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Nonprofit Public Relationships on Social Media:
The Public's Perspective

Brooke Lauren Smith

A thesis submitted to the faculty of
Brigham Young University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

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ABSTRACT

Nonprofit Public Relationships on Social Media: The Public's Perspective

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This work explores the effect of social media on expectations held by nonprofit publics as they seek to build and maintain relationships with nonprofit organizations (NPOs) in the context of expectancy violation theory, social capital, and the situational theory of publics. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 14 individuals who follow a nonprofit on social media to understand the public perspective on nonprofit organizations' relationship building and maintaining behaviors on social media. The study found that nonprofit publics do have specific expectations for how NPOs should build and maintain relationships on social media (i.e., high-quality posts, level of interaction being limited to likes on social media and interpersonal interactions, high visibility to prove legitimacy, high transparency, and posts that are positive in tone). The study also found that nonprofit publics immediately end relationships when these expectations are violated, but tolerate relationships if these expectations are met. Finally, nonprofit publics expect to build relationships by interacting in a face-to-face or interpersonal setting, but also expect to maintain these relationships on social media, shedding light onto the importance of combining the use of interpersonal and computer-mediated communication.

Keywords: expectancy violation, social capital, situational theory of publics, computer-mediated communication, interpersonal communication, nonprofit organizations, social media

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Introduction

The advancements made in the digital age for communication methods have affected the way many individuals in today's society communicate (Pope, 2016). As society adopted these advancements, research began to submit that as a result of the digital age, namely the introduction and popularization of social media, many individuals' basic habits and routines changed. For example, social media has become a daily habit for many members of today's society and many social media users have been online often enough to develop expectations when using social media. For instance, a basic expectation of social media users is to communicate with and connect with other members of society when using these social networking sites (Vishwanath, 2015). The 2012 Neilson report indicated that this change is widespread. The report stated that nearly four out of five internet users had access to social media sites, and many of those who have access to these sites visit them regularly. Since 2012, social networking sites, or SNSs, seem to have only grown in popularity. A Pew research statistic (2017) shows that the percentage of U.S. adults using social media has risen from 53% in February of 2012 to 69% in November of 2016.

As a result of social media becoming an integral part of today's communication, gaining an understanding of how SNSs affect consumers, businesses, organizations, and how to best utilize SNSs for positive and mutually beneficial communication has become paramount. Yaxley (2012) contended that this adoption of and advancement in social media provides public relations, as an industry, a unique chance to "evolve in order to apply its existing strengths in earning coverage...and maintaining corporate reputation" (p.431). This study aims to aid in this evolution in harnessing the effectiveness of interacting with publics on social media.

To capitalize on the opportunities that have presented themselves as social media has grown, organizations must learn what users of these sites expect when communicating online. While research in this area has developed somewhat for corporations (Doyle & Lee, 2016; Schlagwein & Hu, 2017; Sconyers, 2017; Sievert & Scholz, 2017; Tseng, 2017), literature informing how social media has influenced nonprofit (NPO)-public relationships is lacking. This study aims to begin filling this gap and to gain a better understanding of how relationships are built now between nonprofits and their nonprofit-publics, what nonprofit-publics expect when interacting with organizations, specifically on social media, and by exploring whether or not these expectations affect nonprofit relationships with their nonprofit-publics. This study will explore these themes in the context of the expectancy violation theory, social capital, and the situational theory of publics.

Related Work

Relationships

In order to better understand how nonprofit public expectations for NPO conduct on social media affect relationships between organizations and their publics and how social media affects the relationship building and maintenance process between NPOs and their nonprofit-publics, the literature surrounding relationships must first be introduced. Recent research explores these phenomena as it relates to social media, describing the nature of organization-public relationships and the importance of engaging publics in two-way communication, suggesting that social media has an effect on these relationships and revealing the need for more in depth research on these topics. The literature surrounding the nature of organization-public relationships and two-way communication gives context to how research surrounding social

capital, the expectancy violation theory, and the situational theory of publics relates to the effects of social media on these organization-public relationships.

Organization-Public relationships. To gain a better understanding of the expectations for interactions and relationships between nonprofits and their nonprofit-publics so they can be studied, it is important to first examine literature studying general relationships between organizations and their publics. Ferguson (1984) introduced her review of nine years of public relations research that suggested a need for a shift in focus from communication management to building and maintaining relationships in public relations. Ferguson's (1984) insights turned public relations scholars' focus to relationships between organizations and publics, causing this area of research to expand greatly (Dozier, Grunig, & Grunig, 1995; Grunig & Huang, 2000; Huang, 2001; Ledingham, 2003; Ledingham & Bruning, 1998). These subsequent studies on the topic of organization-public relationships (OPRs) founded a theoretical foundation for relationship management which purported that relationships between organizations and publics exist to benefit both parties in a relationship (Ledingham, 2003; Ledingham & Bruning, 1998; Ki, Kim, & Ledingham, 2014). Coombs (2000) noted the importance of developing one clear definition of the term, "relationship" within the context of public relations. He proposed that a relationship exists when two parties are, "somehow interdependent with one another—they need one another for some reason," (p.42). Grunig and Hunt (2000) further defined OPRs by proposing six main dimensions that make up successful relationships, based on their excellence study. If relationships between organizations and publics implemented control, mutuality, trust, relational satisfaction, relational commitment, and goal attainment successfully, then the relationship could be developed and maintained to the benefit of both parties.

More recently, Sweetser and Kelleher (2016) commented that organization-public relationships, or OPRs, are ever-changing as they are varied based on the specific context. The researchers note that the popularization of digital media has vastly changed OPRs and that it allows organizations to “establish, maintain, and cultivate relationships with publics on a more interpersonal level than did traditional media” (p.218). The authors also state that communication strategies need to be developed between organizations and their publics in order to create and build relationships with publics. The results of their study suggested that publics expected organizations to implement the strategies of communicating commitment to their publics and communicating with a conversational voice when interacting with publics in both traditional and digital media settings.

Sung and Kim (2014) likewise suggest that organizations have not adapted their strategies to meet the expectations of their publics when interacting on social media. Results of the study indicated that many publics of corporate organizations view social media sites as a private space and have developed expectations of privacy and interpersonal communication within the sphere of social media. The study found that nonpromotional messaging was more effective in developing positive relationships with publics on social media. These findings speak to the importance of understanding specific publics and specific platforms. Still, there is a key difference between for profit and nonprofit organizations in that nonprofit organizations tend to promote a meaningful cause evoking a more personal emotion when compared to goods and services sold by for profit organizations. Therefore, it is useful to further examine research that sheds light on the nature of nonprofits' relationships with their nonprofit publics.

Nonprofit-Public relationships. Because nonprofit organizations focus less on the sales of goods and services and more on encouraging support for a worthwhile cause, they tend to

operate on smaller budgets and with limited staff (Sisson, 2017). Waters and Lord (2009) noted that the lack of funds and staff members poses a challenge for nonprofit organizations in their efforts to reach out to their publics and, ultimately, to advocate for the cause they seek to aid in. The scholars add that the popularization of the internet as a free and public space should be of great aid to nonprofit organizations, but that the NPOs fail to use these digital resources effectively.

This is potentially detrimental to such organizations as seeking out like-minded individuals and then developing positive relationships with such individuals is one of the most vital factors contributing to the successful advocacy of an issue (Grunig & Grunig, 1991). Sisson (2017) conducted a quantitative study to examine whether followers of an animal advocacy nonprofit interacted with the organization online and how social media affected nonprofit-public relationships. Findings of the study suggested that the majority of donors communicated regularly with the NPO online through social media. Additionally, the majority of donors felt they were being heard online and they felt a greater balance in control mutuality after interacting with the nonprofit online which in turn lead to greater social media interaction with the NPO. Sisson (2017) further specified that four main behaviors encouraged a greater feeling of control mutuality in relationships. These behaviors were regularly asking for feedback from followers, incorporating dialogue into strategies to show they valued users' comments, actually implementing suggestions from followers regularly, and providing opportunities for followers to make decisions. One way NPOs can build relationships based on these criteria to show they value their publics is by demonstrating transparency. This is demonstrated as an NPO shows publics via social media that donations are being used responsibly and that the cause the NPO advocates is being helped by donations and public effort. Waters (2009) purported that

stewardship, or the ability of a nonprofit organization to prove that donor funds are being used responsibly and honestly, was fundamental for maintaining relationships with nonprofit publics. Waters noted that an organization must present reciprocity—a sincere and public expression of appreciation for donors—and responsibility—proving that the promise to use donor funds and efforts are used only for the exact purpose the organization promised they would be used—in order to maintain relationships and, ultimately, experience longevity as an organization.

Auger (2013) likewise noted that interaction on social media has become a key factor deciding a nonprofit's success in building relationships and in advocating issues “Long gone are the days when organizations could consider themselves technologically up-to-date simply because they developed a website. Today, organizations must also be engaged in social media” (p. 371). While some research has explored the opportunities presented to organizations by social media, research has yet to thoroughly examine stakeholders' and publics' reactions to these online interactions with organizations, in sectors both for profit and nonprofit. One study sought to examine overall impressions by conducting a content analysis of likes, comments, and shares of nonprofit's Facebook updates (Saxton & Waters, 2014). The results of this content analysis suggest that stakeholders on Facebook respond positively to message updates aimed to share information, to promote and mobilize, and to build community. Further findings suggest that publics prefer dialogue and interaction over information, even if the dialogue is initiated through call-to-action or informative messages. Findings also suggest that call-to-action messaging tends to be more effective in promoting relationship building or maintenance behaviors than messaging that asks publics to post a response or comment. Authors Saxton and Waters (2014) further comment that more research is needed that examines stakeholder's interactions and opinions of nonprofits on social media. While their study offers insights as to

how stakeholders behave on Facebook, there is little knowledge on why they act this way or how effective these behaviors are in brand perceptions and in building and maintaining positive, long-lasting relationships.

Furthermore, if one hopes to bridge the gap of research concerning relationships for nonprofit organizations on social media (Saxton & Waters, 2014), then one must look at the interactions on social media meant to build or maintain those relationships. Recent literature suggest that engaging publics on social media usually occurs as organizations open the door for two-way communication, or the ability to have an open conversation through comments or messages on social media (Hallahan, 2008; Lovari & Parisi, 2015; Lovejoy, Waters, & Saxton (2012; Sisson, 2017). Therefore, understanding the use of two-way communication on social media, especially as it relates to nonprofit organizations and relationships, is vital for conducting the present study.

The importance of two-way communication. Hallahan (2008) purported that a brand's online availability was vital in determining a nonprofit organization's success or failure to communicate commitment and trust with their desired publics. Scholars Briones, Kuch, Liu, and Jin (2011) concurred in their suggestion that organizations must adopt social media as a crucial means of communications with their publics. These researchers contended that to successfully communicate with publics that are accustomed to using social media in order to communicate and discover new information. Brands likewise attempt to inform their publics about the cause they are seeking to promote and build relationships with individuals and entities online to garner support, but often fail to establish effective two-way communication that meets a consumer's expectations (Dens & De Pelsmacker, 2010).

Despite the fact that many organizations are still trying to adjust their methods of two-way communication for success in digital media, public relations research has highlighted the importance of feedback and interaction between organizations and their publics for many years. Grunig and Hunt (1984) outlined four models of communication commonly used in public relations. These models were based on existing research suggesting that two-way communication is the most effective in establishing mutually beneficial relationships between parties in communication. Of the four models designed to replicate practical communications methods practiced by organizations, one was outlined as the ideal, healthy method for communicating providing equal opportunities for open communication and was coined the two-way symmetrical model. The authors commented that this model was most conducive of positive relationships between organizations and their publics “Balanced, two-way communication provides the most effective mechanism for an organization to evaluate its social responsibility” (p.48).

Since 1984, the public has become increasingly accessible. Organizations can communicate with their publics, both publicly and privately, today whenever they need to despite geographic separation or differences in social status. Individuals have taken advantage of this and are now able to take on roles that instigate communication with organizations, lead social conversations and opinions, and either damage or promote brand popularity (Lovari & Parisi, 2015). Therefore, in addition to establishing positive and lasting relationships with individuals, two-way communication can also aid the overall relationship and perceptions between organizations and the public.

Despite the importance of two-way communication or the accessibility of the public due to digital media, literature would suggest that many nonprofits have not adopted practices that meet the expectations of their nonprofit-publics. Lovejoy, Waters, and Saxton (2012) conducted

a study that focused on how nonprofits use Twitter to engage their nonprofit publics. Results suggested that many of the site's users contributed to Twitter aiming to interact with others, but that nonprofit organizations were not offering such exchanges. In the study, the NPOs tended to view the medium as a one-way communication platform, only exerting information as opposed to seeking out interactions with followers or other potential donors. The failure to employ two-way communication suggests that a connection between Twitter users' expectations and the behaviors of nonprofits on Twitter is absent. Such failures to capitalize on potentially beneficial interactions can be avoided if the organizations are wise to the importance of two-way communication and social media users' expectations.

Moreover, to successfully reach a greater percentage of nonprofit publics, organizations must adapt to consumer demands by being present and attentive on social media. Implementing a knowledge of what nonprofit publics expect and seek when on social media would enable nonprofits to better tailor communications to enable better relationships with their nonprofit publics. This study explores the expectations of nonprofit publics in terms of their social media relationships in addition to nonprofit publics' expectations for methods, such as two-way communication, NPOs employ for building and maintaining relationships with followers.

Public Relationships and Expectations

Prior research suggests that social media has greatly affected publics' communication habits. However, this research has not been thoroughly tested in the context of NPO-public relationships and, more specifically, how the nonprofit public relationships adapt to social media. Literature on nonprofit-public relationships and two-way communication suggests that social media has allowed publics to form expectations for the behavior of organizations on social media. However, the specific expectations held by nonprofit publics have not been studied. The

expectancy violation theory, social capital literature, and the situational theory of publics offer important literature supporting the further study of the effects of such expectations on NPO-public relationships.

The expectancy violation theory details the effects of expectations on relationships, specifically what impact the violations of expectations has on relationships. This can include expectations social media users have for online relationship building and maintenance. Social capital suggests that one current expectation held by many social media publics is the idea that an individual will gain a kind of social currency by interacting with others on these sites. The situational theory of publics adds to this knowledge by offering an explanation as to how and when publics choose to interact or seek out information in varying situations. This would help explain when and how individuals interact with organizations on each social media site, better facilitating the relationship building and maintenance between organizations and publics.

Expectancy violation theory. The expectancy violation theory was developed by Burgoon and Jones (1976) and has largely focused on intrapersonal communication. The theory seeks to analyze how individuals respond to situations where individual expectations and social norms are violated. Since the theory's formation, research has suggested that the violation of expectations can be detrimental to social relationships. This is based on the idea that interpersonal relationships are founded on a shared understanding of social norms in terms of specific behaviors and responses exhibited by each party in a relationship. Therefore, when these norms are broken, depending on the severity of the unexpected action, relationships can either suffer, which can lead to the disillusionment of the relationship, or it can be altogether abandoned as a direct result of the expectancy violation (Burgoon, 1978; Cohen, 2010; Planalp & Rivers, 1996). This suggests that understanding and exploring these expectations for

organization-public relationships and how social media has affected those expectations and relationships is a significant and less examined field of study.

Although the expectancy violation theory (EVT), is steeped in a history of interpersonal face-to-face (FTF) literature (Fife, Nelson, & Zhang, 2012), scholars throughout the years have also commented on the effects of the violation of expectations as it relates to mediated communication. These comments and explorations into mediated communication remain incomplete and largely untested. Horton and Wohl (1956) introduced mediated attachments in relationships and commented that if either party of a mediated relationship is unsatisfied, he or she “has only the option to withdraw” (p. 215). Horton and Wohl’s assumptions that mediated communications leaves communicators whose expectations are not met with only the option to end communication is challenged by conflict resolution literature in the field of public relations research, that suggests individuals facing conflict, or unmet expectations, have the options to contend, cooperate, avoid, accommodate, or compromise (Thomas, 1976; Plowman, 2007). In this case, avoidance, or the mentality that communication and a relationship will continue only if both parties’ expectations are met, is just one of the options and outcomes of conflict resolution. Instead, communicating parties can also reach a compromise, enabling a continued relationship, or one party in communication can accommodate the other, allowing for expectations to be met once again and the relationship to continue (Plowman, 2007).

Although there is no existing literature exploring the connection between the expectancy violation theory and public relations conflict management. In the sphere of public relations, the two concepts are closely related. The relationship between the expectancy violation theory and conflict resolution exists because unmet expectations could be considered a kind of conflict

between communicating parties. This is just one aspect that has yet to be studied in depth by existing literature that the present study aims to begin exploring.

Furthermore, the literature focusing on the expectancy violation theory limits itself by retaining an interpersonal focus. The literature's lack of connection to computer-mediated communications, specifically in social media communication offers a great opportunity for future research. The expectancy violation theory is particularly important in computer-mediated communication because the building of social media relationships requires two entities to communicate with one another on a one-to-one level. This allows interpersonal literature, even the literature surrounding the expectancy violation theory, to relate directly to social media relationships and offer important insights on how social media is affecting NPO-public relationships (boyd & Ellison, 2008; Fife, Nelson, & Zhang, 2012). Moreover, the research exploring the expectancy violation theory's application in social media has indicated that there are social norms affecting the formation and disillusion of social media relationships (Fife, Nelson, & Zhang, 2012; Bevan, Ang, & Fearn, 2014). For example, Bevan, Ang, & Fearn (2014), found in their qualitative study of expectancy violation as it relates to Facebook "unfriending" found that unfriending Facebook friends served as a significant expectancy violation, regardless of the strength of the tie between Facebook friends.

Cohen, 2011, further purports that relationships and expectations are even varied between media outlets. Quan-Haase and Young's (2010) study supports this idea by suggesting that social media users also have expectations and that these expectations are specific to each social media platform. The research suggests that Facebook users expect to use the site as a pastime, to show affection, to share problems or social information, or to follow posts and sites having to do with fashion. Phua, Jin, and Kim, (2017) purport that publics have developed unique expectations for

what they might gain from and how they will interact with organizations on each SNS. The results indicated that the four sites of Facebook, Instagram, Snapchat, and Twitter each draw in individuals for varying reasons and that many users visit the sites with expectations to fulfill unique wants or needs. Bevan, Ang, & Fearn (2014), also found that Facebook users expected to widen their social reach, or social capital, by using the site and interacting with others on the site. These Facebook users who felt they had increased their social capital by increasing their number of Facebook friends were less likely to react negatively to expectancy violations such as being unfriended.

These findings offer further support to the idea that the distinction between expectations for organization stakeholder relationships on digital media and legacy media is significant but leaves the effect of this expectancy violation on publics' relationships with organizations to be tested. Likewise, literature investigating expectations for relationships between nonprofits and their nonprofit publics is scant, leaving a great deal of valuable research to be conducted that might shed light into how stakeholders' expectations for nonprofit-public relationships are affected by the development of media. The research would suggest that expectations, such as social capital on Facebook (Bev, Ang, & Fearn, 2014), do affect relationships between individuals on social media.

Social capital and social media. A specific expectation many social media users have developed is to gain social capital when using SNSs. The idea of social capital emerged from sociology as researchers noticed that certain exchanges of resources included knowledge or social opportunity (Coleman, 1980). Social capital has been defined as a collection of current or possible future resources allowing for the connection to a "durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintances or recognition" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 248).

Dodd, Brummette, & Hazleton (2015) purport that professionals in the public relations field have greater potential social capital than the rest of society, and a greater potential to provide individuals with social capital using many methods, which most importantly includes civic engagement.

The three main ways public relations practitioners increased opportunities for their nonprofit publics to gain social capital were through political involvement, participating in voluntary organizations, through personal interaction, and civic engagement. This means that by participating in social activities that highlight corporate social responsibility, public relations practitioners can increase an organization's opportunity for social capital, which should occur naturally within nonprofit organizations as the goals of these institutions is to advocate for issues of civic importance. This also means that nonprofit publics would benefit socially from participating in activities focusing on social responsibility, increasing publics' perceptions of a nonprofit and their relationship with that nonprofit organization, making the study of social capital's effect on nonprofit publics' relationship expectations vital. Additionally, this literature suggests that social capital has become more highly sought after and important as a result of social media. The fast-growth in popularity and platforms for social media has ushered in an era where building one's social network is an easier and faster process that offers a wider reach than was previously obtainable. Social media offers users the opportunity to access individuals and their contacts, or "ties," in seconds, using minimal effort for both organizations and their publics who may wish to connect with likeminded individuals (Dodd, Brummette, & Hazleton, 2015).

For the public relations field, this means that in recent years, excellent opportunities for growth have become available. Many organizations have utilized this new capability in an effort to gain social capital, namely in donations and an increased number of supporters on these sites.

By so doing, such organizations have relied on the ability to access "weak ties," which are either contacts one seldom communicates with or contacts of a user with whom one often communicates with (Ellison, Vitak, Gray, & Lampe, 2014). Ellison, et al. (2014) purport that these weak ties are more easily accessible than ever before because social media has significantly lowered the cost of maintaining and building relationships. The authors explain that "bridging" these ties or strengthening a relationship with a weak tie through social media, is considered by SNS users to be acceptable and expected behavior. Therefore, reaching out to "weak ties" enables organizations to largely increase their opportunity for growth and to maintain or strengthen their brand while doing so. However, the effects of this efforts on relationships and public perceptions of brands remains largely unstudied. It is important to examine how these efforts made by brands, especially NPOs, is received by nonprofit publics. Furthermore, it is important to understand how the perceptions nonprofit publics have affect relationships between publics and nonprofit organizations.

In addition to studying how connecting with weak ties on social media affects relationships, studying how the language and behaviors used to reach out to weak ties offers great insights for how the public develops and maintains relationships with nonprofit organizations via SNSs. Ellison, et al. (2014) observed that these behaviors hold a "potentially important role in binding networks in meaningful ways and creating an environment in which social capital-enhancing exchanges can flourish" (p. 865). Nonprofit organizations often rely on social capital in order to function and expand, but literature surrounding how their nonprofit publics react to NPO efforts to increase social capital is sparse. Researching exactly how to develop functional "bonding" and "bridging" practices for NPOs on SNSs can enable NPOs to prosper.

Briones, Kuch, Liu, and Jin (2011) maintain that adopting effective social media habits is vital for organizations, especially because of social media's rise in popularity and familiarity in recent years. A functional and effective SNS communication strategy would provide social capital for both the NPO and its nonprofit publics while meeting nonprofit public expectations for how the relationship should be built and maintained. Briones, Kuch, and Jim (2011) state that SNSs have become one of the most commonplace methods used by individuals to communicate. An NPO's absence on social media deprives that organization of cost and time efficient access to a great deal of a nonprofit's potential clientele. Additionally, social networking sites are often constructed as tools for expanding one's social network. Waters, Burnett, Lamm, and Lucas (2009), go so far as to claim "relationships are the foundation for social networking sites" (p. 102).

Situational theory of publics. The situational theory of publics helps to explain how and when publics form and communicate on varying issues based on the two independent variables, information seeking and processing and three dependent variables, problem recognition, constraint recognition, and level of involvement (Grunig & Hunt, 1984). The theory purports "an individual can react to a message—through information seeking or information processing" (Aldoory, Kim, & Tindall, 2010, p. 135). The goal of posting content for organizations is to encourage reactions and engagement which can hopefully then lead to the formation of brand loyalty and increased earnings for the organization. It is often argued that the digital age has enabled these two factors to be fused together more often than not. In other words, it is nearly impossible for an individual to process information without seeking it and vice versa. Kim and Grunig (2007), coined this as public information gaining. Therefore, publics are able to instantaneously evaluate an organization and how it fits into their personal want or need for a

specific type of information based on a single post that showed up in their search or feed. This means that publics expect to be engaged and intellectually fed by every social media post if they are to continue or develop a relationship with a brand. To be aware of this allows organizations to form better messages tailored to the needs of the publics who will be seeing that information, processing it and seeking out further information, underscoring the importance of acknowledging individual's needs or wants for interacting with nonprofits on social media.

The independent variables included in the situational theory of publics can “separate people who are part of publics from those who do not belong to a public. They can also indicate when people will communicate actively or passively about an issue” (Grunig & Hunt, 1984, p. 148). The theory further proposes that when individuals form the opinion that something needs to be done to improve a problem, perceive that they are free to “construct, define, and confirm a behavior” (Grunig & Hunt, 1984, p. 152), and perceive that they are involved in the situation they are more likely to be an aware and active audience. Constructing communicative behaviors that encourage high problem recognition, low constraint, and high involvement perception is vital as the functionality of nonprofit organization revolves around engaging their publics through one-to-one messaging and individual relationship development, which ultimately aims to raise awareness for a specific societal issue (Grunig & Grunig 1991; Sisson, 2017). In turn, nonprofit organizations stand to benefit greatly from identifying their specific publics and the publics specific needs or wants, especially in terms of relationship building and maintenance on social media in ways similar to that of for-profit organizations (Agozzino, 2012).

Research suggests that both active and aware publics, driven by three independent variables, are much easier for organizations to communicate with than passive publics, “because the former are seeking information while the latter are only passively receiving it,” (Verčič &

Grunig, 2002, p. 38). This helps to validate the need to study the expectations of publics following nonprofits on social media. However, if one decided to follow an organization online, a choice must have been made for an individual reason. This makes the social media user an agent who is making conscious decisions.

Because publics are making active decisions to follow nonprofit organizations based on the results of the simultaneous information seeking and information processing behaviors, they are classified as aware publics. Aware publics often are often targeted by nonprofit organizations because while active publics are most likely to exhibit action, aware publics are informed, but have yet to attach themselves to a specific issue. Aware publics can be persuaded to become active through a call to action or two-way communication to become an active public and through becoming an active public, are likely to develop brand loyalty with a nonprofit organization (Kim, She, & Morgan, 2011; Grunig & Hunt, 1984). This study will focus on active and aware publics as followers of NPOs are interviewed. Focusing specifically on publics who are either active or aware because they have chosen to follow an organization online and attempting to understand their individual reasons for using social media accounts for any habitual use problems that might surround the expectancy violation theory. Furthermore, it is also important to understand and study habitual users to better understand what creates these habits, if habitual users can still be active publics, and other implications that accompany habitual media use.

Additionally, studying how nonprofit publics on social media perceive organizations' online actions and determine to what extent these actions meet or fail to meet their individual expectations will add to existing research on why these active and aware publics interact with an organization which could shed light on how latent publics could become active. This distinction

made between active or aware and latent publics also aids in understanding whom organizations should reach out to with relationship building and maintenance techniques and the ability and effectiveness of building relationships on social media.

All in all, there is much that has yet to be explored in terms of knowledge surrounding the development of SNS users' expectations as this relates to relationship management and communication behaviors, especially between nonprofit organizations and their publics. The expectancy violation theory offers important insights into the expectations individuals have when communicating with organizations and how expectancy violation affects relationships. However, the research surrounding expectancy violation theory lacks specific, qualitative research focusing on how or if social media use affects relationships between nonprofits and their nonprofit publics.

Likewise, research focusing on nonprofit-public relationships suggests that there is a vast potential for success through social media and better two-way communication, or in other words, there is a potential to increase relationship satisfaction if nonprofits are meeting assumed public expectations. One of these assumed public expectations is the increase of social capital on social media. Social capital acts as the foundation for nonprofits' efforts, yet little research focuses on how nonprofit publics gain social capital and what their expectations are in terms of social capital resulting from developing relationships with nonprofits, specifically on SNSs.

The literature on the situational theory of publics helps to understand that effective communication, and effective relationship development, most often occurs with active or aware publics, or publics who are familiar with and actively seek out information from organizations, making the focus for the purposes of this study surround active and aware publics. This data is best accumulated and analyzed after interviews are conducted with participants who follow

NPOs on social media, allowing these publics to explore their specific one-to-one communication and relationship with a nonprofit.

Research Questions

- 1) How are relationships and specifically social media relationships developed now between organizations and their active and aware nonprofit publics?
- 2) What are the active and aware nonprofit publics' expectations for how a nonprofit should interact with them on social media?
- 3) Do those expectations include obtaining some level of social capital?
- 4) Do active and aware non-profit publics' expectations affect their relationships with nonprofit organizations?

Method

To explore the specific and personal expectations and relationships between nonprofits and their nonprofit-publics as well as the effect of nonprofit public expectations for relationship building and maintenance on social media, qualitative research proved most effective. This is because qualitative research allows for more in-depth, personal data from research participants. This study focuses on the individuals and their unique reasons behind successful or unsuccessful relationship development and expectations with nonprofit organizations. The focus of this study also offers insights from the perspective of aware and active nonprofit publics, a perspective not often studied in this specific aspect of academic nonprofit research. To fully explore this topic and perspective, semi-structured qualitative interviews were conducted. The research was approved by Brigham Young University's Institutional Review Board, or IRB, for the year beginning on March 27, 2018 and ending March 26, 2019. The IRB approval was given on the expedited level, categories 6 through 7.

Sample

For this study, it was necessary to gather a group of at least 12 individuals who met specific criteria in order to achieve saturation in the data. This saturation helps to solidify the value of the reflexivity as well as the triangulation of data between interviewees, accounting for bias as well as individual differences within the sample (Hennick, Kaiser, & Marconi, 2017). As with most effective research “the goal is to select a group of respondents who are strategically located to shed light on the larger forces and processes under investigation” (Gerson & Horowitz, 2002, p.183). The author ultimately recruited 14 total participants for semi-structured interviews lasting between 30 minutes and one hour (Hennick, Kaiser, & Marconi, 2017). The criteria necessary for the sample of individuals was that each participant had to be a social media user between the ages of 18 and 65, familiar with a nonprofit that fits into the broadly defined category of human services, follow that nonprofit on a social media platform, and could consent to a 30 to 60-minute interview either in person or over the phone.

All of the participants were domestic, being permanently located in the United States of America, most of the participants being from either Utah or California. The participants ranged in age from 20 to 63 years of age, three of those participants were older than 50, five were 40 or older, eight were 30 or older, and the remaining six were between the ages of 20 and 30. Five of the participants, about 36 percent, were male and nine, about 64 percent, were female. Due to the varying locality and availability of participants, about half of the interviews were held over the phone, while the others were conducted in person. Participants were also of varied backgrounds, including younger graduates, graduate students, working professionals, stay at home mothers, and retirees. This offered a variety of individual differences, allowing participants to offer

insights that covered more universally understood expectations for NPO-public relationships on SNSs.

To concentrate the scope of NPOs being discussed in the interviews, to allow for a more focused data set and stronger findings, interviewers were asked to speak about NPOs that fit into the category of human services. The human services NPO category is broadly outlined by a number of accredited NPO websites, including Guide Star, a website that categorizes NPOs, and the website for the National Organization for Human Services. On the latter website, the category is defined as, “meeting human needs through an interdisciplinary knowledge base, focusing on prevention as well as remediation of problems, and maintaining a commitment to improving the overall quality of life,” (National Organization for Human Services, n.d.; GuideStar, 2018). Among the participants, a total of 13 different nonprofit organizations with active social media pages were represented. Each of these NPOs had an active account on either Facebook, Instagram, or Twitter and each NPO had at least 1,000 followers or friends. For anonymity purposes relating to participants themselves, the nonprofit organizations will not be named; however, some of the nonprofits included food banks, groups that performed public works projects in less fortunate communities, and groups who worked with disabled individuals to provide a better quality of life.

In order to contact and recruit an ample number of participants for this study in a timely manner, the snowball method was used. The author had contacts from a few local nonprofits and with a few individuals who followed nonprofits on social media. This method allowed the author to reach saturation in the data supplied by the 14 interview participants.

Procedure

Because this research focuses on NPO-public social media relationships at an individual level, as it focused on publics, it is exploratory. This exploratory study aimed to shed light into the “how” behind relationship building, a question to which qualitative research is best suited (Yin, 2014). Qualitative research also allowed for the collection of personal and emotional explanations detailing why individuals follow nonprofits on social media and helped the author to explore possible implications for building and maintaining relationships on these sites. Specifically, semi-structured interviews provided the author with the ability to build rapport with participants quickly, as the structure allowed for a more organized interview and a prepared interviewer while the allowance for the participant to freely and openly share insights on the topic allowed the interviewee to feel comfortable quickly. This means semi-structured interviews added the fullest amount of depth and breadth for exploring individuals' relationship formation with organizations and what role expectations played in the development and maintenance of these online relationships (Leech, 2002).

Although qualitative interviews have a great deal of merit in exploring specific and valid answers to exploratory research questions, some challenges do arise naturally with this method (Wimmer & Dominick, 2014). Lincoln and Guba (1985), set some guidelines for gauging the trustworthiness, or value, of research. These include credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. Some challenges that accompany semi-structured interviews and naturally reduce the strength of the four principles Lincoln and Guba developed. These challenges include transferability, maturation, and bias.

Bias. The first challenge is that qualitative interviews are not typically transferable as they present individual differences and personal experiences and are most often made up of

nonrandom samples. Furthermore, data gathered through semi-structured interviews are also subject to bias both through responses and the interviewer, making them naturally less confirmable. Authors Wimmer and Dominick (2014) comment “despite practice and training, some interviewers may inadvertently communicate their attitudes” (p. 142). Bias is natural and is largely inescapable as each person involved in research has his or her own bias through personal experiences, value sets, and opinions. Furthermore, some bias may lead to valuable results that may shape how an issue or situation plays out in the real world. Still, bias, especially bias that comes from the researcher, is to be avoided and kept within a reasonable boundary.

Bias within this research was minimized as the interview guide, or questions to be asked in the interview, were based on what literature surrounding the phenomena studied in existing literature surrounding expectancy violation theory, social capital, and the situational theory of publics purported. These questions were then tested on the author's personal connections including colleagues and family members, to ensure that personal voice and bias was removed from the interview process and that the interview questions were engaging and interesting for participants (Cridland, Jones, Caputi, & Magee, 2015). The careful creation of the research guide which is included in the appendix of this paper and the subsequent execution of the interviews allowed for more valid research. Because this study is exploratory in nature, it allows for the respondents to shape the findings. However, in order to further allow for the resistance to bias and researcher motivation, reflexivity was used in this study.

There are a few standard practices used to combat interviewer bias including triangulation and reflexivity (Yin, 2014). Reflexivity is achieved when a researcher is acutely aware of him or herself including his or her biases on the subject matter and when he or she uses this reflexive awareness to practice reflection. To put this concept into practice, an interviewer

examines his or her own bias throughout the research process, being careful to remove any preconceived opinions on the matter from the research as a whole without becoming personally detached from the project (Mann, 2016). Halling and Goldfarb (1991) wrote that to be an effective qualitative researcher one must be "fully and thoughtfully involved. It is as if one is engaged in a dance of moving forward and moving back" (p. 328). Regarding this specific study, the interviewer can practice reflexivity by carefully constructing an outline for semi-structured interviews. The outline should consist of unbiased questions and should be reviewed by someone other than the primary researcher. The researcher can further be involved personally throughout the entire interview process by listening intently and remain self-aware, allowing for a combination of personal investment in the project and a limitation of bias (Mason, 2002).

Triangulation can similarly be used to combat bias that might otherwise corrupt the data. Triangulation can be executed in qualitative research when a study is designed to be valid and reliable. Valid studies are made up of "correct operational measures for the concepts being studied" (Yin, 2004, p. 46). By developing research questions that build on established theories and interviewing a sufficient number of participants for saturation to occur in the data collection process, this study aims to be valid. As this study is more qualitative and exploratory in nature, developing dependability was more of a central focus than developing transferability. However, transferability can still be achieved by generalizing the data to existing theoretical foundations. Carefully designing the study to be credible, or in other words developing a study that will yield accurate findings, helps avoid bias by founding the specific techniques used in existing and tested theoretical frameworks and by gathering enough data that the voice of the participant is more prevalent than that of the researcher.

In line with Lincoln and Guba's four criteria for a valuable study, dependability must be considered. Dependability is ensuring that the study is conducted in such a way that it "can be repeated, with the same results" (Yin, 2014, 26). Dependability can be achieved as the researcher documents the interview questions used in an organized and clear manner. Semi-structured interviews are more conducive to this than other qualitative interviews tend to be because they allow for a pre-written and tested interview guide, detailing questions to guide the discussion between the researcher and the participant. This is further achieved when the researcher asks these questions with reflexivity in mind, ensuring that he or she allows the participant to give his or her own opinion. Finally, the types of questions asked were crafted to avoid leading the participant toward the desired answer (Yin, 2014).

Maturation. A second challenge presented by conducting qualitative interviews is maturation, or the idea that participants and data are affected by the time it takes to collect the data. This can occur within interviews, as these interviews are often lengthy and intensive, as well as throughout the duration of the research process (Wimmer & Dominick, 2014). Gerson and Horowitz (2002) also comment that effective research must be conducted in a timely fashion. The authors suggest that the most useful data is collected after a careful organization of an outline that accounts for allowing exploratory responses, the time allotted for each interview as well as choosing a "theoretically concentrated sample and developing an incisive and probing interview schedule" (p. 184).

This preparation allows for interviews themselves to be conducted in a reasonable amount of time and for a smoother transition between interviews. In this case, interviewees were notified of the time commitments before scheduling the interview, allowing participants to mentally prepare for interviews. Additionally, interviews were kept to a maximum of one hour,

with most interviews lasting between 30 and 45 minutes. This length was appropriate according to prior research (Gerson & Horowitz, 2002; Wimmer & Dominick, 2002), as well as the tests that were conducted first with the authors' close friends and family members. Additionally, the entire data collection process was carried out and completed between April 2018 and June 2018. Furthermore, participants were reached at their own convenience which resulted in several phone interviews. Although this may be seen as less personal, it did accommodate for the personal comfort of participants while being interviewed, further deterring maturation.

Transferability. Another challenge unique to qualitative research are restraints on its ability to be applied in other contexts. Because the content being collected is not naturally transferable to a broader population, the data is more credible in a specific situation, or in other words, it allows for more specific answers for this specific topic. Transferability can also be developed as uniformity in the structure is established, allowing for the duplication of this research and saturation in interview data. This was done in the uniform use of the interview guide and preparation for interviews made by the researcher. Saturation also occurred in the data, interviewing as data began to repeat itself through common threads and themes, proving that ample data was collected and that the data suggested universal or transferable concepts (Gerson & Horowitz, 2002).

Another way to transfer data collected from qualitative research, even interviews, is to build upon theory. Theory can serve as a precedent and corroboration for the data collected in a qualitative study. Furthermore, research can either build on the body of knowledge conducted and tested in the development of theory or research can suggest the need for modifications to be made to existing theories (Yin 2014; Merriam, 2016). This study built upon research by basing the research questions and the interview guide, which was developed from the research questions

on existing literature. This allowed the theoretical foundation in the area of expectancy violation, social capital, and the situational theory of publics to inform the entire study and yield transferable findings.

Data Analysis

The author analyzed data collected from each of the 14 semi-structured interviews using Nvivo 11. The set of data was coded in two steps, first open coding and then axial coding (Richards, 1999). First, the author used open coding to identify specific themes in the interview data. This involved allowing categories to emerge from the data participants provided as the author read verbatim transcripts of the interviews. Nodes and themes were created in relation to the relevant statements that emerged from the data, allowing for the data to tell its story, mitigating bias (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). Then, these themes were studied a second time, as the author looked for conditions that formed the phenomena surrounding each theme, the context in which each theme was formed, and the connections between themes (Kendall, 1999). These formed a “paradigm model” (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) detailing that the concerns of participants centered on formulating specific expectations for NPO-public relationships, the effects of those expectations on the actual relationships between NPOs and their nonprofit publics, and the specific methods used on social media to form relationships with nonprofit organizations.

The pattern of participants' specific expectations for nonprofit organizations on social media consisted of many themes detailing exactly what those expectations were. These expectations included that NPOs produced quality of posts, positive posts, were highly visible on social media, what level or type of interaction was acceptable, and that the nonprofit organization was transparent. The themes found in open coding also included specific ways nonprofit publics

prefer to build relationships with NPOs. These included interpersonal communication, likes on social media, the NPO having a social media presence, and comments. These findings were particularly limited. Effects of nonprofit organizations meeting or failing to meet these expectations were also discovered in open coding. The expectations that had the greatest effect on the ability of the NPO to maintain and develop relationships with nonprofit publics emerged in the data—visibility of the NPO on social media, whether or not the posts made by NPOs were positive, and the NPO's ability to portray trustworthiness in the content it posted on social media.

Axial coding, or the examination of the context and relationships between themes, allowed these individual themes to be categorized into three central patterns—that participants had clear expectations for how nonprofits posted on social media, the effects of meeting or failing to meet those expectations, and information detailing how relationships between nonprofits and their nonprofit publics are formed and developed over social media (Glaser, 1978; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Punch, 1998). These greater patterns suggest that strong relationships exist between how organizations develop and maintain relationships, the expectations nonprofit publics have for an NPO's social media conduct, and the ability of an NPO to meet expectations of its nonprofit publics. There was also an outlying theme for the comments of participants indicating that the weight of violated expectations was less when an interpersonal connection was established before the individual followed the organization on social media.

Findings

The findings suggested answers for each of the initial research questions concerning what expectations nonprofit publics have for NPO conduct on social media, what the effects are of meeting or failing to meet expectations, and what methods are relevant for building and

maintaining relationships on social media. This was done as the author used open, axial, and pattern coding to reveal three overarching themes— expectations for nonprofits on social media, effects of expectations being met or unmet, and the process of relationship formation and development between nonprofits and their nonprofit publics on social media. Each of these themes included insights as many subcategories emerged from the data, providing further information on what specific kinds of expectations nonprofit publics have for NPO conduct and interaction on social media, specific effects of these expectations being met or unmet, and detailing what kinds of behaviors on or off social media led to the formation of and development of relationships between NPOs and their nonprofit publics. These insights include responses from participants who follow a variety of nonprofit organizations on various social media platforms including Instagram, Facebook, and Twitter. Figure one shows the amount of data collected in each category and theme. Participants spoke most about the types of expectations they had, followed by the effects of expectations on their relationship with NPOs, and how relationships are developed with NPOs. Each theme contains subcategories that define the themes.

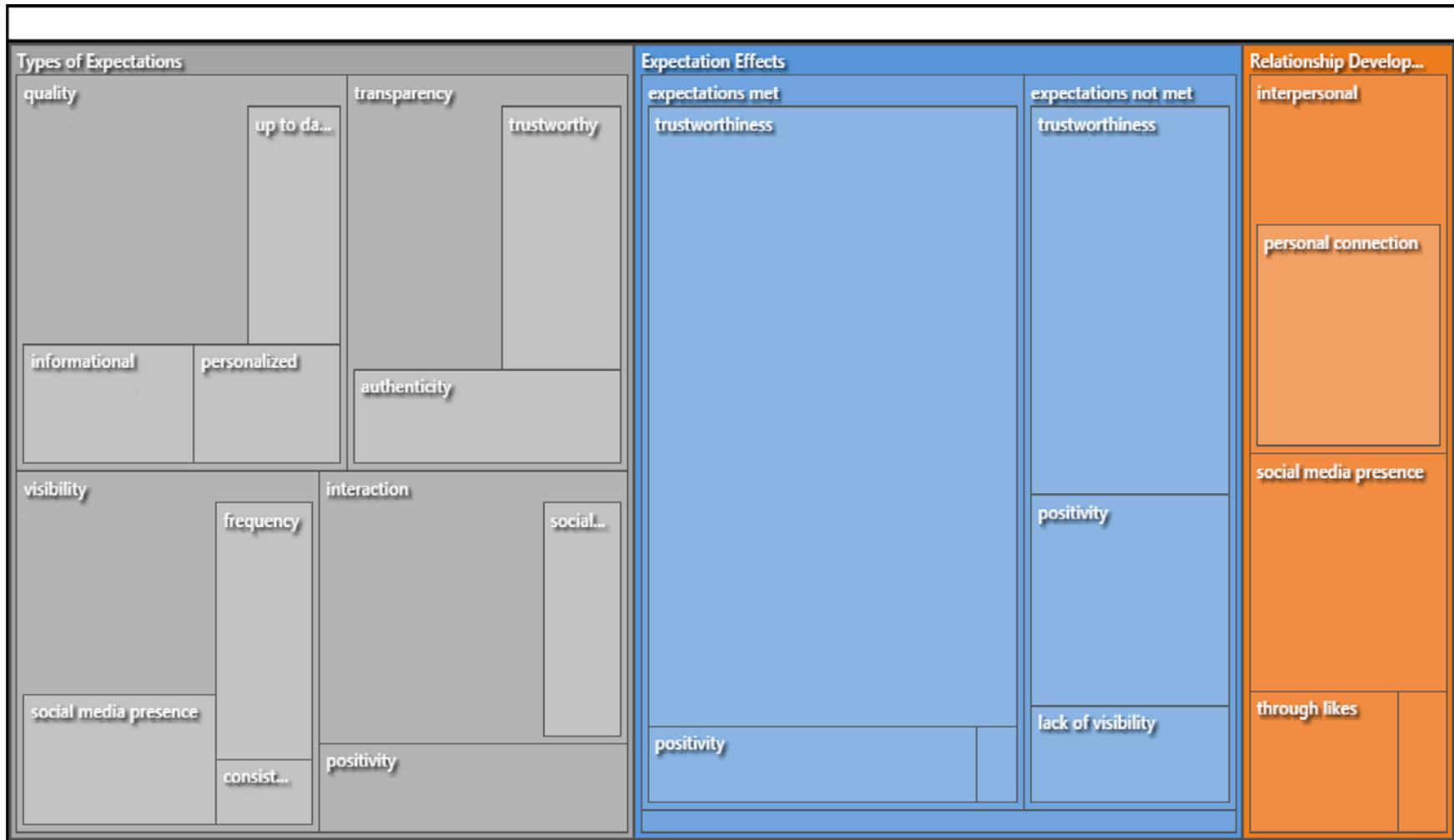


Figure 1. This figure shows how often each theme was represented in the data by categorizing the data into themes and sizing them by frequency.

Relationship Building and Maintenance on Social Media

This study suggests that nonprofit organizations and their nonprofit publics primarily build relationships through offline interpersonal connections, but that the majority of these publics choose to maintain relationships with the NPO on social media. The interpersonal connections typically take place as a close friend or family member of a nonprofit public member works for an NPO, the public member attends an event hosted by the NPO, or the public member was recommended to volunteer or work for the NPO by a mentor. The tendency of nonprofit publics to prioritize interpersonal communication along with the limited amount of ways participants expressed being able to maintain relationships with nonprofits on social media—which occurred as individuals saw content posted on social media by the NPO, liked this content, and either when the individual received a comment on their own social media from the NPO or when the individual commented on the NPO's posts—yielded minimal data, making this the smallest theme. Furthermore, most nonprofit publics indicated that they did not comment on the NPOs pictures nor did they message them, but that interaction was limited to liking and viewing the NPO's posts on Facebook, Instagram, or Twitter. Participants relayed that they relied most heavily on bonds created through interpersonal communication and maintained those bonds through interacting with the nonprofit on social media.

Likewise, participants revealed that they felt the overall strength of bonds built offline through an interaction or personal connection are stronger as they withstand conflicts that occur as expectations for how the NPO should act on social media are not met and time constraints more easily than bonds created online. Participants reported that it would be difficult for them to end relationships with nonprofits with whom they interacted personally because the violation to their expectations would seem like an anomaly rather than an indication of the NPO's true

character; however, it was very easy for the few participants who had no interpersonal connection with the NPO they followed to completely end the relationship when met with conflict. Specific reasons and contexts for these conflicts is discussed in this paper as the pattern of specific expectations is discussed.

Almost all participants also reported developing their relationship with the NPO they followed on social media offline. Only one participant chose to follow a nonprofit he or she had no offline connection to and this participant indicated that it would be, "easy to unfollow them and end the relationship." The majority of participants either had experience volunteering for the NPO he or she followed, knew an employee at the NPO personally, or met someone affiliated with the NPO at an event or on a school campus at one point in his or her life, emphasizing the importance of face-to-face interaction.

Still, those who began their relationship with an NPO offline maintained this relationship on social media. This was done through the NPO's social media account commenting on the individual's page, liking the individual's posts on social media, or simply when the nonprofit publics saw posts by the NPO on their personal social media feed. One female participant commented about a nonprofit organization she had previously volunteered for:

When I see posts from them, I feel excited. They have great people and great marketing staff who obviously I can see that they spend time on the posts. I think it definitely has a positive effect on the relationship I have with them.

Notably, all participants who were over the age of 50 reported valuing the idea of an NPO's online presence but insisted on the importance of interpersonal communication. These participants expected the NPO to contact them directly and off of social media and reported that they only developed and maintained relationships with NPOs in an interpersonal setting or by

reading updates from the NPOs on social media but expected no direct contact via social media.

Figure two demonstrates the frequency at which each tactic for building and developing relationships with nonprofits was discussed. In this case, the category of interpersonal communication includes a subsection of personal connections.

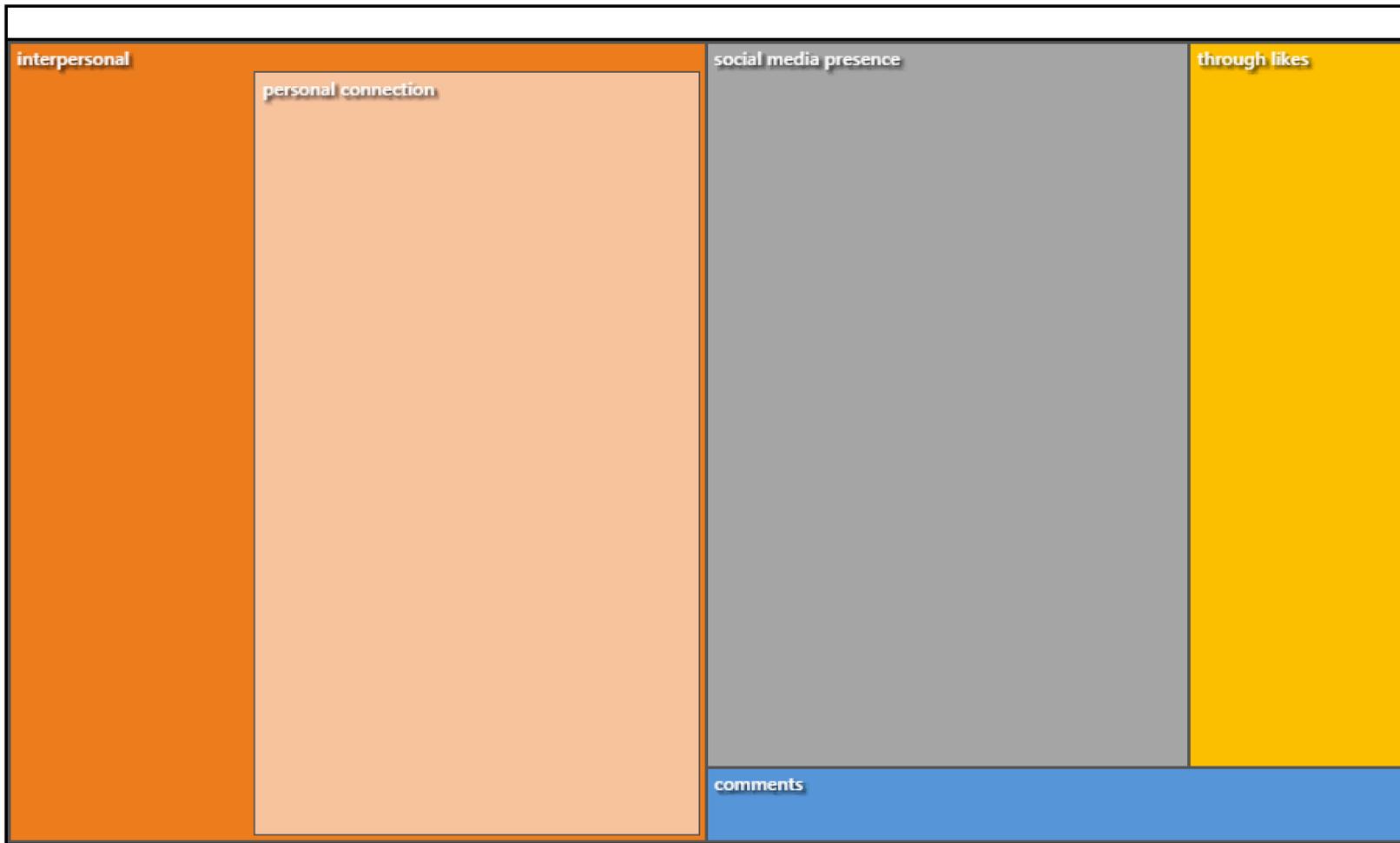


Figure 2. This figure shows how often each theme relating to the process of building relationships on social media was represented in the data by categorizing the data into themes and sizing them by frequency.

Expectations

One of the themes derived from examining data on Nvivo is expectations. The findings in this study reveal that nonprofit publics have developed many definite expectations for how NPOs should behave on social media. Participants offered many specific standards for NPOs' social media pages and posts, which will be explored in this section. The amount of data collected on this topic was extensive and significant to the present study. The most prominent expectations concerning respectable NPO social media behavior were concerned with the quality of posts as well as how the NPO should interact with its nonprofit publics, how visible the NPO was on social media, how transparent the NPO appeared based on what it posted to social media, how much social capital users could gain by following the NPO on social media, and how the NPO should portray the tone of its posts. Additionally, nonprofit publics also expected NPOs that they followed to be authentic, personal, current on social media practices, and fit to user preferences. These nonprofit publics tended to use their expectations for the less prevalent themes, the themes they mentioned less often, to gauge how they felt the NPO was performing at meeting their initial expectations regarding high-quality posts, level of interaction, high visibility, high transparency, and tone. Figure three offers a visual representation of the hierarchy of the frequency at which participants discussed each expectation for how NPOs should behave on social media. Each theme contains subcategories that define the themes.

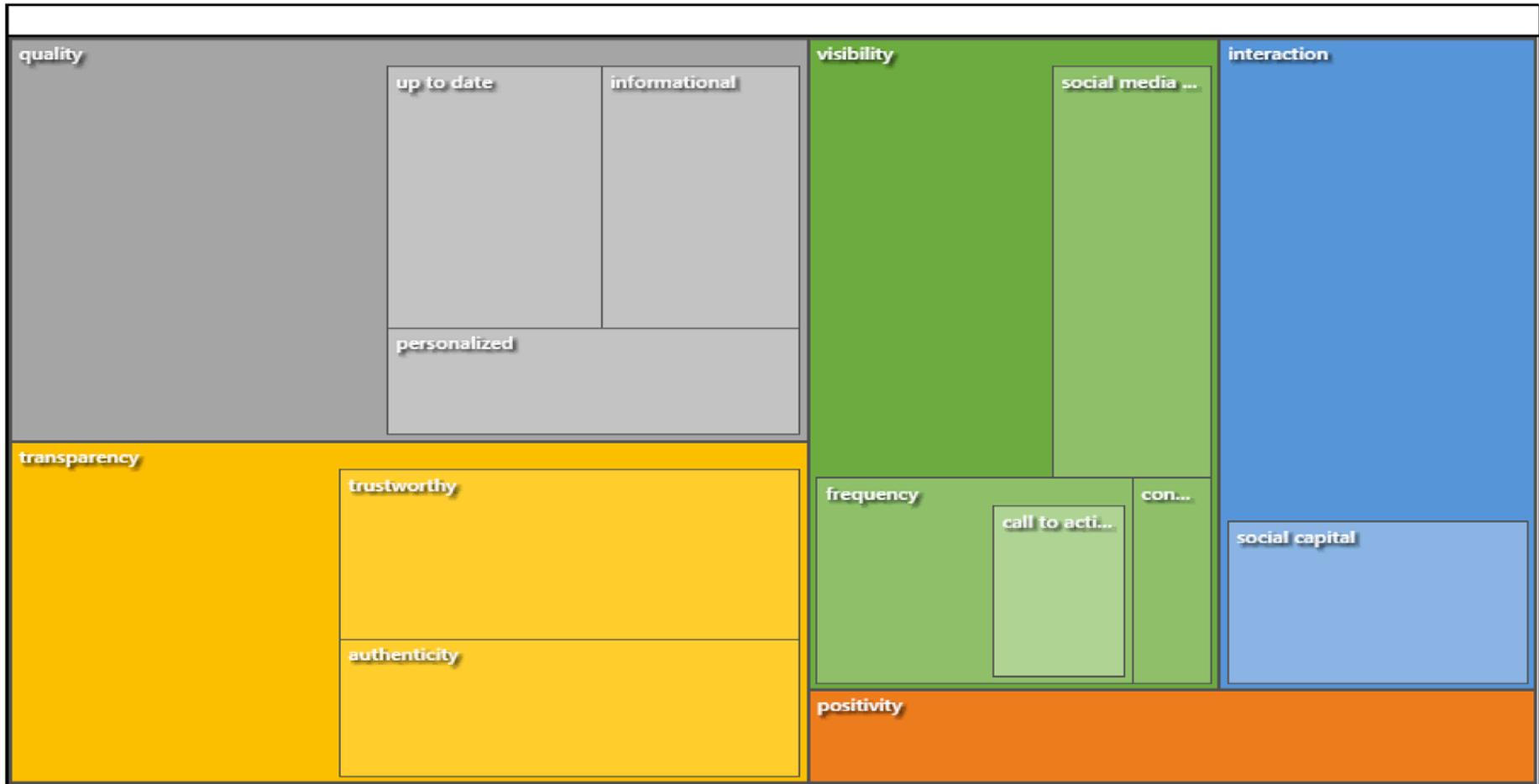


Figure 3. This figure shows how often each theme concerning specific expectations was represented in the data by categorizing the data into themes and sizing them by frequency.

Quality. Nonprofit publics expected the NPOs that they followed on social media to meet their personal standards for quality, as indicated by every participant in the present study. The quality of an NPO's social media posts was defined differently among participants. However, participants listed criteria for quality social media posts; such criteria included the relevance or timeliness of a post; the quality of information being shared; the form in which a post is displayed (i.e. video or high-resolution image), and the writing quality of a post. Nonprofit publics rely on all of these criteria to determine how effective a nonprofit is in accomplishing its mission, which was the most important factor among nonprofit publics in determining whether an NPO met their expectations.

All participants expressed an expectation for nonprofit organizations to post content that met their quality standards. For example, one female participant in her 20s, explained why she thought that the nonprofit produced quality posts "I believe in what they do because their posts help you to realize that things really are happening, they found real solutions to real problems and helped the community to buy into it." Another participant, a male in his 30s, commented that he was disappointed with nonprofits that did not post the quality of content he expected:

What I expect to see is just the good that they are doing, I want to see that nonprofit is doing what is good and helpful, but what I do see is a little bit more of the adventure that is out there.

When determining whether the NPO met their expectations for the overall quality of a post, many participants also factored in how information was displayed (for example, video, image, or informational graphic). A female participant in her late 20s indicated that the format of posts issued by the NPO she followed met her expectations for engagement. She said:

I actually think they do a really good job of developing a relationship with me because they include personal interviews with these people. It's in video format [which] makes it really easily viewable, I always find myself watching videos way more than reading blocks of text.

Another female participant in her 40s had a similar expectation:

To me, I always wonder if they are on the cutting-edge. If I feel like they just give me really good quality images or quality content that I'm interested in, then I want to follow them and all the different social media for that organization.

These criteria also intertwined with the idea that the NPO that participants followed had to fit their personal interests. However, the overwhelming indication made by participants that the quality of a post's content must adhere to certain expectations suggested that individuals expect an NPO to provide not only posts that they are interested in but also posts that include engaging images or videos to show its public how the organization is accomplishing its mission.

Level of interaction. Another important factor for nonprofit publics when establishing and developing a relationship with an NPO is how the NPO interacts with them on social media. All but one participant outlined clear expectations for how an organization should interact with him or her on social media. Many participants were split between encouraging high levels of interaction and wishing to hold onto the anonymity that social media affords. While some participants indicated that they expected an NPO to highlight them in one of their own posts, message them directly, or follow them on social media, others expressed that any of those actions would give them the sense that the NPO was insincere and just trying to get the follower to donate. This would leave the participant with the sense that he or she would no longer pursue a relationship with the NPO.

Among the slight majority of participants who expected nonprofits to allow their followers to remain completely anonymous online, some felt that direct messages and requests to follow members of the nonprofit publics were soliciting and that such practices detracted from the authenticity of an NPO. One female participant said:

Even if it were the nonprofit I follow most, if they started messaging me I would immediately, especially if they are messaging me more than once, I am going to think of them less and be less trusting of them.

Another female participant echoed this sentiment:

I have noticed that a lot of organizations want to follow me and I feel like it's a marketing thing and they just want to harvest my friend list. They want to interact with me on my post just for marketing purposes and so I made my profile private to block that and them. These individuals encouraged interactions through "likes" on Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter as well as through offline, person-to-person communication.

Notably, the minority who expected nonprofit organizations to interact with them through messages or comments always had an interpersonal connection with the NPO before following it online. One female participant summarized the sentiment expressed by most participants:

I would say things have to happen little by little on and off social media whether it's being recognized or thanked and then being asked to help at the nearest event, every positive experience will bind you closer.

Other participants who approved of interacting directly with the nonprofit recalled times when the NPO referenced events or service projects they attended. These participants also indicated an expectation to see events advertised on an NPO's social media page. Still, participants who encouraged interaction on social media expected such interaction to feel personal:

The quality of comments they make can't just be like an emoji or a one-liner. If it feels like they are directing their comment toward me in a unique way, then I feel like we are friends and I want to talk to them.

Participants also indicated that they had expectations for their interactions with other members of the nonprofit public on social media. While the majority of nonprofit publics did not expect to make connections by following NPOs on social media, all participants responded positively to the idea of expanding their social capital. Those participants who did expect to gain social capital had a personal connection with an employee or another follower before they chose to follow the NPO on social media. Overall, nonprofit publics thought similarly to the male participant who said:

Definitely, I think it's rare to find people in the world who view the world and nonprofits in the same way that you do, there is a very wide range of opinions, so if you could find a lot of people who are like-minded and believe the same things you do, with similar values, that would be a strong component, I would absolutely be more involved if I thought this was my community of people who believe the same things I do.

Visibility. Nonprofit publics also expected the NPOs that they followed on social media to be present in their feeds, meaning that followers could see relevant updates without having to search on any given platform. Therefore, nonprofit publics expected the NPOs to post frequently and for each post to be equally informative or inspiring. Many participants claimed that finding the updates they wanted to see from nonprofits became increasingly more difficult. One male participant in his 20s said "A good nonprofit uses social media frequently. You don't want to overload a follower's feed, but it's still important, especially to post enough to stay relevant." When participants stopped seeing a nonprofit on their social media feeds, they often began to

lose confidence in the NPO. One participant said “It needs to be consistent so that A: I don't forget that they are even there and B: I do feel like they are legit and they are doing good things.”

Conversely, nonprofit publics expected NPOs not to post so frequently that the posts from NPOs were all they could see on social media. A male participant said:

If they did overdo it, I would miss what they're doing and I would miss the impact they are trying to have. If I followed a nonprofit at random and they posted too much, I would probably unfollow them, it's easy to do.

Similar to other areas in which nonprofit publics have developed expectations, an NPO's level of visibility must fit between two extremes, avoiding both flooding followers' feeds and becoming invisible.

Transparency. One theme in the area of expectation that had a significant effect on the publics' willingness to establish or maintain relationships with an NPO was how transparent the NPO appeared on social media. This relates back to the idea that stewardship is vital for maintaining relationships, specifically in terms of showing donors that organizations are grateful for public support and proving that funds and efforts are being allocated in the exact same way the organization initially promised the funds and efforts would be used (Waters, 2009). In fact, all but two participants mentioned that an NPO's social media campaigns were most effective in encouraging an ongoing relationship when its posts relayed transparency or showed their followers exactly what the organization was doing with donors' money. A male participant in his 20s said, “I feel like it shows they are trying to help me get involved in helping other people's lives and it's easier for me to get involved when I can see that someone is passionate about it.”

To achieve the image of transparency, the NPO had to meet the expectations held by nonprofit publics. The type of post most commonly expected by the public was visual or written

evidence of the NPO's progress. On the subject of her process in deciding to engage with a nonprofit, a female participant said:

You can't just go in blindly and think they're doing good. It's just like buying a lottery ticket. When you see the face of someone who won the lottery you think, okay so people do win, but unless you see the image you wonder where the money goes.

Another participant commented on a foster care NPO that she followed on social media. She said "I like the positive of seeing the service and where the money is going. I need to see them show me what they do on a day-to-day basis."

Likewise, nonprofit publics expect NPOs to be transparent in the data that they share about how donor money is used. One male participant said "I love to see when they're being fiscally responsible. I want to see impactful numbers and powerful infographics about their success metrics and what changes are being made or need to be made." Nonprofit publics expect information to be readily available; when it is not, an NPO's credibility is thrown into question.

Tone. This study suggests that nonprofit publics expect to see posts with a positive tone. The vast majority of participants indicated that positivity was vital for posts by NPOs with which they wanted to establish or maintain relationships. This often meant that the NPO needed to show progress in accomplishing its mission as well as the positive side of the human problem that the NPO was working toward solving as opposed to just featuring the problems and their negative effects on society. A female participant noted:

I feel like anyone who wants to do good in the world, that's what you need to be posting. You can address the sadness, but if you don't have a solution to it, then no one is going to listen to you and you end up just putting negativity out there.

Others chose to follow a specific NPO because the positivity that they affiliated with nonprofits offered a break from the mundane “when Facebook was really negative during the election, having the uplifting, which is the word I would use to describe their message, is really nice and it’s a breath of fresh air.” The expectation of nonprofit publics to avoid all negativity when following an NPO reached beyond social media posts. One participant said “the worst thing I could see would be any negative commentary from anyone about a nonprofit. If a nonprofit is ever aware of a negative comment, they have to address it.”

Effects of Met and Unmet Expectations

The results of the interviews clearly indicated that nonprofit publics’ relationships with NPOs are greatly affected in accordance with their own expectations. All participants indicated that a severe violation of expectations would lead the individuals to end their relationships with the NPOs they followed on social media. However, the interview data included in the theme pattern indicating participants’ expectations revealed that certain individual expectations—namely, that an NPO is trustworthy, present, and positive—proved to be have the greatest effect on NPO-public relationships. The aspect of presence or visibility also equated to legitimacy for participants as they considered an NPO to be legitimate if it posted regularly. Trustworthiness, legitimacy, and positivity were considered most important by publics when determining the strength and existence of their relationship with an NPO. The only exception to nonprofit publics’ tendency to terminate online relationships with NPOs after a violation of expectations was when loyalty had been established offline between the NPO and its nonprofit publics.

Trustworthiness. All participants felt that when the NPO they followed met their expectations for social media conduct, the NPO was more trustworthy. The inverse was also true: when NPOs failed to meet the individual’s expectation for social media conduct, he or she

immediately felt that the organization was not trustworthy. The corresponding effects on NPO-public relationships were great. Those who lost faith in the trustworthiness of an organization immediately ended the relationship.

One participant shared an experience about a nonprofit organization offering aid to individuals living in a third-world country. When the participant initially started following the NPO on social media, the organization was posting pictures detailing the work being accomplished with donor funds. This encouraged her to continue sending money on a monthly basis. However, as time went on, these posts began to disappear. On the subject of her expectations no longer being met, the participant said, "I had no idea what they were doing, which is sad, because they could have still been doing great things, but I just didn't see that. I couldn't trust them and I stopped sending money and following them."

All other participants indicated that when one or more of their expectations—specifically relating to transparency, positivity, and visibility—were unmet, the relationship would end. Another participant said "When I see specific tangibles of what their outcomes are and what their success rate is, then I want to get involved or donate. Otherwise, I wouldn't trust them and I would never give them my time or money." These data show that NPOs wishing to maintain or even build relationships on social media must meet the nonprofit publics' expectations for trustworthiness.

Legitimacy. Another way NPOs can sustain or lose relationships with followers is through regular posting, or proving that they are still a legitimate organization. The expectation of visibility also has an impact on the relationships between individuals and the NPOs they follow. One participant said that when NPOs don't meet his expectation of posting regularly "it makes you wonder if they are professional with a qualified businessman or woman at the head or

by people who have no idea what they're doing.” Furthermore, every participant who mentioned the importance of an NPO's visibility on social media indicated that he or she would not spend more time than necessary to maintain a relationship with an NPO that seemed to stop posting. This is because when an NPO disappeared, participants thought that the NPO was no longer a legitimate organization worthy of their trust and resources. Although results of this study indicate the negative effects of unmet expectations regarding legitimacy, participants seldom mentioned examples of NPOs that posted with expected frequency. Ultimately, maintaining a visible presence in nonprofit publics' social media feeds is vital to maintaining NPO-public relationships.

Positivity. Another expectation addressed the NPO's ability to uphold a positive tone throughout its social media posts. As with maintaining frequency, visibility, and trustworthy brand image, consistently producing posts with a positive tone determined the existence of relationships between participants and the NPOs they followed. Many participants even indicated that they initially sought out a relationship with the NPO because it was a positive presence in their lives.

The results of the study indicate that meeting this expectation brings positive effects. Many participants recommended positive NPOs to peers, who then developed their own relationships with such organizations. Other individuals were inspired to tighten the bonds they had with the NPO by volunteering or donating money to the cause. One participant said:

They are so cute, they'll just post positive things like an intern with a kid and they're teaching the kid English or whatever their thing is. They are so cute, I still recommend them to anyone. You should check them out, they are the happiest posts.

Positive posts were the only factor that encouraged relationship development, increased donations, and increased willingness to refer the NPO to peers. Meeting other expectations encouraged nonprofit publics to maintain relationships and continue positive behaviors, but positive posts took that one step further into eliciting increased action.

The effect of not meeting nonprofit publics' expectations for positive posts was similar to that of other unmet expectations. All participants indicated that when NPOs infiltrated their feeds with negative or neutral posts, the participants became disinterested or even offended and lost all motivation to maintain the online relationship. One unique aspect affecting nonprofit publics who expected NPOs to exclusively post positive content was that if a positive post was accompanied by a negative comment, the followers would add the expectation that the NPO would quickly address or delete the negative comment. The failure to do so had the same effect as a negative post. In either case, nonprofit publics chose to unfollow the NPO online, thereby ending the relationship.

Effect of offline loyalty. Open coding revealed a scenario in which unmet expectations did not lead to loss of relationships between NPOs and their followers. This only occurred when the participant had a personal connection to the NPO and developed loyalty to an individual who he or she felt represented the NPO. For example, one participant offered, "it would take a while before I eventually maybe unfollowed them because I have a good relationship with the organization and I would probably give him the benefit of the doubt." The vast majority of respondents volunteered similar thoughts. Participants indicated that person-to-person relationships would overcome unmet expectations; however, many cautioned that without such connections, the unmet expectations would certainly end their relationships with the NPOs. Figure four demonstrates how often participants discussed the effects of met and unmet

expectations as well in relation to how often loyalty overcoming unmet expectations was discussed. Each theme contains subcategories that define the themes.

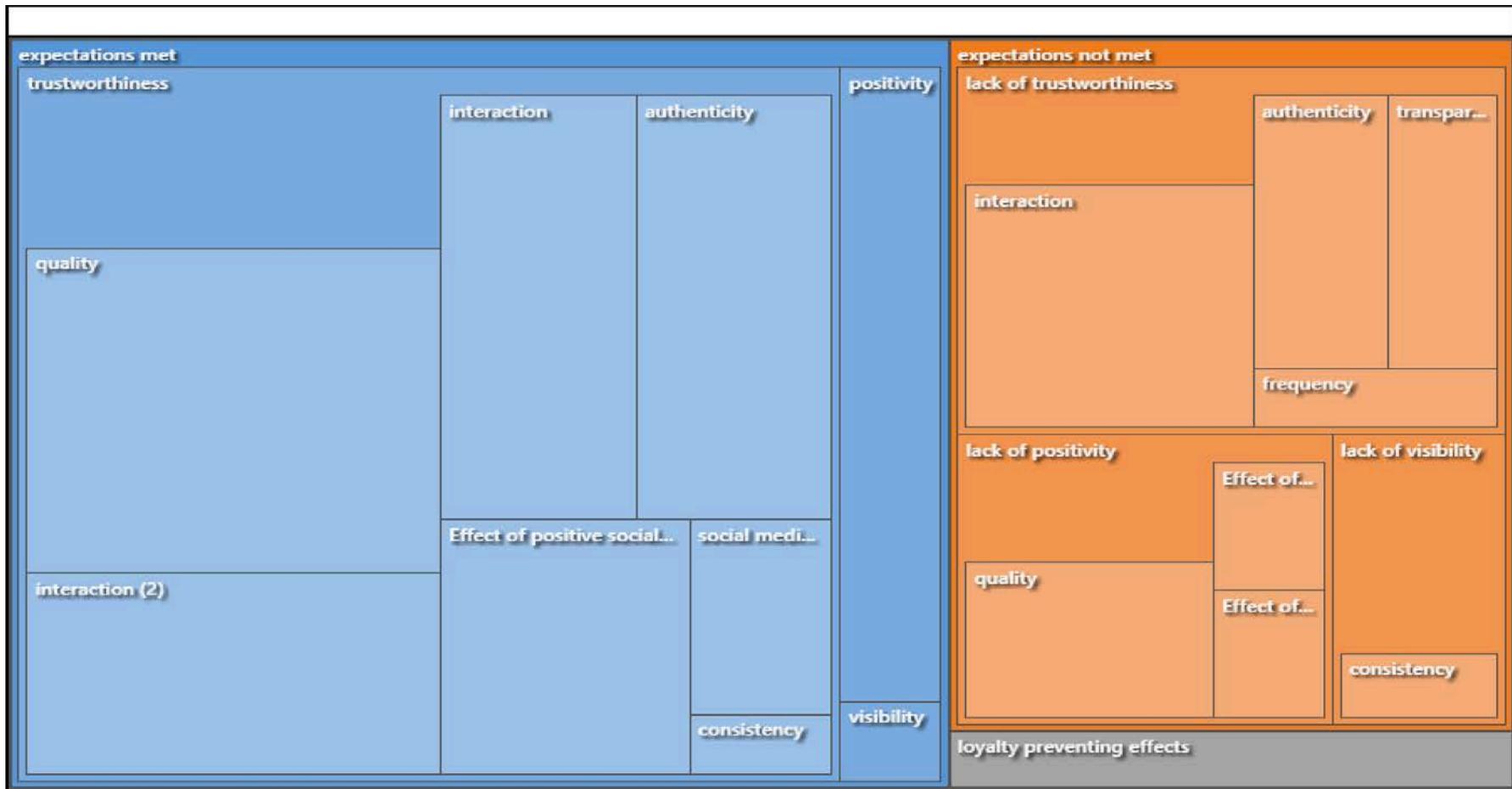


Figure 4. This figure shows how often each theme surrounding the effects of met and unmet expectations was represented in the data by categorizing the data into themes and sizing them by frequency.

Discussion

Findings suggest interesting insights into the effects of social media in relation to the expectancy violation theory, social capital, and situational theory of publics. Literature surrounding organization-public relationships and two-way communication shed light onto the concepts of expectancy violation, social capital, and nonprofit publics and allowed for more in-depth analysis in relation to this study. Therefore, only the concepts surrounding the effects of social media on expectancy violations, social capital, and the situational theory of publics—rather than the previous literature surrounding OPRs, nonprofits, and two-way communication—will be more thoroughly discussed in this section.

Expectancy Violation Theory in the Digital Age

The present study revealed that individuals form expectations for the quality, transparency, tone and visibility of NPOs' social media posts as well as the levels of interaction between the NPO and its nonprofit publics. These expectations detail how nonprofit organizations that nonprofit publics choose to follow on social media should conduct themselves on social media, answering the second and third research questions which asked, "What are the active and aware nonprofit publics' expectations for how a nonprofit should interact with them on social media?," and "Do those expectations include obtaining some level of social capital?." These insights also answered the fourth research question, which asked, "Do active and aware nonprofit publics' expectations affect their relationships with nonprofit organizations?" The answer to both questions is that yes, nonprofit publics do have specific expectations and that these expectations directly affect their relationships with NPOs.

These expectations are mainly that the NPO will post transparent, high quality, positive, frequent posts and interact with their followers only if an individual affiliated with the NPO has a

previously established, interpersonal relationship. The existence of such expectations means that nonprofit publics have developed an understanding of acceptable behavior and have set personal guidelines for which organizations they will continue to follow and which they will filter out of their feeds. Therefore, if their expectations in terms of post quality, visibility, transparency, positivity, and interactions with organizations are not met by the NPOs, then their nonprofit publics will end the online relationship.

This study's findings concerning the tendency of nonprofit publics to end relationships with NPOs due to violated expectations have affirmed Burgoon and Jones's (1976) previous research on the expectancy violation theory, which stated that violated expectations in communication patterns lead to the disillusionment or termination of relationships. Therefore, the findings of this study suggest that previous literature focusing on the effects of the expectancy violation theory on interpersonal holds true when examined in the realm of computer-mediated communication, as public expectations violated by NPOs directly lead to the disillusionment and termination of relationships. The transferability of this study's findings to previous, interpersonal literature suggests that communication behaviors on social media mimic interpersonal communication behaviors as individuals are forming expectations for communicative behaviors both online and in person and the violation of those expectations has similar effects on the relationship between the parties in communication.

Formative EVT authors also purported that the severity of the discrepancy between the individual's expectation and reality would alter the level of relational impact experienced between two parties in communication. This study indicates that any expectancy violation made by an NPO on social media often leads to an abrupt end to the relationship between the two parties. Nonprofit publics' preference to immediately end online relationships due to expectancy

violation sheds light onto the value these publics place on their expectations and highlights the level of ease social media offers followers when attempting to eradicate unwanted online relationships. Specifically, when nonprofit publics consider a post not to meet their standards of high quality, transparency, positivity or visibility or feel they are unwillingly engaged in direct communication with an NPO, they feel it is appropriate to immediately end the relationship with that brand. The conflict, or discrepancy between expectations held and met, is usually caused by one single post, showing the ease with which nonprofit publics end social media relationships. This indicates that social media has taken the impact of expectancy violation to an extreme. This may be due in part to the fact that if nonprofit publics wish to end a relationship with an NPO, they can do so with one click on an “unfollow” button. Likewise, the ease and speed at which nonprofit publics end relationships diminishes the importance placed on the severity of the discrepancy between expectations and reality. With social media, even slight discrepancies can prove deadly to NPO-public relationships.

This echoes the win/win or no deal strategy examined in conflict resolution literature which explains that one strategy for dealing with conflict, which in this case is the unmet expectations of nonprofit publics, is to completely withdraw from communication (Plowman, 2007). The conflict resolution literature is further supported by the finding that when conflict, or unmet expectations, arise, individuals will either completely avoid the other party in communication by unfollowing them, the NPO may accommodate its followers by adjusting to the nonprofit publics' expectations, or the two parties will compromise by drawing on past experiences to pardon an unmet expectation as long as the NPO seems to resolve the conflict by living up to its public's expectations offline (Thomas, 1976; Plowman, 2007). The NPO can conduct market research to evaluate the specific expectations of its publics to ensure that

expectations are constantly met. Therefore, the only way to combat these extreme effects is for an individual to draw upon an interpersonal experience they had with an individual who is affiliated with the NPO.

The finding that basing a relationship on interpersonal communication enables NPO-public relationships to overcome a heightened sensitivity to expectancy violation brought on by social media also offers an interesting insight that highlights the value of face-to-face communication. The bond created in face-to-face communication clearly establishes different expectations for nonprofit publics than purely computer-mediated communication. This finding answers the first research question "How are relationships and specifically social media relationships developed now between organizations and their nonprofit publics?" by offering the insight that while some relationships are built online as a nonprofit public chooses to follow an NPO and that NPO meets their expectations, most relationships begin offline. Furthermore, the relationships built offline through interpersonal communication tend to be more mutually beneficial and often last longer than those built purely on computer-mediated communication.

Still, establishing a relationship solely in a face-to-face setting is not enough, as one of the expectations nonprofit publics have that fuels ongoing relationship maintenance is a clear, visible presence on social media. Furthermore, mixing an interpersonal communication and relationship with computer-mediated communication allows nonprofit publics to create the strongest bond because the computer-mediated communication acts as a reinforcement of the positive bond created face-to-face (Burgoon, 1978; Cohen, 2010; Planalp & Rivers, 1996). The finding that mixing mediated and interpersonal communication makes stronger bonds suggests that in order to remain relevant in today's society, NPOs must have a strong social media presence and a strong interpersonal presence. Traditionally, and as it relates to literature

complicated in the present study's review of literature, social media and interpersonal communication have been studied separately. This study suggests that this is impractical. Publics do not exist in a purely physical or purely digital world, instead they form relationships with organizations and peers both online and offline. Because of this, NPOs should use social media to maintain relationships with individuals who have interpersonal relations with the organization and to advertise physical events that allow individuals a chance to develop an offline, or interpersonal, relationship with the organization.

Moreover, the relationship created while combining strong interpersonal communication with computer-mediated communication is the only kind that has the power to overcome the effects of unmet expectations, thus allowing for a longer lasting relationship. Strong relationships with nonprofit publics are the foundation of success for NPOs, building and maintaining strong relationships by implementing successful communication patterns on and off social media enables an NPO to survive and eventually thrive as a brand (Grunig & Grunig, 199; Sisson, 2017; Waters & Lord, 2009). The strong relationships needed for lasting NPO success are developed similarly to offline relationships, they are created as both parties in communication interact in such a way that they meet one another's expectations for communication (Burgoon, 1978; Cohen, 2010; Dens & De Pelsmacker, 2010; Planalp & Rivers, 1996). In fact, the online interaction expectations are similar to interpersonal communication expectations as one would not expect a stranger to pay attention to the details of one's life or request to become friends with his or her friends. Instead, this act would seem suspicious as if the stranger with a sudden interest into the other individual's life had an ulterior motive. This study reveals that to be true on social media as well. These findings show that relationships online are created one step at a time as NPOs like their nonprofit publics' public posts and draw upon previous interactions the follower

had with the NPO. Of course, this should be kept within reason as meeting every expectation, particularly when NPOs have thousands of individual publics, is not feasible.

One interesting expectation that was found to be held by nonprofit publics is that posts should be positive in tone, highlighting the good being done to combat a social issue instead of dwelling on the problem itself or any negative aspects surrounding that issue. Likewise, if NPO posts are overwhelmingly negative, nonprofit publics feel their relationship an NPO is damaged beyond repair. This offers insight into the modern role of gatekeeping, or the process of determining what information is allowed into public consumption and what is withheld (Shoemaker, 1991). More recent research has suggested that the entity holding the role of gatekeeper has shifted from news media in the theory's early years to specific individuals, as social media has allowed individuals to retain much more control over what information they are exposed to (Barzilai-Nahon, 2009; Coddington & Holton, 2014; Sturges, 2001).

In this case, the EVT reaffirms this notion that the role of gatekeeper has shifted to the individual because individuals can completely close the gate on information they are exposed to when their expectations for the information an NPO chooses to share on their social media page are unmet. Additionally, these nonprofit publics can seek out a new NPO that does meet their expectations and open a new gate, letting a whole new set of information dominate his or her social media page. Social media offers an interesting twist on gatekeeping because as individuals curate the information they would like to see based on whether or not it meets their expectations, these individuals are also ending relationships with those who they unfollow or block, and they are even potentially ending long-standing relationships with brands in order to retain the role of gatekeeper.

This suggests that individuals are leaning toward creating very controlled informational environments, or echo-chambers on their personal social media pages (Khosravini, 2017). This trend is, in effect, created by the strict adherence to expectations by publics on social media. In order to break this cycle, NPOs need to introduce new information in a style that could exceed expectations, or surprise publics in a good way. This could be introducing somewhat unwelcome information or points of view in a tone or frame that is pleasing to nonprofit publics. Otherwise, these echo chambers created on every individual's social media page lead to a very individualized, minimally informed society.

Social Capital in Nonprofit Publics-NPO Relationships

The implications of the specific expectations individuals have formed—mainly that NPOs regularly share positive, high quality, transparent, and visible posts while constraining social media interactions to sharing posts and liking followers' posts—also offers interesting insights for nonprofit organizations in the digital age. Initially, the latter part of the second research question inquired about the specific effects of any expectations nonprofit public might have for social capital to be gained by following an NPO on social media. The second and third research questions asked, what the active and aware nonprofit publics' expectations for how a nonprofit should interact with them on social media are, and, whether or not those expectations include obtaining some level of social capital. The results of the present study suggest that social capital, or the gaining of social resources such as increased contacts or recognition, is not something nonprofit publics expect to gain by following an NPO. However, individuals who have established interpersonal connections with a nonprofit view social capital as a benefit, meaning they want to connect with the NPO and other followers who they consider to be like-minded. Still, it is interesting to note that social capital is not something nonprofit publics expect

to gain by following an NPO on any social media platform. Perhaps this is echoed in the finding that suggests individuals expect NPOs to interact with them in exclusively less visible ways, through likes and posts. The lack of expectation for social interaction on social media between NPOs and their nonprofit publics suggests a need for individuals to feel in control of what is made public. This suggests an additional expectation relating to not just relationships, but social media in general that individuals can control what information of theirs is kept private, that social media users can be anonymous followers if they wish. In a world where social media allows images to be cultivated and every event in one's life to be documented and individuals can be reached at any time, regardless of location, individuals are increasingly weary of public perception. The overwhelming culture of sharing and image curating on social media has even been linked to a dissatisfaction with life, intensifying the need for individuals to filter what they are exposed to on social media (Hawi & Samaha, 2017; Krasnova, Wenninger, Widjaja, & Buxmann, 2013). This suggests support to the idea of a privacy paradox on social media, that SNS users are active on social media to avoid being an anomaly socially. Feelings of security and privacy on social media are further challenged when SNSs have data breaches, calling for social media users to withdraw in their social media use further (Choon & Jane, 2018). Many participants in the present study felt that withdrawing or remaining anonymous often meant continuing to view and like posts on social media without commenting. Individuals feel that there are enough social media users that like and view content that they are not making themselves visible when they follow social norms, but are instead blending even further into the social background by continuing to use social media.

The study suggests that in addition to not expecting a gain in social capital, the study suggests that nonprofit publics who have already established strong ties through interpersonal

communication with nonprofit organizations have positive opinions of connecting with likeminded individuals, or individuals with similar expectations and behaviors on social media. The willingness of nonprofit publics to interact with other like-minded social media users with expectations similar to theirs, despite expressing that they do not expect to connect with others by building and maintaining social media relationships with NPOs suggests that following an NPO on social media offers its own relationship. Instead of expecting to connect with other like-minded individuals through their connection with an NPO, the relationship between the individual and the NPO, an entity the nonprofit public deems to be a like-minded organization, satisfies the publics' desire to gain social capital on social media (Ellison, et. al., 2014). Because most nonprofit publics already have strong ties with the NPOs they follow on social media, the relationships are a feature that social media users maintain for their own pleasure and knowledge rather than out of a desire to leverage their NPO relationships to bridge weaker ties. The social media user is gaining social capital just by maintaining their strong tie with the NPO.

However, relationships that are less personal or that might not meet their expectations are unwanted, further suggesting that nonprofit publics view their relationships with NPOs as personal. The idea that NPO-organizations relationships are considered personally beneficial and negate the expectation for social capital refutes the idea proposed by previous nonprofit literature, that nonprofit organizations are not capitalizing on the concept of social capital (Dodd, Brummette, & Hazleton, 2015). Nonprofit publics not expecting to gain social capital by connecting with strangers who have similar interests and opinions also offers NPOs room to exceed their nonprofit publics' expectations by creating an opportunity for their publics to connect with each other on social media. This could be done on chat rooms, private groups, and other arenas of social media that allow for a group chat situation. Considering that meeting

expectations maintains strong relationships while failing to meet those expectations ends relationships, exceeding expectations would likely lead to an improvement upon the strength of relationships between NPOs and their nonprofit publics. This could mean an increased willingness to comment and publicly communicate with the NPO online and an increased loyalty and desire to donate offline.

Additionally, this study challenges the claims made by Ellison, et. al. (2014), that weak ties are more easily accessible than ever because this study indicates that while NPOs do try to reach their followers' social circles, this action is almost always perceived as superficial and violates the nonprofit public's expectation that an organization is authentic and trustworthy. Instead of allowing access to weak ties that could be potential donors or supporters for the NPO, social media offers a tempting chance to damage relationships with stronger ties by violating followers' expectations. This is interesting because although, technically, NPOs have access to a plethora of new individuals, the individuals can deny access to these organizations because the willingness to develop a relationship with a new or strange organization is not present. The inability to effectively connect with weak ties purely through two-way communication on social media means that there is potential to gain social capital for both NPOs and nonprofit publics via social media if the NPO can understand and meet the expectation of its nonprofit publics.

Instead of offering social capital by affording nonprofit publics to connect with weak ties on social media, it could be argued that these nonprofits act as opinion leaders. NPOs are acting as opinion leaders, or entities that provide information the public then uses to form opinions, because instead of interacting and taking in opinions from the nonprofit publics, NPOs are sharing opinions and thoughts adopted by nonprofit publics. Additionally, the NPO's active publics are acting as social media influencers, or "third party endorser[s] who shape audience

attitudes” (Freberg, Graham, McGaughey, & Freberg, 2011). This study shows that individuals do not adopt opinions or thoughts by communicating with a nonprofit organization unless they have experiences interacting with the organization on an interpersonal level. Therefore, the only way for an NPO to successfully integrate two-way communication on social media is by building an offline relationship and then encouraging those with whom they have strong ties to act as social media influencers. Followers can act as social media influencers by recruiting their close friends and family, enabling the NPO to spread their network of stronger ties and increase their active following (Ito, Ohtuski, & Sasaki, 2018).

Effect of Expectations on Situational Theory of Publics

This study also calls attention to the fact that aware publics—individuals who choose to absorb information but never engage with an NPO or develop a relationship with an organization—are seldom being reached by NPOs on social media. Those who have strong ties and are more actively engaged with NPOs, or active publics, are following NPOs because they had previously established an interpersonal relationship with the NPO by volunteering, donating, or interacting with a member of the NPO's staff. The expectations of these active publics then, is that the NPO remains an entity that shows they are fighting the problem, which is manifested in this study by participants indicating the need for transparency, that they meet their expectations in terms of quality and positivity, minimizing constraint, and that they offer a simple way to be involved.

Results of this study also suggest that aware and latent publics—aware publics being individuals who only absorb information, but never engage and latent publics being publics who are within an NPO's reach but do not absorb information or engage with the NPO—should not be reached through online messages or comments, but that direct communication alienates

individuals with whom the NPO does not already have a strong tie. Instead, NPOs can activate latent and aware publics by meeting the expectations of the already active publics and widening their interpersonal reach. For aware publics, NPOs can create and advertise situations where these publics can get involved, meeting nonprofit public expectations and establishing the face-to-face relationships that inspire stronger bonds and can eventually lead to the greatest growth (Grunig & Hunt, 1984; Kim, She, & Morgan, 2011). Likewise, because of the severe effects of violating expectations, these publics can move between active and latent quickly, meaning they can be intensely engaged before an expectation is violated only to become disinterested and disengaged after an expectation is violated. NPOs can quickly lose the loyalty of active publics on social media, but NPOs can also quickly gain latent publics by meeting those same expectations. NPOs' knowledge of nonprofit publics' expectations—high quality posts, positive posts, visible or frequent posts, transparent posts, and limited interaction—may prove valuable in maintaining and building relationships with publics in all three categories of latent, aware, and active.

The adverse effects of NPOs attempting to engage in two-way communication with followers suggests that social media may be redefining the term relationship. As stated previously in this work, Coombs (2000) defined relationships in the sphere of public relations as the result of two parties being, "somehow interdependent with one another," (p. 42). The present study suggests that publics need nonprofit organizations to supply them with information while nonprofit organizations need publics to survive monetarily and as a brand. Though this signals interdependence, it is largely skewed as the publics express a much less severe need for a relationship to exist with an organization. Without two-way communication, nonprofit publics simply view and possibly like NPOs' social media posts. Still, some expressed a willingness to

connect with the NPO through two-way communication after establishing a connection through personal connections. The idea that social media relationships exist on varying levels dependent on the variables of the level of interaction and possible offline connections to supplement the social media relationships suggests the need for a theoretical framework detailing social media relationships similar to the situational theory of publics. The situational theory of social media relationships dictates that circumstances determine to which degree publics are engaged in a social media relationship with an organization. Latent relationships are individuals who do not engage with an organization on social media, aware relationships consist of what this study shows is the majority of relationships in that these relationships exist as publics view and interpret posts made by organizations, but decline to engage in communication with organizations. Active relationships exist as publics view, interpret, and interact with organizations on social media. Publics can be moved to act as expectations are met or exceeded, but can also be motivated to become latent when expectations are violated. This theory can develop in relation to nonprofit organizations and nonprofit publics on social media in future research.

Implications for NPO Public Relations Practices

This study presents a number of noteworthy findings that offer suggestions for improvements in certain practices used by of nonprofit organizations in conducting public relations as well as an understanding of why certain other NPO public relations practices are effective. Research on organization-public relationships, two-way communication, expectancy violation, the situational theory of publics, and nonprofit literature has yet to fully examine the effects of social media on relationships between nonprofit organizations and nonprofit publics (Auger, 2013; Fife, Nelson, & Zhang, 2012; Hallahan, 2008; Sweetser & Kelleher, 2016;

Yaxley, 2012). The present study offers insights that begin to fill this gap in research as it suggests that two-way communication on social media is most effective with already active publics, or followers who feel they have a longstanding, strong relationship with nonprofit organizations. Furthermore, this study reveals that interacting with these active nonprofit publics causes those followers to recommend the NPO they follow to their peers, enabling the NPO brand to grow in popularity and success.

The study also gives NPOs the information needed to develop and maintain successful, mutually beneficial relationships with nonprofit publics. It outlines the methods of communication publics feel are best in establishing and maintaining relationships. The methods for building relationships preferred by the public are through interpersonal connections. This can occur as a friend or peer who has experience with the NPO establishes a relationship with the individual and then recommends the NPO's social media page or through direct interpersonal contact with the NPO. Publics then expect the NPO to have a strong online presence, specifically on social media. This means that nonprofit publics are expecting to be able to maintain relationships by viewing and liking regular posts on their social media feed. After becoming familiar with the NPO, nonprofit publics become more likely to react positively to social media messages, comments on their own posts, or the NPO's social media page liking or following the nonprofit publics' personal social media page.

Nonprofit publics also have specific expectations for what NPO posts should offer them as a follower. Meeting these expectations is paramount for the continued success of a relationship between an NPO and its followers. These expectations consist of five main categories. The first expectation is that an NPO crafts high quality posts that are up to date, informational, professional in appearance, and meet personal interests of followers. The second

is that the posts are transparent or show what is really being done with supporters' donations. To establish this, the posts must also feel authentic and trustworthy to the follower. The third expectation held by nonprofit publics is that the NPO is highly visible on social media, meaning that the nonprofit organization's posts show up regularly in nonprofit publics' social media feeds. This means that followers are expecting regular or even daily posts from NPOs. The fourth expectation is that an NPO should be posting positive content. Nonprofit publics suggested that they want to see what good is being done and posting negative information, images, or allowing negative comments to be affiliated with a post or page on social media detracts from the trustworthiness and strength of an NPO's brand. This means that in order for strong relationships to be maintained between NPOs and their nonprofit publics, the NPO must post honest, but positive posts. The final expectation held by nonprofit publics is that interaction between the NPO and the individual comes primarily in the form of regular posts that the follower can choose to like or view and may also include instances where the NPO likes a social media post made by the follower. Most nonprofit publics felt that when NPOs directly message or publicly comment on a follower's post, they were invading the privacy of the follower. The only exception was when the nonprofit public was interacting with a peer with whom they had a pre-established interpersonal relationship.

Meeting these expectations—quality of posts, high visibility, positive posts, transparent posts, and a moderate level of interaction— allows NPOs to build and maintain stronger relationships with their nonprofit publics and can allow the organization to better adapt to social media and experience an increase in brand strength and online popularity. Furthermore, implementing a stronger focus on encouraging active publics, or individuals with whom NPOs have established, strong relationships, is a more efficient way to garner support and build lasting

relationships on social media. These nonprofits can implement a combination of effective social media posts and interpersonal communication to build and strong, maintain mutually beneficial relationships with nonprofit publics.

Limitations and Future Research

This study offers important insights into nonprofit publics' expectations and how social media is affecting nonprofit publics' relationships with NPOs; however, the work is exploratory in nature and contains a few limitations. Although the snowball method of sampling yielded an ample number of participants with varied backgrounds and age groups within the time constraints of the present study, only five males were interviewed; they made up only 36% of the sample. Interviewing more males could add insights into how the genders are affected by social media and expectations in their relationships with nonprofit organizations. Another possible limitation within the sample is the variety of ages. Those who were older in age were less in touch with social media, relying heavily on interpersonal communication. While this may add certain interesting insights and offers a well-rounded data set, the tendency of older individuals in this sample to avoiding social media offered an outlying perspective. Perhaps narrowing the sample to one generation would provide a more focused set of responses or conducting a comparative study on attitudes and behaviors surrounding social media expectations with NPOs would offer more clarity on the effect of avoiding or embracing social media. Still, this sample provided insightful, in-depth responses that allowed the topic to be explored in depth and important information to be revealed.

Additionally, because the study was exploratory, a great deal of information related to this topic is yet to be examined in depth. The role of gatekeeping in modern communication could offer great insights into why expectations are set for nonprofit publics. Furthermore, as

technology advances and various social media platforms develop, each platform could be examined in an isolated study to determine how the specific aspects of each platform affect nonprofit publics' expectations and the subsequent relationships formed around those expectations on social media. The various types of publics (i.e. latent, aware, and active) could also be studied in isolation to shed further light on how NPOs can adhere to specific expectations. The expectations of positivity and levels of interaction could also be studied further in terms of what forms these expectations and why their effect on nonprofit publics' relationships with NPOs is so severe. Furthermore, the question of whether or not individuals ever rekindle social media relationships over time despite violated expectations remains unanswered. Likewise, a study that examines the results of exceeding nonprofit public expectations in terms of relationship building and maintenance behavior on social media would offer great insights into this area of study. Finally, a comparative study could offer great insights into how expectations on social media vary between NPOs and for-profit organizations.

Conclusion

This study is important because it explores the relationships between NPOs and their publics on social media. Although scholarly research on expectancy violations on social media is scarce, social media has been altering public expectations and the relationships between organizations and publics for years. This study suggests that nonprofit organizations are greatly affected by the expectations nonprofit publics have formed. Therefore, continuing research in the area of expectations and social media is significant.

Furthermore, the study shows that despite spending years becoming familiar with social media and integrating SNSs into daily routines, the public is still evolving in the intermix of interpersonal and computer-mediated communication. This suggests the overarching and long-

lasting importance of interpersonal communication in developing and maintaining relationships and in integrating interpersonal and computer-mediated communications when seeking to form mutually beneficial relationships. The findings in this study that suggest it is vital for NPOs to establish a face-to-face relationship before attempting to engage in two-way communication for the purpose of building a relationship on social media raises the question of whether or not interpersonal communication will always exceed computer-mediated communication in its ability to build and maintain relationships.

Another finding of this study is that regardless of the nonprofit publics' tendency to demand an initial interpersonal connection with an NPO before engaging in relationship building on social media supersedes the nonprofits publics' demand that all NPOs have an online presence and that an NPO's social media presence maintains relationships; however, a lack of social media presence would instantly throw relationships between NPOs and their nonprofit publics into turmoil, causing nonprofit publics to question the nonprofit organizations' authenticity and trustworthiness. This suggests that the both interpersonal and computer-mediated communication are equally important for NPOs attempting to build and maintain relationships with their nonprofit publics.

The value that nonprofit publics of all ages give to NPOs' social media presences indicates that the importance of computer-mediated communication is increasing. In general, mediated communication is becoming more commonly expected and integrated. Video chatting technology allows individuals to see and hear each other, simulating interpersonal communication on a level previously unattainable. Furthermore, a conversation through video chatting has the potential to provoke emotion and instill ideas for both parties in communication, yielding effects similar to those that can be achieved through interpersonal communication.

Therefore, scholars must question if or when mediated communication will become equally as effective and powerful as interpersonal communication.

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Appendix

Question Guide

Walk me through your typical interaction with the nonprofit you follow on social media.

Which of those interactions do you feel helps you build a relationship with this nonprofit? Why?

How would you describe your relationship with this nonprofit?

Would you say that social media affects the way you interact with the nonprofit? How?

How do you think this nonprofit should communicate with you?

Describe what kinds of interactions on social media are normal. Why are they normal?

What is the worst thing an organization can do when trying to build a relationship with you?

Describe one way this nonprofit has met your expectations when communicating.

How do nonprofit organizations typically interact with their followers on social media?

How should NPOs interact with their followers on social media?

When this nonprofit sends you the type of messaging you are used to (describe from what participant said earlier) how do you react?

When this nonprofit communicates with you in a way you did not expect, how do you react? Why?

When this nonprofit does not follow the social norms for social media, how does that affect the way you see them?

How does that affect the way you interact with them moving forward?

How did you develop a relationship with the nonprofit?

Have you expanded your social circle since following the nonprofit on social media?

Have you seen any social benefits from interacting with the nonprofit? If so, what social benefits have you seen? If not, then why?

Has your following or the number of friends on social media increased because of your relationship with this nonprofit?

If you could not gain any friends or contacts by associating with this nonprofit, how would that affect your relationship with them?