (2016). *Company.* Available at: https://about.twitter.com/company.

Tyler, T. R. (2003). Procedural justice, legitimacy, and the effective rule of law. *Crime and Justice, 30,* 283–357.

Tyler, T. R., & Huo, Y. (2002). Trust in the law: Encouraging public cooperation with the police and courts. Russell Sage Foundation.

United States Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation. (September 2012). Crime in the United States, 2011. Retrieved from https://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/ucr/crime-in-the-u.s/2011/crime-in-the-u.s.-2011/police-employee-data

United States Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation. (2015a). 2014 Crime in the United States: Police Employee Data. Retrieved from https://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/ucr/crime-in-the-u.s/2014/crime-in-the-u.s.-2014/police-employee-data/browse-by/city-agency

United States Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation. (2015b). 2014 Crime in the United States. Retrieved from https://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/ucr/crime-in-the-u.s/2014/crime-in-the-u.s.-2014/offenses-known-to-law-enforcement/main

Van Leuven, L. J. (2009). Optimizing citizen engagement during emergencies through use of Web 2.0 technologies. Naval Postgraduate school, Monterey, CA. Retrieved from http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a497269.pdf

Village of Shiloh. (2016). *Police Department.* Retrieved from: http://shilohil.org/village-hall/police-department/

Weisburd, D., & Braga, A. A. (2006). *Police innovation: Contrasting perspectives* Cambridge University Press.

Weisburd, D., & Eck, J. E. (2004). What can police do to reduce crime, disorder, and fear? *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 593,* 42-65.

Wilson, R. E., Gosling, S. D., & Graham, L. T. (2012). A review of Facebook research in the social sciences. *Perspectives on Psychological Science, 7*(3), 203-2.

Wolfe, S. E., & Nix, J. (2016). The alleged "Ferguson Effect" and police willingness to engage in community partnership. *Law and Human Behavior*, *40*(1), 1

APPENDIX A: CODES BY DEPARTMENT

Table A1: Codes on Facebook by Department

Category	Code	PD												
		Aurora	Buffalo	Canton	Fargo	Hillsborough	Jacksonville	Orem	Philadelphia	San Diego	Shiloh	Stamford	West Linn	Total
Standard	Arrest	25	71	6	40	12	63	88	51	4	22	18	0	400
Standard	Wanted	51	81	12	79	39	167	35	682	22	19	21	3	1211
Standard	Enforce	7	6	9	23	0	13	6	3	15	1	10	1	94
Standard	Progress	11	8	4	5	2	5	0	0	1	0	3	0	39
Standard	Stolen	2	1	1	6	3	6	14	0	0	0	2	0	35
Standard	Incident Info	104	89	13	53	22	175	122	8	11	41	33	4	675
Standard	Training	11	6	0	6	17	7	1	0	1	0	4	1	54
Standard	Recruit	12	23	0	4	0	25	3	9	28	1	4	0	109
	Subtotal	**223**	**285**	**45**	**216**	**95**	**461**	**269**	**753**	**82**	**84**	**95**	**9**	**2617**
Community	Com. Policing	7	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	9	0	1	0	21
Community	Collab	43	29	4	24	15	124	27	5	27	1	10	3	312
Community	Same	0	0	0	0	0	21	1	0	12	0	0	0	34
Community	Service	29	16	6	16	14	29	0	4	22	1	5	5	147
Community	Support	35	8	6	25	17	56	11	4	32	5	2	5	206
Community	Traffic	7	30	1	11	10	7	5	1	13	2	6	23	116
Community	Weather	5	30	1	10	16	26	2	7	7	4	4	30	142
Community	Utilities	3	0	1	2	4	2	3	0	0	4	1	2	22
Community	Animals	2	1	3	6	7	23	0	0	0	0	2	8	52
Community	Event Info	47	127	5	62	29	51	11	6	97	12	13	13	473

Community	Success	7	5	1	9	1	10	6	2	3	0	7	1	52
Community	Officer Nods	26	11	13	22	11	49	4	4	38	6	7	2	193
Community	What we do	38	7	7	15	9	31	8	13	14	1	2	3	148
Community	Engagement	116	101	18	90	51	146	31	15	118	8	4	9	707
Community	Youth Engagement	68	23	11	43	23	58	14	5	49	4	2	8	308
Community	Charity	25	23	12	26	32	10	6	4	57	3	3	10	211
	Subtotal	**458**	**412**	**89**	**363**	**239**	**644**	**129**	**70**	**498**	**51**	**69**	**122**	**3144**
Other	Missing	87	68	14	20	0	45	8	0	21	2	1	0	266
Other	Found	22	6	3	7	0	6	2	0	9	1	1	0	57
Other	Fallen Officers	31	17	16	42	4	24	14	16	66	2	0	4	236
Other	Retirement	18	1	0	6	0	3	6	0	0	1	1	0	36
Other	Safety	65	30	18	120	19	53	21	7	19	7	14	33	406
Other	DUI	22	4	8	12	2	12	5	2	11	3	3	1	85
Other	Sports	1	3	1	10	0	14	4	0	2	0	0	1	36
Other	Transparency	15	1	0	1	1	27	3	1	0	0	0	0	49
Other	Dept Info	50	16	4	23	15	26	6	6	9	8	6	20	189
Other	History	4	46	0	3	0	0	0	2	11	1	0	0	67
Other	K9	14	9	15	21	7	5	6	1	4	1	5	0	88
Other	Response	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	Only URL	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Other	Only Pic	20	17	3	25	2	8	19	2	4	0	0	2	102
Other	Not sure	2	1	1	6	1	4	1	1	3	0	0	0	20
Other	Other	49	16	15	58	21	29	24	10	15	7	0	11	255
	Subtotal	**400**	**235**	**101**	**354**	**73**	**256**	**119**	**48**	**174**	**33**	**31**	**72**	**1896**
	Total	***1084***	***932***	***235***	***933***	***407***	***1361***	***517***	***871***	***754***	***168***	***195***	***203***	**7657**

Table A2: Tweet Codes by Department

Category	Code	PD												
		Aurora	Buffalo	Canton	Fargo	Hillsborough	Jacksonville	Orem	Philadelphia	San Diego	Shiloh	Stamford	West Linn	Total
Standard	Arrest	76	60	0	3	7	131	15	61	33	3	0	4	393
Standard	Wanted	74	1	3	40	32	206	15	674	71	8	0	3	1127
Standard	Enforce	33	8	1	10	0	22	1	10	31	1	0	5	122
Standard	Progress	15	8	1	0	4	47	0	0	15	0	0	0	90
Standard	Stolen	23	0	1	2	4	3	0	1	1	0	0	2	37
Standard	Incident Info	308	129	4	3	19	434	33	47	316	30	0	9	1332
Standard	Training	31	4	0	2	8	11	2	9	8	0	0	1	76
Standard	Recruit	66	0	1	8	0	24	1	69	10	0	6	1	186
	Subtotals	**626**	**210**	**11**	**68**	**74**	**878**	**67**	**871**	**485**	**42**	**6**	**25**	**3363**
Community	Com. Policing	8	0	0	0	0	3	0	2	20	0	0	0	33
Community	Collab	68	3	3	7	8	69	10	12	100	2	0	5	287
Community	Same	0	0	0	0	0	25	0	0	1	0	0	0	26
Community	Service	28	0	2	2	4	90	0	20	27	0	0	4	177
Community	Support	136	0	0	6	13	448	7	49	77	1	0	8	745
Community	Traffic	172	103	0	14	8	340	8	67	101	3	109	33	958
Community	Weather	52	31	1	13	8	436	1	39	72	3	1	48	705
Community	Utilities	27	10	0	0	4	70	5	5	8	1	1	5	136
Community	Animals	8	1	1	3	2	40	1	9	3	0	0	7	75
Community	Event Info	61	47	2	29	11	275	4	56	105	4	10	14	618
Community	Success	18	1	1	1	0	33	6	18	35	0	0	3	116

Community	Officer Nods	33	0	2	4	5	168	2	35	38	4	0	4	295
Community	What we do	71	1	1	2	8	109	5	96	82	0	0	3	378
Community	Engagement	250	0	6	23	37	359	11	136	213	4	0	14	1053
Community	Youth Engagement	131	0	2	7	13	119	8	72	63	0	0	11	426
Community	Charity	38	0	3	4	18	21	1	39	67	1	0	15	207
	Subtotals	**1101**	**197**	**24**	**115**	**139**	**2605**	**69**	**655**	**1012**	**23**	**121**	**174**	**6235**
Other	Missing	260	4	4	9	0	114	12	5	79	2	2	2	493
Other	Found	71	3	4	3	0	46	6	1	33	1	1	1	170
Other	Fallen Officers	273	1	1	10	4	34	9	130	159	1	0	12	634
Other	Retirement	18	0	0	0	0	2	2	4	8	1	0	0	35
Other	Safety	81	0	43	0	32	0	1	0	136	4	0	1	298
Other	DUI	155	11	3	58	15	322	8	67	71	5	0	32	747
Other	Sports	46	0	1	10	0	39	3	2	21	2	0	7	131
Other	Transparency	7	0	0	1	0	1	0	5	1	0	0	0	15
Other	Dept Info	9	0	1	3	0	180	1	16	27	0	0	7	244
Other	History	5	0	0	1	0	6	0	70	11	0	0	2	95
Other	K9	45	0	6	1	4	7	4	9	18	0	0	0	94
Other	Response	803	0	0	69	0	893	59	257	43	1	0	17	2142
Other	Only URL	81	0	43	0	32	0	1	0	136	4	0	1	298
Other	Only Pic	5	0	0	0	0	2	1	7	0	0	1	0	16
Other	Not sure	16	2	3	0	2	12	3	6	19	2	0	1	66
Other	Other	189	5	13	51	36	111	13	92	65	15	1	27	618
	Subtotals	**2019**	**26**	**122**	**216**	**125**	**1769**	**123**	**671**	**827**	**38**	**5**	**110**	**6096**
	Total	***3746***	***433***	***157***	***399***	***338***	***5252***	***259***	***2197***	***2324***	***103***	***132***	***309***	**15649**

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT

Social Media and Policing
Dissertation Interview Questions: L. Mayes, 2016

Given your involvement with social media within your agency, I am interested in knowing your thoughts on the department's use of social media. I am going to ask you a series of questions. Please feel free to elaborate or discuss anything you see as pertinent. Please let me know if you would like me to rephrase or elaborate on any questions.

Basic Information

Name:

Department:

Date:

When I emailed your department I described my dissertation project – do you have any questions for me before we begin?

I'd like to start off by capturing some basic information about your background.

1. How long have you been in the department?

2. Are you a civilian or uniformed officer?

3. What is your title?

4. What are your duties?

5. What is your role with social media within the department?

6. How did you come to be involved with social media in the department?

7. Do you have any formal training in social media use?

Technical Questions:

8. I know your department is on Facebook and Twitter, but does your department use any other social networking sites?

9. When did your department's social media presence begin?

10. Can you tell me a little bit about how content gets posted to the sites?

10a. How many people can post to them?

10b. Is there oversight, and if so, who is overseeing the content?

10c. Does your agency have an official social media use policy in place? If so, please describe the policy.

10c1. What sort of guidance was used in creating the policy?

11. Does your department post the same material on Twitter and Facebook?

11a. If not, how does it differ?

12. How often does someone from your agency monitor the comments on Facebook posts and/or tweet mentions?

12a. How often does someone respond to the commenter?

Agency Social Media Use:

13. What goals does your department have for using social media?

14. How does your department use their social media accounts? What types of content are you posting?

14a. What sort of information gets released?

14b. What type of content are you posting most often to your accounts?

15. Can you give me some examples of a post when you asked for (community collaboration with finding a suspect, help finding a missing person...etc)? Are there any posts you found to be especially successful? Can you remember any posts that were especially impactful?

16. How has social media affected cooperation with the community?

16a. In what ways has social media improved community relations?

17. How do you think it has influenced the community's perception of police legitimacy – meaning viewing the department as taking proper and desirable actions - keeping in line with lawfulness, effectiveness, procedural fairness.

18. In what ways do you think using social media has improved the department's effectiveness at reducing crime?

18a. Is it particularly effective with any specific sorts of crime reduction?

19. What benefits do you see from your department's social media use?

20. Have there been any unexpected issues?

Agency identity:

So now I'd like to shift gears a bit and talk a little about your department.

21. What would you say are core aspects of your department's identity? By identity I mean the strongest associations you have when you think about the department... So, when you think of describing your department, you would describe it as_____.

21a. What are the most important values that your department stands for?

21b. In what ways do you think this identity is reflected by your department's social media presence?

22. What type of image does your department want to convey to the community?

22a. How important in the grand scheme of policing to project a positive image?

23. What image do you think the community has of your organization?

24. What role does community-oriented policing play in your department?

24a. What do you think are the most important aspects C.O.P.?

25. When (if ever) do you think it is appropriate to use humor on social media?

26. Are there any words of wisdom for departments that are thinking about using or just starting out their social media accounts?

27. Is there anything else that you think I should know about your agency's social media use or its potential benefits?

APPENDIX C: CATEGORIES AND CODES

Content Analysis Coding Notebook

Category	Sub-Category	Description	Code
Community Policing		Direct reference to community policing. References to community commitment to do NOT meet this threshold.	ComPolicing
	Collaboration	Posts seeking help identifying issues specific to the community. Include neighborhood watch related content and success with help from community collaboration. Also use this code along with StandWanted if police are asking for information for a specific crime *only* if they specifically reference wanting the community's help – not just basic information seeking or tip line info. Use if something along the lines of 'Share' or 'Please Share" are used.	ComCollab
		Posts emphasizing similarities between police and citizens. If a post talks about humanizing officers or talking about personal matters of individual officers like having babies. Conveying "hey, we're just like you".	ComSame
	Emphasis on community service provision	Posts demonstrating non-enforcement services that the police provide to the community. Does not include links or references to other city department services. ComChar takes precedent – if some sort of charitable cause is referenced, it is charity and not a service. Examples of service include an officer changing a tire for a citizen and holding Rx drug drop off events.	ComServ
		Posts demonstrating the community's support for the department. These can come in the form of shared posts or retweets from the community or through the police	ComSupport

		department thanking the community for their support.	
		Alerts about current or potential future traffic. Not about traffic enforcement or safety in traffic. Includes traffic information like road closures, and traffic that is expected to stem from an event or weather incident.	ComTraffic
		Posts about current or future weather and/or weather-related emergencies. Floods and wildfire warnings and reports are included in this.	ComWeather
		Posts about issues or potential issues with utilities	ComUtilities
		Posts about animals, including lost or adoptable animals. Does not include K9	ComAnimal
		Information about an event before it happens. Events can either be held by the department or be other events that are not departmentally related.	ComEventInfo
	Demonstrating overall effectiveness		
		Highlight successes of the department.	ComSuc
		Highlighting the success or good deeds of a specific officer/s. Could be the community member showing support for a good thing an officer did for them or for internal commendations like promotions.	ComOfficerNods
		Informing the public of what policing is like. Showing officers out on the job, performing daily duties, or attending events in a professional capacity (not in a community-engagement way).	ComWhatWeDo
	Non-enforcement activities with community	Non-enforcement activities with community. Not specifically with youth. Includes block club meetings, but if it specifically references meeting so that the community can share concerns and issues with police, that would be ComCollab as well.	ComNonEn

		Non-enforcement activities, specifically with youth	ComNonEnYouth
		Promoting charity-specific events or causes that the police are promoting or involved in. Any post that shows the promotion of charitable causes, whether directly involving the department or just involving the department through promoting the charitable cause on their post.	ComChar
Standard Policing			
	Deterrence	Notification about an arrest	StandArrest
		Informing about an enforcement strategy (example: increased seatbelt enforcement). Use this along with OtherDUI for DUI-specific enforcement warnings.	StandEnforce
	Investigation		
		Seeking information about a crime or a specific person who is suspected of a crime.	StandWanted
		Updates about the investigation or adjudication of crimes that happened in the past – not recently.	StandProg
		Alert of stolen item, including cars, letting people know to be on the lookout. Not talking about recovering items.	StandStolen
	Answering calls for service	Details about crimes or events requiring police attention that have recently been committed or are currently unfolding. Can use when posts make mention of the crime along with when it happened Only use for car accidents when there is specific mention of police activity at the scene.	StandBlotter
	Professionalism	Posts demonstrating police professionalism through the use of training. Posts of officers in training programs or highlighting officers that have received specific trainings are to be included. Really any reference to training.	StandTraining
		Recruitment posts	StandRecruit
Other/Not sure		Response to another user	OtherResponse

		Missing persons	OtherMissing
		Found missing persons	OtherMissingFound
		Posts about fallen or injured officers	OtherFallenOff
		Retirement	OtherRetire
		Historical content – showing what things were like years ago. Use if #tbt tag exists.	OtherHistory
		General safety tips and suggestions for keeping persons and property safe from crime. Include posts that emphasize the importance of being safe in certain situations or in general. Also include warnings about scams.	OtherSafety
		Warning against DUI – don't use if reporting a DUI arrest unless it comes with some warning against DUI as well.	OtherDUI
		Post referencing high school, college, or professional sports. Do not include engaging in playing sports with youth unless it involves a professional athlete as well.	OtherSports
		Posts that convey that the department is being transparent, for example arresting one of their own officers. Include any posts about officer-involved shootings.	OtherTransparency
		Departmental information - Information about the department like phone numbers but also information about the department itself that is unrelated to either community or standard approaches to policing. Not in the context of posts like soliciting crime tips or recruitment that have another primary content. Use when conveying info about the department or protocol. This also includes emails, phone numbers (not 911 or for tiplines), and links or info about other websites or applications.	OtherDeptInfo
		Posts about K9 dogs or units	OtherK9
		Only a picture of video without enough text to code	OtherOnlyPic

		Only a URL with not enough text to code	OtherURL
		Not sure what the code should be	OtherNotSure
		*Twitter only - Use if a response to another twitter user. Can be used alone or in conjunction with other codes if the content of the response contains relevant information to other codes.	OtherResponse
		Does not fit into any category	Other
Interview Specific*		Discussing goals the department has for social media use	Goals
		Discussing policies the department has for social media use	Policies
		Discussing the identity of the department	Departmental identity
		When there is mention of benefits that social media provides to the department	Benefits
		Mentions of the use of discretion when posting content to social media	Discretion
		Discussion of using social media to engage the community	Engagement
		Discussing the potential hazards, pitfalls, or issues that have arisen with the rise of social media use	Hazards
		Discussions of the use of humor on social media	Humor
		Discussion of the way a department intends to portray themselves on social media	Intended image
		Mentions of experience with social media or other aspects of their current job before starting to be involved with the department's social media use	Job experience
		Direct references to professionalism, including through maintaining professionalism while working or projecting an image of professionalism	Professional
		References to reputation including managing the reputation of the department or a desire to use social media to improve the department's reputation	Reputation

		Discussions of how responsive the department is when communicating with their community on social media	Responsiveness
		Mentions of trolls or people on the internet looking to start a fight online or intentionally cause trouble including mentions of negative comments from people outside of the community	Trolls
		Expressing a desire to bolster the use of social media or use it in more effective ways	Wishing to do more

*Interviews were coded using codes from the content analysis as well as interview-specific codes.