

“Distribution of emotions” as a form of communication of local governments on Facebook.com

An attempt to categorize the message in the context of public relations

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KEY WORDS

local government, social network, Facebook, public relations, social communication, social media

ABSTRACT

Social media platforms are a communication channel used by local governments to build relationships with the environment in which receiving feedback is an important element. The article presents the results of the study of city communication on Facebook.com. The indicator of municipalities' ranking in the portal has been applied. Categorization of the message was built and analysed in the context of PR. The results indicate that local governments build relationships through the "distribution of emotions", which consists in publishing content that evokes the most numerous reactions of social media users.

"Public relations is art and the need to conduct a fair conversation - without camouflaged intentions and manipulation; it is a dialogue in search of understandable arguments"¹. These words take on special significance in building relations with the environment by public institutions, such as local governments. Two-way communication is indispensable for conducting a conversation, because the residents form a local governing community, and "a man cannot live without the right to communicate with others"². An important role in building this system of exchange of information and arguments is played by municipal offices, which are obliged to maintain relations with the environment.

In line with statutory regulations, Polish local governments have broad powers to organise communication with residents and institutions. They result from Chapter 7 of the Constitution³ and the Act on local government⁴, which specify their tasks and responsibilities. Article 7.1 of the Act extends this scope, emphasising activities aimed at promotion of the municipality⁵. An important duty imposed on local governments, the foundation of democratic governance, is operating in an open and transparent manner, which results both from the basic law⁶ and the Act on access to public information⁷. This catalogue of obligations forces local governments to build their own information policy that ensures communication with the broadly understood environment. Media distribution channels should be adapted to the requirements of recipients who are increasingly using modern online tools. For many municipalities it is a challenge to establish interaction with the environment through dynamically developing social platforms.

Information policy as an element of PR communication

¹ J. Olędzki, *Public relations w komunikacji społecznej [Public relations in social communication]* [in:] *Public relations. Znaczenie społeczne i kierunki rozwoju [Public relations. The social importance and development trends]*, ed. J. Olędzki, D. Tworzydło, Warszawa 2006, p. 17.

² *Ibid*, p. 26.

³ Among others, legal personality, own income and structures.

⁴ Act of 8 March 1990 on the municipal government (territorial), Journal of Laws 1990 no. 16 item 95, as amended. (consolidated text: Journal of Laws 2001 no. 142, item 1591, as amended).

⁵ Para. 18, art. 7.1 of the Act on the municipal government of 8 March 1990.

⁶ Article 61 of the Constitution provides every citizen with the right to obtain knowledge about the activities of the authorities and persons performing public functions.

⁷ The Act of 6 September 2001 on access to public information, Journal of Laws 2001, item 2058 (consolidated text).

For conducting efficient communication with the environment, local government creates structures, a system of actions or procedures based on its own information policy. In the case of municipalities, this policy is defined as a long-term and planned activity related to the residents' access to information and allowing them to freely express their opinions on matters concerning the local community. Elements such as encouraging residents to communicate or building trust between the community and local authorities⁸ should not be overlooked. It is worth emphasising that the mentioned elements on the one hand coincide with the formulation of PR objectives⁹, on the other - local governments do not mention public relations activities in their documents. One can get the impression that municipal authorities avoid sending messages referring directly to PR. As a substitute, they use the term "information policy". This is confirmed by many examples. Local governments, adopting the principles of communication policy, often concentrate on information functions, unilateral communication, possible cooperation with the creators of civic initiatives¹⁰. There are also municipalities that emphasise communication based on the feedback channel, which are traditional and online tools¹¹. Others declare the introduction of feedback channels in the form of consultations ("bilateral relationship in which citizens express their opinions and establish a dialogue with the authorities"¹²) and active participation ("partnership agreement within which the citizens take part in the decision-making process"¹³). Non-formal groups are also included, defined extremely precisely in the information policy documents: "this is understood as the type of an

⁸ See: D. Fleszer, *Rola polityki informacyjnej w zarządzaniu jednostką samorządu terytorialnego* [The role of information policy in the management of a local government unit], "Zeszyty Naukowe Wyższej Szkoły Humanitas. Zarządzanie" 2015 (3), pp. 189–190.

⁹ Cf. 1.

¹⁰ See *Polityka informacyjno-promocyjna Gminy Miasto Płock wobec organizacji pozarządowych, grup nieformalnych i inicjatyw obywatelskich* [Information and promotion policy of the municipality of Płock towards non-governmental organizations, informal groups and civic initiatives], <http://twp.iplock.pl/userfiles/files/Dokumenty/5.4.2/Procedura%20polityka%20informacyjno%20%20promocyjna%20Gminy%20Miasto%20Pock%20wobec%20organizacji%20pozarzadowych%20grup%20nieformalnych%20i%20inicjatyw%20obywatelskich.pdf> [access: 01.02.2017].

¹¹ See the document of the municipality of Czarnków, where feedback channels include, among others, mailboxes located in the lobby of the office, but also email, website or online surveys. *Procedura prowadzenia polityki informacyjnej* [Procedure for conducting information policy], http://bip.czarnkow.pl/cms_tmp/20150120100557_PROCEDURA%20PROWADZENIA%20POLITYKI%20INFORMACYJNEJ.pdf [access: 01.02.2017].

¹² See *Polityka informacyjna gminy Krosno Odrzańskie* [Information policy of the municipality of Krosno Odrzańskie], attachment to Regulation no. 39 of the Mayor of Krosno Odrzańskie dated 1 March 2008 on the information policy of the municipality of Krosno Odrzańskie, p. 3, http://bip.wrota.lubuskie.pl/ugkrosnoodrzańskie/dokumenty/zarządzenia%202005/zal_zarządz_nr39_05.pdf [access: 01.02.2017].

¹³ Ibid.

informal social group consisting of at least 3 persons aiming at organising a predetermined undertaking for the benefit of the local community"¹⁴.

Other documents talking about PR activities, but not expressing such activities *expressis verbis*, are the so-called "municipal development strategies" and appearing references to the statutory need to promote the municipality¹⁵. Then the information policy of the local government becomes *de facto* PR or similar activities aimed at implementation of tasks related to marketing communication, which aims, for example, at creating a good image of the municipality (or rather its authorities), reputation of the institutions, etc. The ethical nature of the actions taken is problematic in this approach to PR, especially in the context of reliability of communication and application of the persuasive nature of the message aimed at changing the attitude of the recipient in favour of the sender (which in this case is a public institution)¹⁶.

Social networks in local government communications

When reviewing local government documentation (referring to "information policy" or "development strategy"), we see numerous references to modern communication - the growing importance of the Internet and online tools as feedback channels. For municipalities, it is still a new media environment. Building relations between many public institutions and the social environment can still be perceived as traditional form, based in the vast majority on contacts with the press, radio or television. Focusing information policy (*de facto* PR activities) only on institutionalised channels may result in failure to realize the planned communication goals due to e.g. declining viewing, reading of traditional media and one-sided communication.

Modern information exchange is based on Web 2.0 schemas, where the recipient is both the creator and the sender. The old principles of PR in the global network may not

¹⁴ Regulation no. 5010/2014 of the President of Płock from 7 October 2014 *on the introduction of the Information and Promotional Policy of the municipality of Płock towards non-governmental organizations, informal groups and civic initiatives*, chapter 1, §1, <http://docplayer.pl/49303797-Zarzadzenie-nr-5010-2014-prezydenta-miasta-plocka-z-dnia-07-pazdziernika-2014-r.html> [access: 01.02.2017].

¹⁵ See an example of the Development strategy of the city of Toruń until 2020. For example, we read about the promotion of economic conditions with the use of "information technology" or "running an IT service", <http://www.torun.pl/pl/rozwoj/miejskie-programy-rozwojowe/strategia-rozwoju-miasta-torunia-do-year-2020> [access: 01.02.2017].

¹⁶ B. Dobek-Ostrowska, *Komunikowanie polityczne i publiczne* [Political and public communication], Warszawa 2007, p. 339.

achieve the goals¹⁷ assumed in the strategic documentation of municipalities [regarding PR communication - author's note]. Actions are needed that take into account e.g. involvement of communication participants, authenticity of the message and those that reach the recipients so far underestimated, neglected by traditional media as a target group¹⁸. The Internet allows the use of communication tools also referred to as e-PR, significantly increasing the scope of information, such as "guerrilla PR", i.e. creating a message attractive enough for the recipient (in its structure and content) so to be redistributed by Internet users not as advertising, but as content without persuasion. Such a message can reach wide audiences through blogs, forums, communities, emails - so through every available communication channel¹⁹. It can be compared to a viral – "bomb information" or rumours "infecting" recipients who distribute it in their network of friends²⁰.

Local governments should therefore seek modern and effective communication. Today it is important that this exchange of information is bilateral, recipient should be able to respond, send feedback. Such a possibility was recognised in the modelling of PR communication proposed by James E. Grunig and Todd Hunt (shown in simplified way²¹):

- first model - the organisation's pursuit of publicity, manipulation of information, with the dominant position of the sender (organisation)
- second model - information provided by the organisation with assumption that recipients have the right to reliable and honest information
- third model - asymmetrical communication, with emphasis on the interest of the sender (organisation) seeking supporters (in the environment)
- fourth model - symmetrical communication, where the sender (organisation) and the recipient (environment) have equal position, which can be called the basis for discussion.

¹⁷ See D.M. Scott, *Nowe zasady marketingu i PR. Jak korzystać z komunikatów informacyjnych, blogów, podcastingu, marketingu wirusowego oraz mediów internetowych w celu bezpośredniego dotarcia do nabywcy* [New Rules of Marketing and PR: How to Use News Releases, Blogs, Podcasting, Viral Marketing, and Online Media to Reach Buyers Directly], Warszawa 2009, pp. 36–37.

¹⁸ Ibid, pp. 47–50.

¹⁹ M. Levine, *Partyzanckie public relations w Internecie* [Guerrilla P.R.], Warszawa 2003, pp. 33–40 et seq.

²⁰ D.M. Scott, *Nowe zasady marketingu i PR. Jak korzystać z komunikatów informacyjnych, blogów, podcastingu, marketingu wirusowego oraz mediów internetowych w celu bezpośredniego dotarcia do nabywcy* [New Rules of Marketing and PR: How to Use News Releases, Blogs, Podcasting, Viral Marketing, and Online Media to Reach Buyers Directly], Warszawa 2009, pp. 119–122.

²¹ See: W. Furman, *Dominacja czy porozumienie? Związki między dziennikarstwem a public relations* [Domination or agreement? Relations between journalism and public relations], Rzeszów 2009, pp. 119–121.

Building an effective message requires information management, but not only content and construction, also distribution and interaction. For many local governments, a website is the basic tool that allows for the implementation of information policy and building relationships, which today already seems insufficient. Therefore, these institutions face the challenge of communicating while using the potential of social networks, especially their impact on creating the image of a municipality, building the reputation of local government, its promotion, "space marketing" etc. Then the desired effect is feedback communication, which is a basic element of social media functioning. It is worth noting that one third of Poles uses Facebook.com or another social network at least once a week²². Meanwhile, local governments do not appreciate the potential of this communication channel.

Research method description

The research was conducted to determine the categorization of the message used by the 66 largest cities in Poland²³ on the social network most often used by local governments and to find a correlation between the message and reaction to this message. Construction of the category was based on the assumption that cities use communities to achieve communication goals and tasks as part of public relations activities.

Quantitative and qualitative analysis was carried out to answer the research questions:

- * What social networks dominate in municipal portals?
- * Which communication categories have the highest frequency?
- * Is there a correlation between the category and the reaction of the recipients?
- * Can the type of communication influence the number of profile users?

Main hypothesis H was formulated: local governments, by publishing diverse (categorised) content on social networks, realize the need to establish relationships with the environment, expecting feedback - user reaction (like, share or comments); auxiliary H1 hypothesis: the number of reactions depends on the communication category.

²² *Internet 2015/2016. Raport strategiczny* [Internet 2015/2016. Strategic report], IAB Polska, p. 62, http://iab.org.pl/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Raport-strategiczny-Internet-2015_2016.pdf [access: 1.12.2016].

²³ According to the administrative division in place, it was 66 cities with poviat rights. Status on 1 January 2017, <http://bip.stat.gov.pl/dzialalnosc-statystyki-publicznej/rejestr-teryt/zakres-rejestru-teryt/> [access: 1.01.2017].

The research procedure was carried out in stages, because it required the use of several tools. Obtaining objective results in the analysis of the media's message should be supported by mixed methods²⁴ often encountered in the methodology of social research. In the first stage, the methodology of the Website Attribute Evaluation System (WAES) developed by the Cyberspace Policy Research Group²⁵ was used. A questionnaire was prepared and official local government websites were observed in February 2017.

Presence of 66 cities on social networks and their official status (administration and moderation by local government authorities) was verified. In the next stage, the activity of cities in the social network that was most often used by municipalities was registered along with the number of profile users to prepare the ranking of municipality popularity among recipients.

To verify the hypothesis, it was necessary to analyse the publication on the social network. So, the categorization of posts was built. Construction of the category was based on a survey of municipalities²⁶. Local government officials were asked to indicate the type of messages for which offices should be present in communities. The question was open. A set of responses was gathered, which were then grouped according to the main functional themes - thematic axes related to possible activities carried out as part of the implementation of PR objectives and tasks. Package of opinions was used to create four categories of posts (message):

1. announcing posts - regarding announcements of meetings, urban events, encouraging to visit an exhibition, theatre, take part in an event, inviting to buy a ticket, etc.;
2. informative posts - concerning the activities of the city, municipal authorities, officials, cooperating organisations, received prizes, reports on city events (cultural, social, etc.) - information that is not persuasive;
3. provocative posts - message intended to trigger online reaction, encouraging to take action by adding a like, comment or sharing, which is not pro-social but entertaining;

²⁴ C. Hewson, *Mixed methods research* [in:] *The SAGE dictionary of social research methods*, ed. V. Jupp, London 2006, pp. 180–182.

²⁵ T.M. La Porte, Ch.C. Demchak, Ch. Weare, *Governance in the era of the world wide web: an assessment of organizational openness and government effectiveness* [in:] *Handbook of public information systems*, ed. Christopher M. Schea, G. David Garson, New York 2005, pp. 158–162.

²⁶ The study was conducted in October 2014. See: K. Kowalik, *Internetowy serwis samorządowy – ewolucja przekazu w okresie „mobilnej zmiany”*, [Online local government service - evolution of the message in the period of “mobile change”] „Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Litteraria Polonica” 2015, no. 2 (28), pp. 16–17.

4. participative posts - suggesting, encouraging to take action and engage in the Internet or in the real world in pro-social activities, for example in a charity campaign, donating to a noble goal, filling out a budget survey, etc.

For the clarification of the category, not only the use of a categorization key, i.e. characteristic words and phrases related to the indicated threads, was taken into account. On social networks, the text often appears with a static image (graphics, photos, emoticons) and dynamic image (animations, films, sounds), which is why the message was analysed as a whole²⁷. This is essential, necessary element of the research that allows to capture the logical meaning of the content (text, graphics, multimedia) and qualify the message to the appropriate category²⁸. It was necessary to understand the context of messages that appeared during the observation of the community²⁹.

In order to indicate the most popular city profiles, the recognition parameter was calculated, i.e. the ratio of the number of people who decided to become users of the official local government profile to the number of city residents³⁰. The smaller the parameter size, the more popular the city profile is. It should be emphasised that this parameter can be influenced by many factors, such as the time for which city account has been operated in the community, tourist attractiveness of the municipality and users' activity. There is no data that would allow to verify how many of users are residents of the city and how many people come from outside the local community. Therefore, it was necessary to assume that the recognition parameter may indicate the popularity of a given profile on the social network. The parameter was calculated in February 2017. On its basis, three municipalities were identified for further observation: Koszalin, Wałbrzych and Poznań. These are the cities with the lowest parameter (i.e. the highest number of profile likes for one statistical resident of the city), medium parameter and the highest parameter (similarly - with the least number of likes). To increase the objectivity of the results, extreme values were rejected. Then selected official profiles were observed in two research periods. To achieve optimal results, the same time intervals were selected: 1-28 February 2017 and 1-28 February 2018.

²⁷ Multimedia content causes that the categorization key must be mixed, already encountered in the analysis of old or traditional media, especially the press. See W. Pisarek, *Analiza zawartości prasy* [Press content analysis], Kraków 1983, p. 78.

²⁸ See: D. Silverman, *Interpretacja danych ilościowych* [Quantitative data interpretation], Warszawa 2008, pp. 59–62.

²⁹ K. Krippendorff, *Content analysis an introduction to its methodology*, Thousand Oaks–London–New Delhi 2004, pp. 18–21.

³⁰ *Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Poland 2016*, Warszawa, 2016.

In the next stage, the content allowing to categorise the posts due to their message was analysed. Numbers of posts and user reactions were recorded. The numerical and percentage shares of posts in categories, the number of responses to them and percentage of reactions were presented.

It should be noted that one of the basic elements indicating the popularity of a given profile on the social network is the number of users and their reactions. On Facebook, a person interested in the message published on the account should "like" the profile, so he/she also gets the opportunity to comment on posts ("comments" icon) and to further share the content (clicking on the "share" icon). In the results of the survey, the sum of likes, comments and shares will be called the number of reactions counted for all published posts (messages).

Study results

Observation of official local government sites of the 66 largest cities has shown that links to the Facebook.com community are most often published - 84.8%. posted links (see Chart 1). 59% of municipalities publishes links to YouTube. Nearly half of local governments (46.9%) keep accounts on Twitter, and 31.8% on Instagram, sharing their photos. Only every tenth community (10.6%) uses Google Plus. Official websites also published links to less known thematic websites in Poland, such as Pinterest.com, Forsquare.com, Vimeo.com or those losing users like NK.pl (Nasza Klasa).

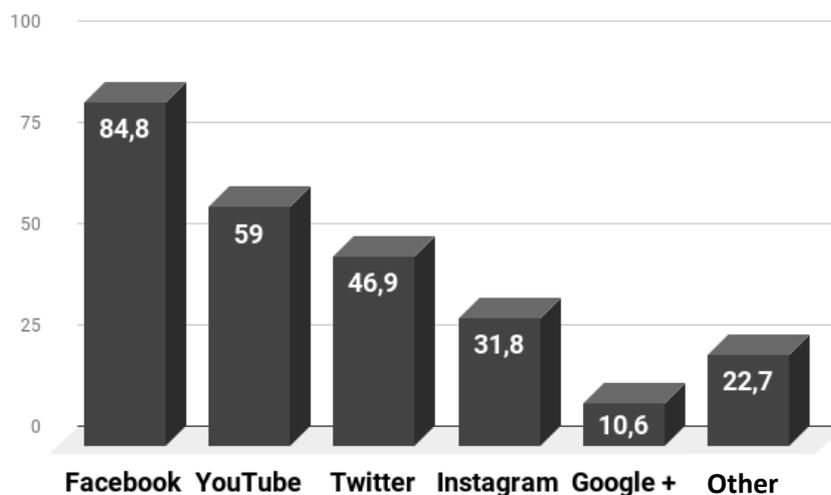


Chart 1. Occurrence of links to social networks in cities with poviata rights (data in percent)

Source: own study

The next stages of research covered the profiles created on Facebook as the most frequently used by the examined cities. During the verification of official profiles, there were discrepancies between the declared names presented in the links on the local government websites and those appearing on Facebook.com. Cities such as Poznań and Gdańsk both have two profiles, but only one has been marked in city portals. This created difficulties in choosing the "official profile". In the case of Gdańsk, the local government administers two accounts, but it is difficult to state clearly which of them is official. In contrast, the profile of Poznań contains a link to the account described as the "official portal of the city of Poznań"³¹, but in the President's order regarding communication in social media³² another profile named "Miasto Poznań"³³ was mentioned as official one, which eventually underwent further research. Then the calculation of the recognition parameter and rejection of the extreme values was made. In the next stage, three cities were examined: Koszalin³⁴ – recognition parameter 16.71; Wałbrzych³⁵ – 10.43 and Poznań³⁶ – 3.0.

Koszalin

The city had a recognition parameter of 16.71, which is the smallest number of profile likes, relative to the number of residents. This profile also published the smallest number of posts among all examined municipalities in both research periods. In 2018, moderators published 14 posts, i.e. 9 less than in 2017 (see Chart 2).

³¹ <https://www.facebook.com/oficjalnyportalMiastaPoznania/> [access: 01.02.2018].

³² The ordinance on the policy of the City of Poznań regarding communication in social media no. 29/2015/K <http://bip.poznan.pl/bip/zarządzenia-prezydenta/29-2015-k,k,29-2015-K/> [access: 01.05.2018].

³³ <https://www.facebook.com/Poznan/> [access: 01.02.2018].

³⁴ <https://www.facebook.com/CentrumPomorza/> [access: 01.02.2018].

³⁵ <https://www.facebook.com/walbrzychmojemiasto/> [access: 01.02.2018].

³⁶ <https://pl-pl.facebook.com/Poznan/> [access: 01.02.2018].

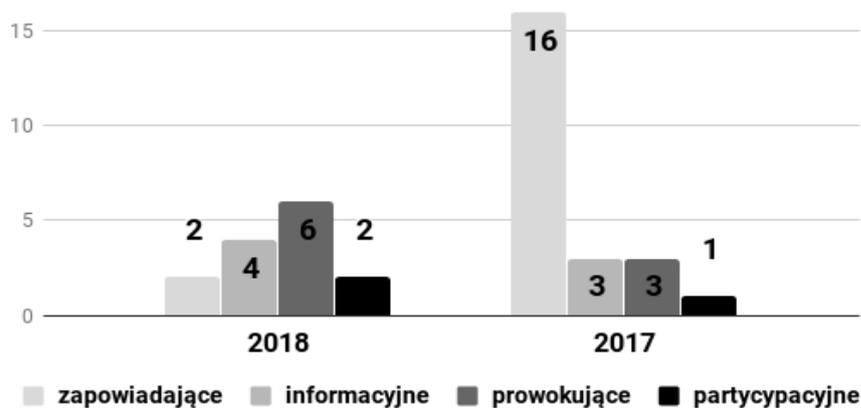


Chart 2. Koszalin - comparison of the number of posts in each category in 2017 and 2018

Source: own study

zapowiadające	announcing
informacyjne	informative
prowokujące	provocative
partycypacyjne	participative

Despite the decreasing number of publications, the number of reactions has greatly increased. In 2017 it was 208, and a year later it reached 1506. This increase of 624.04% does not result from the increased number of profile users. In 2017 there were 8615 users, and in 2018 this number was 33.07% higher.

In this context, it was interesting to compare the proportions of posts in particular categories of message with the reactions they caused. In 2017, the most reactions (39.9%) were generated by informative posts, which accounted for only 13% of all publications (see Chart 3). The proportions changed significantly in the following year. A larger number of provocative posts was registered that dominated users' reactions. In both research periods, they triggered twice as many reactions as it resulted from their percentage share in posts.

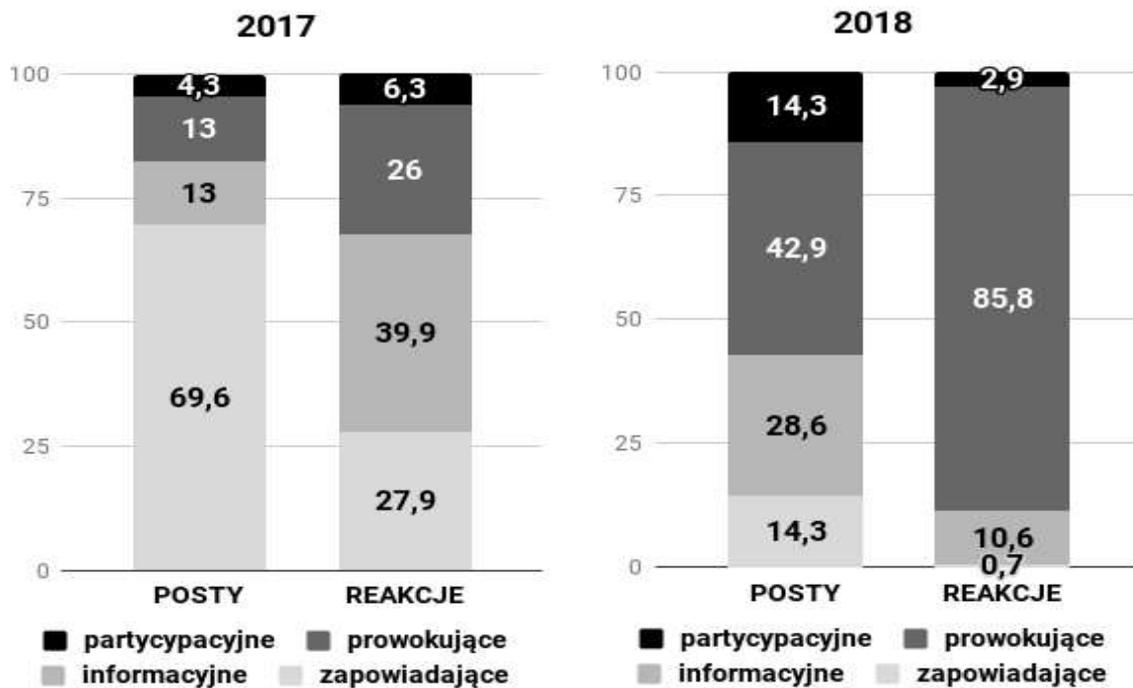


Chart 3. Koszalin - percentage comparison of post and reactions shares in 2017 and 2018

Source: own study

zapowiadające	announcing
Informacyjne	Informative
prowokujące	provocative
partycypacyjne	participative
posty	posts
reakcje	reactions

The data shows that there were few participative messages, reactions to these constituted a small percentage (see Chart 3).

Wałbrzych

The moderators of the city profile (with the 10.43 recognition parameter), similarly to Koszalin in 2018, published fewer posts than in 2017 - the difference was however larger and

amounted to 35 (see Chart 4). Similarly to the situation of the previous local government in 2018, the users increased to 12,103, by 7.37%. However, during this period a reduction in the number of reactions from 2,482 to 2,178, or by 12.25%, was recorded.

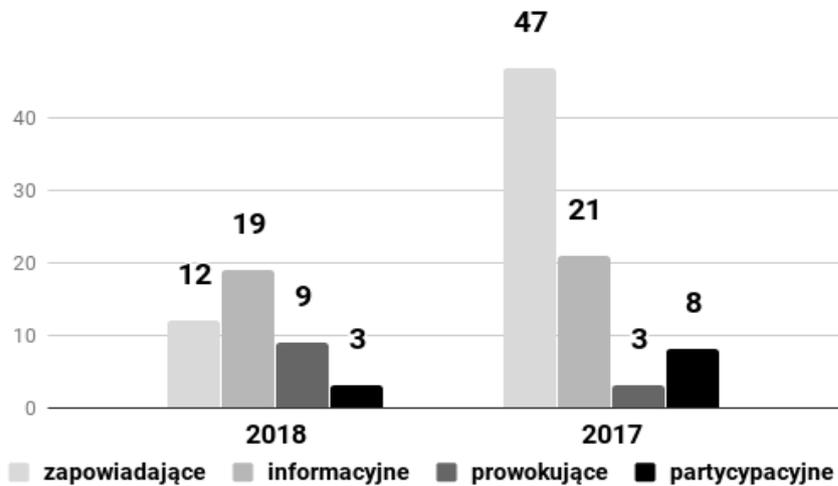


Chart 4. Wałbrzych - comparison of the number of posts in each category in 2017 and 2018

Source: own study

zapowiadające	announcing
informacyjne	informative
prowokujące	provocative
partycypacyjne	participative

Announcing posts in 2017 constituted as much as 60.3% of the message, but it was not them that caused the most reactions. It was informative entries, which were twice smaller in numbers (see Chart 5). A disproportionately greater interest of users (38.5%) resulted in publications from provocative category. It should be emphasised that they constituted only 3.8% of all posts. However, in the following year there was a significant increase in provocative posts up to 20.9% of all entries, but the percentage of reactions to them was similar to that in 2017. However, this increase in the share of informative posts has caused the

greatest involvement of users. Large decrease was recorded in the category of announcing posts, they also triggered minor reactions (see Chart 5).

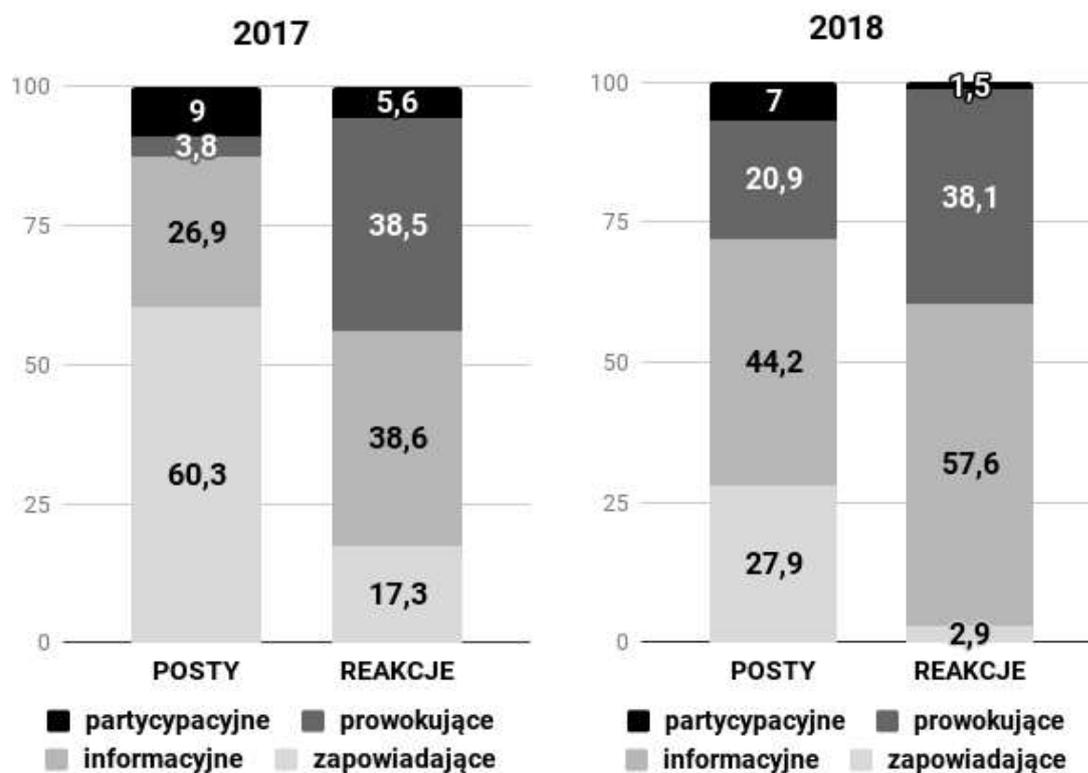


Chart 5. Wałbrzych - comparison of the number of posts in each category in 2017 and 2018

Source: own study

zapowiadające	announcing
informacyjne	informative
prowokujące	provocative
partycypacyjne	participative
posty	posts
reakcje	reactions

It should be underlined that, as in the case of Koszalin, participative posts provoked little involvement. In 2017 they accounted for 9% of the publications, causing 5.6% of reactions, and in 2018 it was respectively 7% and 1.5%.

Poznań

The results of a survey of local government profile of Poznań (recognition parameter 3) significantly deviate from the previously presented cities. In 2018, moderators published 18 posts more than in 2017 (see Chart 6). There has been an increase in the number of users of 10.17% (180,960 likes in 2017), but they reacted definitely less often. In 2017, 29,893 reactions were registered and 2018 brought the decrease of 26.5%.

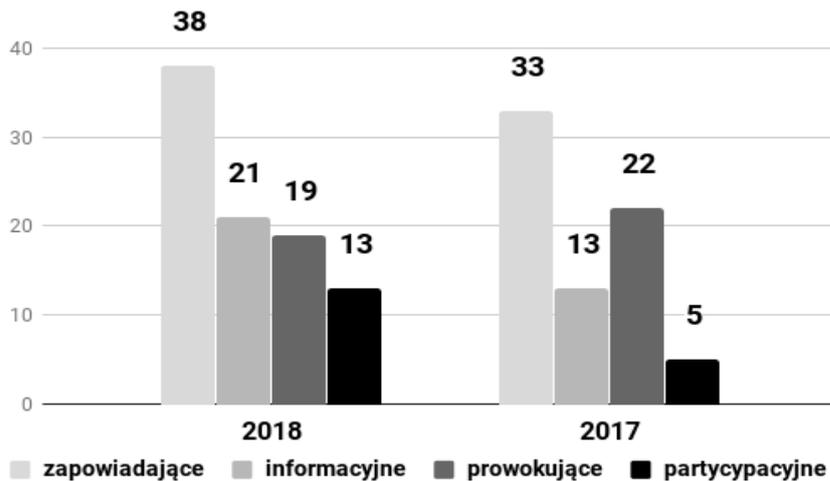


Chart 6. Poznań - comparison of the number of posts in each category in 2017 and 2018

Source: own study

zapowiadające	announcing
informacyjne	informative
prowokujące	provocative
partycypacyjne	participative

In the city profile, announcing posts constitute a significant share (45.2% in 2017 and 41.8% in 2018), but they caused more than half less reactions than it should result from the proportion (see Chart 7). Profile users most often reacted in the category of provocative posts. In both research periods they did not constitute the majority (30.1% in 2017 and 20.9% in 2018), but they triggered the most reactions (61.7% in 2017 and 46.3% a year later).

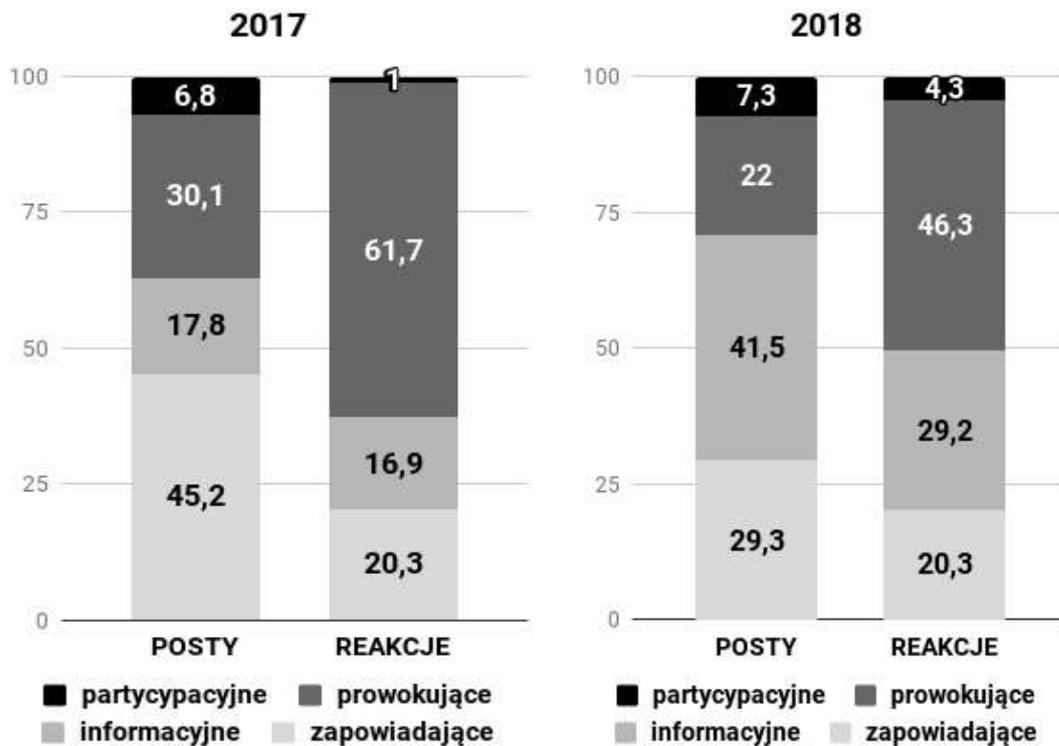


Chart 7. Poznań - percentage comparison of post and reactions shares in 2017 and 2018

Source: own study

zapowiadające	announcing
informacyjne	informative
prowokujące	provocative
partycypacyjne	participative
posty	posts
reakcje	reactions

Similarly to the previously analysed profiles, participative posts did not interest the users. Although in both research periods they constituted about 7 % of message, they caused only 1% of reactions in 2017 and 4.3% in 2018.

Summary

Research results confirmed the posed hypotheses. Local governments on Facebook.com use a diverse message to establish relationships with the environment. Published content, after categorizing and registering user reactions, indicates the type of messages preferred by municipalities and people involved in the community. Moreover, the recognition parameter can be used as an indicator of popularity of a municipal profile on a social network.

We should remember that there is a clear correlation between the number of published posts and the number of profile users. An important element is the activity of moderators or administrators on the social network, which increases the number of people who want to participate in communication.

Results analysis showed an interesting tendency in terms of the message. In all profiles, announcing and informative posts prevailed, but they did not trigger the most reactions. Koszalin and Wałbrzych, i.e. cities enjoying less interest from the community, used much more announcing and informative publications in the first research period. A year later, these proportions changed and the share of provocative messages increased significantly. These posts raised disproportionately greater involvement than the other categories. It can be concluded that content moderators were encouraged by statistics (likes, comments and shares) and increased this type of message. Even reducing the number of publications of this type of posts has not changed this trend. The same was true for the profile of Poznań. Despite the significant decrease in all reactions, provocative posts prevail. Strengthening this kind of message can be called the "distribution of emotions". It becomes an effective element of the city's promotion, but it is doubtful that it could strengthen PR activities, especially those related to conducting a dialogue "without camouflaged intentions and manipulation". The preference for a message focused on content that clings to the cliché, directed at triggering reactions (clicks, likes), results in the creation of a local governmental social profile of a tabloid nature. However, it should be noted that the overwhelming "distribution of emotions" on the one hand may discourage many users who want to use the site, e.g. to exchange opinions (comments) or share more valuable content. On the other hand, the cliché message

may attract young users of the community seeking promotional content related to entertainment.

During the observation and categorization of posts, an interesting phenomenon was recorded: provocative posts in such cities as Koszalin and Wałbrzych interested users much less frequently compared to Poznań. The analysis of posts showed that their editorial staff is significantly different. The moderators of Koszalin and Wałbrzych did not use such persuasive and decisive language as administrators from Poznań, who more often turned to users directly. They also used graphics that could arouse greater emotions. The photos that dominated the provocative post category represented attractive places (special lighting conditions, sunset, shadow play etc.) or emotionally charged situations (couples in love, humorous scenes, moving shots from the natural world, etc.). In connection with the text, the effect was obtained in the form of a large number of reactions, much higher than in the case of posts from the profiles of Koszalin and Wałbrzych. Surprisingly, there was no increase in reactions to Poznań posts in the next year of the study. Perhaps profile users expect a new communication formula, refreshed message and changed editorial manner. Such a phenomenon requires additional research.

What is disturbing is the very small share of participative message. On all profiles it met with negligible involvement of users. The reactions were even twice as small as it could result from the number of posts published. Poor user involvement may discourage moderators from publishing this kind of content. The participative message will be marginalized in favour of content that strengthens the "distribution of emotions" and the banalisation of communication. In this way, a certain type of closed reaction circle may arise. Since provocative message increases the chance of greater interest in the local government profile, it should be strengthened at the expense of other categories. Online relations with the environment, and hence communication PR in the service, will be reduced to entertaining content to ensure significant number of reactions – "distribution of emotions".

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