

**The police's mediatization and relation to the media
within a terror-related context:
An in-depth investigation on the police's perspective
through the lens of the Paris attacks**

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Abstract

This research examines the police's mediatization within a terror-related context. As such, theories of mediatization, police-media relations, and police's new visibility notably are linked and discussed. The focus is put on the Paris attacks which occurred on November, 13th 2015. The police's perspective is investigated, which implies that French police officers working in Paris and its area were interviewed. Moreover, this research raises questions such as the impact of the police's mediatization on the police's position towards the media. The stress is put on 24 hours news channels - BFM TV and iTélé - and Twitter. The study aims to complete the academic field researching the police-media relations, by taking the police's point of view into account. As scholars formerly qualified the relation linking the police and the media as an unhappy marriage, one goal is to determine whether or not it is still the case, especially within terror circumstances. As such theories of mediatization are applied to the police, together with new visibility theories, it leads to consider the police's new visibility as a dimension *and* a consequence of its mediatization. Further, the impact of the new visibility on police officers' professional and personal plans are addressed, turning out that police officers are rather negatively affected by their new visibility. Since this research investigates on the French police, which presents a particular communication structure and tradition, these dimensions peculiar to the case-study are exposed as well. Thus, the French Police institution appears to be strongly traditionally-rooted and reluctant to an open communication, which hinders its communication modernization. As such, the French police's uses of Twitter are researched, in order to compare with previous academic findings. This research's observations support former statements on the police's uses of this social network site and complete the academic field by exploring the police's uses of Twitter under a terror-related context. An amount of ten in-depth interviews were conducted. They were audio-recorded and further transcribed *verbatim*. A thematic analysis was used to interpret the data. It resulted that the police-media relation can still be characterized by an unhappy marriage characteristic within a terror-related context. However it also resulted that police officers were especially harmed by their mediatization through 24 hours news channels, while acknowledging that these channels had specific requirements to meet: images, material, testimonies etc. In sum, journalists are doing their job, which is incompatible with the police profession: real-time information cannot suit to the length and scope of the police's investigations requiring a lot of time and discretion. The mistakes that BFM TV and iTélé made on the RAID assault of the Hyper Kasher supermarket in January 2015 (cf. Charlie

Hebdo) were also pointed out since these television channels provided intelligence on the police's strategy and revealed the presence of hidden hostages on the site of terror attacks; which explains the police's position towards 24 hours news channels. Overall, the unhappy marriage characteristic of the police-media relation is supported by this research which also brings new elements related to the context of terrorism and terrorist threat.

Key-words: Mediatization, Police-Media Relation, New Visibility, Police and Twitter, French Police, Police Perspective, Terrorism, Paris Attacks

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1. Introduction

1.1 General Introduction

The last past two years have indicated an increase of acts of terror in the Western world. Many media scholars have studied terrorism, investigating acts of terror press and televised coverage, how terrorist organizations were using the media and adapting to the new technologies (Alexander, 1978; Harindranath, 2011; Iqbal, 2015; Karim, 2002; O'Shaughnessy and Baines, 2009; Osipova, 2011; Tsfati and Weimann, 2002; Weimann, 1983). However, none of the former researches on the media and terrorism include the police whereas it is the first actor who has to respond concretely to such events. The police also figures as the actor the most indicated to prevent acts of terror. As it was suggested very early: "the brutalization and globalization of modern violence makes it amply clear that we have entered a unique "Age of Terrorism" with all its formidable problems and frightening ramifications" (Alexander, 1978, p. 45). Nowadays, terror - or terrorism - is omnipresent within the global media landscape. Recently, on November 13th 2015, the worldwide attention was focused on Paris, the capital of France. Terrorist attacks indeed occurred in different areas of the city: the hostage capture and shooting inside the concert hall *Bataclan*, the suicide attacks nearby the *Stade de France* football stadium and several other attacks directed at restaurants' terraces. Many aspects of these events seem to mark a certain shift in terms of terror media(tiza)tion, reception and response by both legal authorities and ordinary citizens. Hence, numerous spheres and fields are concerned as well as intertwined through the lens of the 11/13 attacks. As such, the police force, the French government, Parisian citizens, even tourists to a certain extent together with academic domains like media-terrorism and police-media relationships, or police's new visibility among others. As Alexander (1978) has asserted, "a major issue related to the problem of terrorism and the media is the particular interaction of both with police agencies" (p. 47). Furthermore, he argues that the media may hinder "police responses to terrorist activities" (1978, p. 45).

Besides, a survivor of the Bataclan attack reported to an online magazine (www.mcetv.fr) that the terrorists wanted to talk to and attempted to reach BFMTV and Itélé - the two French 24 hours news channels - on the phone while they were in the concert hall. Further in the article, a renowned journalist, Jean-Paul Ney, argues that the media "should not be a vehicle for terrorism" (il ne faut pas qu'on soit vecteur du terrorisme) and adds that the only outsider contact terrorists must be with the police and not journalists (L.O, Ma Chaîne

Étudiante, 2015, para.3). This is the reason why this particular police-media relation whilst terror events needs to be investigated. While acknowledging that Alexander's suggestion was formulated thirty-eight years ago, this is an always valid argument nowadays. Interestingly enough, the presence of 24 hours news channels' crews on the tracking down of the Charlie Hebdo attacks' orchestrator set off strong criticisms from the public opinion and police forces (L'Express L'Expansion, 2015). The French Audiovisual Superior Council (CSA) even had to examine this case because this journalistic presence jeopardized seriously the police operation proceedings as well as hostages' safety. This is why it is even more interesting to look at these relations through the case of the Paris attacks: these events have occurred within the digital era. The modern and contemporary era is characterized by the Internet, and the web 2.0 environment. The latter enabling a faster diffusion and circulation of information (O'Reilly, 2005; O'Reilly and Battelle, 2009).

In parallel, web 2.0 led to a shift in terms of online interaction and disclosure, which affects both institutions and ordinary citizens (Goldsmith, 2010; Thompson, 2005). The scholars have discussed the concept of new visibility in relation to police agencies. New visibility of the police in due to the growing mediated environment and its interconnectedness, which can both help and damage policy authorities (Thompson, 2005). This new visibility is induced by the increasing mediatization, shaping more and more our contemporary societies. Furthermore, Web 2.0 has led to an increasing participation from audiences considering the fact that it has inducted user-generated content (UGC) and an important interactivity among users (O'Reilly, 2005; O'Reilly and Battelle, 2009; Livingstone, 2013). As for an example, this participation is materialized by the emergence of citizen-journalists (Cooke and Sturges, 2009; Ellis and Mc Govern, 2015). Applied to police's mediatization, these citizen-journalists are enabled through their smartphones notably to upload footages showing police officers at work on the streets (Sandhu and Haggerty, 2014; 2015; Sandhu, 2016). This interactivity between cybernauts and participation from the broad public accentuates this police's new visibility and the process of mediatization. The concept of mediatization is defined by its four components according to Schulz; that is to say:

First, the media extend the natural limits of human communication capacities; second, the media substitute social activities and social institutions; third media amalgamate with various non-media activities in social life; and fourth, the actors and organizations of all sectors of society accommodate to the media logic (Schulz, 2004, p. 98).

Applied to the police force, it means that mediatization increases police's visibility in the sense that police officers are more vulnerable as their work and behaviors are more subjects to be scrutinized by the public (Cooke and Sturges, 2009; Ellis and McGovern, 2015; Goldsmith, 2010, Mawby, 2002; 2010; Thompson, 2005). During events such as the Paris attacks, the police force is one of the agent at the center of attention and of mediatization. Indeed, as Schulz (2004) has underlined: "the various economic actors have to accommodate to the way media operate. This also applies to actors (including organization) of politics, sport, entertainment, and other social domains as well" (p. 89). Thus police forces are intrinsically concerned and affected by the mediatization process. It is reasonable to assume that the police is even more concerned by mediatization when it comes to breaking terrorist attacks such as the 11/13 events. Therefore police officers' experiences and opinions towards the media during terrorist attacks need to be investigated. This is especially the case if we consider the fact that the police's perception of the media is lacking scholarly research (Ellis and McGovern, 2015; Mawby, 2002). Indeed even if the police-media relationship present an extensive scholarly body of work, the latter explores rarely the police's point of view. As Mawby (2002) has stated: "few studies primarily address the police-media relationship from the perspective of the police" (p. 304). In addition, it has yet to be investigated in the context of terrorist attacks.

A key feature of web 2.0 is its exponential power. The concept of web 2.0 is capital to understand and contextualize this research's environment and concerns. Especially regarding the fact that web 2.0 serves for a basis to the new input the mediatization process is experiencing: "as new media extend or substitute non-mediated activities and traditional modes of communication, they give rise to new phenomena of mediatization" (Schulz, 2004, p. 96). Moreover web 2.0 is also the core catalyst of social media, especially Twitter, which is to be explored later on. Also, due to media convergence, mass media, understood here as 24 hours news channels, can broadcast news content extracted from the new media, notably footages previously uploaded on Twitter. Scholars have argued the more people use the platform the more efficient and important it becomes (O'Reilly, 2005; O'Reilly and Battelle, 2009). The exponential power of web 2.0 is enabled by what the authors name the "network effects": the more the platform grows, the more cultural and even political meaning the platform gains. Network effects tend to take place on largely used platforms such as social media like Twitter or Facebook (Blank and Reisdorf, 2012). Hence SNSs (Social Networking Sites) are part of the shift implied by web 2.0 environment. In addition with the participative aspect of web 2.0, another factor contributes to characterize the digital modern era:

mediatization. It is relevant to note Livingstone's (2013) observation concerning the combination of these two aspects: "today's media environment is reshaping the opportunity structures by which people (as audiences and as mediated publics) can participate in an increasingly mediatized society" (p. 24). It is materialized by the fact that ordinary citizens do not depend entirely on mass media anymore to be informed, as Schulz (2004) has underlined, individuals are more autonomous. Subsequently audiences and mediated publics can contribute to the mediatization process more directly and easily. This goes in pair with media convergence and growth of media formats and broadcasters; hence the use of the expression "increasingly mediatized society" by Livingstone, echoing Schulz's (2004) observations. Indeed, many television news channels and other forms of media have flourished, increasing both the competition between broadcasters (Iqbal, 2015, p. 199), and the opportunities people have to consume the news while their new ability to participate to this mediatization. In this sense users are at the same time actors of this mediatization process *and* can be subjected to this process. Applied to this research topic, these users term comprise police officers who are likely to be subjects of mediatization, notably in the context of terror events, as explained earlier.

Moreover, the real time characteristic of the transmissions of information, enabled by 24 hours news channels and the new media essentially, participates to that shift in terms of mediatization. As an example, because of the social media and 24 hours information channels, the fact that Paris was a victim of synchronous terrorist attacks was related almost at the same time they were happening. Real-time characteristic of news circulation enables an immediate mediatization of these pieces of news, and this phenomenon is observable on both 24 hours news channels and SNS, especially Twitter, which offers a news feed. It is significant to note that in the case of terrorist attacks, television crews often arrive after the event, but still film peoples' reactions, and damages caused by explosions or shootings (Karim, 2002, p. 101). On the night of Paris attacks, which started around 9 pm, television crews were on-site relatively quickly after the beginning of the hostage capture and shooting. In addition, as Paris is a large cosmopolitan city, it is reasonable to assume that many media outlets' headquarters in France are situated in Paris, and therefore many journalists were close to the sites. Reports were made more or less simultaneously to the occurring events. It has been demonstrated by scholars that terror acts and events embody a lucrative kind of scoop for any news channels (Harindranath, 2011, Iqbal, 2015, O'Shaughnessy and Baines, 2009, Osipova, 2011, Tsfati and Weimann, 2002, Weimann, 1983). As such, the idea of a terrorism and media symbiosis has emerged within academic research exploring media-

terrorism relationship. This symbiosis implies in parallel that terrorist organizations need to be covered by the media in order to reach a large audience and increase their visibility (Iqbal, 2015, Ellis and McGovern, 2015). Therefore terrorism mediatization, notably through 24 hours news channels, affects the police's visibility too in the sense that police officers are the first public actors to be on-site in order to handle terrorist attacks. Hence police's response and procedures might be altered by the strong need of terrorists to be mediatized. The concept of visibility, as well as the media-terrorism relationship in a broader sense, are to be discussed and elaborated further in the theoretical section.

In parallel with the increase of 24 hours channels, the new media, and especially the social networks, reported very quickly the events happening in the French capital. Besides, international support occurred almost straightaway through the creation of the hashtag #PrayForParis, while hostages and survivors present on the site of attacks gave information on the course of the terrorist actions through social media. Benjamin Cazenoves, for example, became famous because he survived the Bataclan assault and posted updates on his Facebook and Twitter profiles concerning the terrorists' proceedings. Supposedly, these information aimed at indicating terrorists' position to the police, however, they could have been accessed by terrorists' allies too. Therefore SNSs uses can be both positive, in terms of social capital - social ties, interactions, communications and exchanges - (Kaigo, 2012) and negative at the same time during a crisis situation such as terror events.

New media and 24 hours news channels have been the main active broadcasters during the Paris attacks. Due to the confusion entailed by terrorist attacks, police officers, media, ordinary citizens and terrorists were mingled in the chaos, all actors ended up at the same place, more or less at the same time. In this sense, all actors: police officers, journalists and ordinary citizens had to respond to this exceptional event. As for the journalists, Karim (2002) has noted, their disorientation, notably regarding their professional activity, is total (p. 101). Because they don't know how to react to such unexpected incidents, they tend to stick to their usual routine: contacting authorities and institutions to have official information and reliable sources, attempting to interview eyewitnesses or even victims. As Karim (2002) observed: "the contingencies of the news format - meeting deadlines and obtaining 'facts', pictures and quotations from specific categories of people (eyewitnesses, authority figures) - ensure that the routines are followed in a systematic manner" (p. 102). Subsequently, in the case of Paris attacks, regarding the settings and the nature of the events, it is reasonable to assume that journalists may have approached present police forces. In order to relate to Alexander's (1978) early assertion concerning media's role towards the police's operations in

such situations, one might wonder whether the presence television crews on site affected the events proceedings, or merely how police officers handled their presence. This present research addresses the particularities of the police-media relation which encompasses diverse and complex dimensions. Several aspects need to be taken into account while examining police's position towards media agencies, understood here as 24 hours news channels on one hand, and Twitter on the other hand, during Paris terrorist events. First of all, the digital era tends to accelerate and increase information circulation and broadcast. In addition, the police's new visibility, partly ensuing from web 2.0 environment and considered as both a factor and a consequence of the mediatization process, implies both advantages and drawbacks regarding the police's relation with the media. Last but not least, unexpected and sudden situations take legal authorities unaware, by definition. In this sense, the police's interactions with external actors - media agencies notably - might present exceptional features.

1.2 Research Questions:

Overall communications and interactions between the Police institution and different media agencies need to be researched in order to have a clearer and full understanding of the ways mediatization affects the police-media relation within a terror-related context. Regarding the media, this paper focuses on the 24 hours news channels on one hand - BFM TV and iTélé for the French televised media landscape -, and the new media on the other hand, more specifically on Twitter as this SNS's users have been the most active on the platform during the 11/13 attacks. Considering Twitter, the stress is put on its users understood here as non-professional journalists. Both media actors depicted, 24 hours news channels and Twitter users are thus explored separately although they present some similar aspects. Moreover, regarding the police, diverse services and branches were supposedly concerned on the 11/13 evening. As such, field policemen, communication officers and operational officers were contacted for interviews. The whole contact process and sample characteristics are further described in the methodology section. This research thus aims to explore more in-depth the police-media relations within a terror-related context, through the case of Paris attacks on November, 13th 2015. The goal is to integrate the police's perspective and orientations into the already existent scholarly body of work. Therefore, the main research question to be investigated is the following: how does Police's mediatization affect its position towards both 24 hours news channels and Twitter within a terrorism-related context? Acknowledging that data is more dense on 24 hours news channels than on Twitter, the police's relationship to

both are to be explored separately, although some of their dimensions are sometimes overlapping. Consequently, the sub-research questions to be studied are:

1. How does the police perceive its interactions and relations to 24hours news channels within the context of a terror event ?
2. How does the police experience the coupling mediatization-new visibility within a terrorism-related context ?
3. How do both (mediatization and new visibility) affect the Police institution and officers on the professional and personal plans ?
4. In which ways does the police use and communicate on Twitter, notably in the context of a terrorist attack ?

Investigating such issues should provide new data on the police's point of view towards specific media agencies within a context of terrorist attacks and threat, especially regarding the lack of scholarly insights into the police perspective. Additionally, this paper aims to contribute to previous academic researches on the police-media relation on one hand, and on the police's new visibility implications on the other hand. The research question is answered by the means of in-depth interviews with police officers working in Paris and its suburbs. The goal of this research is to investigate the police's perspective and to determine how police officers experience mediatization. Hence, mediatization theories (Couldry, 2008; Hjarvard, 2008; Schulz, 2004; Strömbäck, 2008) are used and related to police-media theories (Cooke and Sturges, 2009; Ellis and McGovern, 2015; Mawby, 2002; 2010) in order to make sense of the police mediatization. Furthermore, since the police's new visibility is identified as a dimension *and* a consequence of the police's mediatization, this thesis' theoretical framework also relies on new visibility theories applied to the police (Goldsmith, 2010; Thompson, 2005; Sandhu and Haggerty, 2014; 2015, Sandhu, 2016). These three scholarly fields have helped both to elaborate the interview guide and to operationalize some concepts arising from the thematic analysis of the interviews' transcripts. This way, police-media theories point a unhappy marriage characteristic of the police-media relation, in the sense that journalists tend to look for information that police officers are not allowed to provide and the police's communication branches become professionalized by hiring former journalists for example. This professionalization of the police's communication also led to a more direct communication between the Police institution and citizens, notably due to the world wide web (Cooke and Sturges, 2009). Thus questions about the Police's online communication

were asked to the respondents, relying on Heverin et al. (2010) research on the Police's uses of Twitter; as well as questions on the police's information management and communication's professionalization (e.g.: question 10 of the interview guide) (Cooke and Sturges, 2009). Moreover, questions about the consequences of their new visibility and increasingly mediatized environment were asked to the interviewed police officers (e.g: questions 13, 14 and 15 of the interview guide). By linking these theoretical concepts, the goal is to understand in-depth the police's perspective and point of view. Ten police officers were thus interviewed.

1.3 Thesis Outline

The following chapter of this paper is the theoretical framework which comprises six sections. First, it exposes the nature and implications of mediatization. The latter are applied to the police and thus sheds light on the police's mediatization. This way, the first section elaborates upon previous academic researches on mediatization essentially. The second sub-section addresses the mediatization of terror and the media-terrorism relations, formerly studied by Brown (2003), Ellis and Mc Govern (2015), Harindranath (2011), Iqbal (2015), Osipova (2011) and Weimann (1983) among others. The third sub-section goes further in the discussion about mediatization of the police and links are established with academic theories on the police-media relations. In addition, the fourth sub-section of the theoretical framework encompasses a discussion between the former and the new visibility of the police. This sub-section especially relies on the scholarly body of work provided by Goldsmith (2010) and Thompson (2005). The fifth sub-section goes further by discussing the repercussions that the new visibility can have on police officers, based especially on Sandhu and Haggerty (2014; 2015) and Sandhu (2016) researches. The last theoretical framework's sub-section provides a brief overview of the French police, which is necessary to contextualize the topic studied in this thesis. This final sub-section discusses Mouhanna (2009) and Roché and Maillard (2009) observations on the French police case.

The third chapter presents the research design which consists of four sub-sections. This chapter first exposes the method used to answer the thesis' research questions. Specificities of face-to-face in-depth interviews are expressed, relying on authors such as Curasi (2001) or Kazmer and Xie (2008) for instance. The second sub-section of the methodology chapter exposes the sample features: how respondents have been contacted or in what police's field (e.g: judiciary, communication) they work in notably. The third sub-section regards the data collection, implying where the interviews took place, how long they

are, and a description of the interview guide. In the end, the methodology chapter deals with the data analysis, which is the fourth sub-section. It depicts what thematic analysis concretely means: open, axial and selective coding processes, relying on Boeije (2002; 2010) and Braun and Clarke (2006) articles. This sub-section shows how the findings resulting from the analysis were mainly driven by theoretical concepts.

The fourth chapter concerns the result report and interpretation. It is composed by three sub-sections. Firstly, the imbalance between the quite traditionally-rooted French Police institution and the necessity to evolve in an increasingly mediatized society is exposed and discussed. Secondly, the result chapter presents findings on the police's perspective towards its relation with the media and its mediatization. Thirdly, the possible repercussions of the police's new visibility and mediatization, in addition to the French traditionally-rooted culture of opposition to the authorities, are exposed.

Finally a conclusion of the results is provided, together with a discussion of this thesis' limitations and further insights relevant for the academic research.

2. Literature Review

The concept of mediatization needs to be more developed in order to frame the environment of the case studied here. Mediatization, as a process-oriented concept applied to the police, will also be exposed. In addition, a scholarly corpus exploring the media-terrorism relation will be discussed in the next section. The latter includes as well a review of the already existent academic researches on police-media relations. Moreover, the concept of new visibility will be defined and directed to the police. Furthermore, the theoretical framework comprises a discussion about the police's new visibility as one dimension and consequence of Police's mediatization. Finally details about the police in relation to the public opinion will be assessed as well as some specificities of the French police since this research investigates this particular subject.

2.1 The nature and implications of mediatization: Which concerns for the police?

An important aspect of this study's theoretical framework is the concept of mediatization itself which is an "inherently process-oriented concept" (Strömbäck, 2008, p. 231). So far mediatization has essentially been explored in its generality and directed towards politics, although it concerns all social actors - public: institutions; and private: citizens - (Couldry, 2008; Hjarvard, 2008; Schulz, 2004; Strömbäck, 2008). As Hjarvard has defined, the concept of mediatization:

[I]s to be considered a double-sided process of high modernity in which the media on the one hand emerge as an independent institution with a logic of its own that other social institutions have to accommodate to. On the other hand, media simultaneously become an integrated part of other institutions like politics, work, family, and religion as more and more of these institutional activities are performed through both interactive and mass media (Hjarvard, 2008, p. 105)

This means mediatization is an omnipresent process among our modern societies, especially considering the technological development allowing people to be connected anywhere at any time as well as the increasing emergence of numerous information channels. Therefore, the mediatization process implies at the same time an increasing development of independent media agencies and the fact that media and other institutions become more and more intertwined. As Couldry (2008) has stated, mediatization embodies "a distinctive and consistent transformation that can be understood properly only if seen as as part of a wider transformation of social and cultural life through media operating from a single source and in a common direction, a transformation of society by media" (p. 376). This common direction

addressed by Couldry (2008) is to be linked and understood as the media logic emphasized by Hjarvard (2008). This notion of media logic actually refers to “the dominance in societal processes of the news values and the storytelling techniques the media make use of to take advantage of their own medium and its format, and to be competitive in the on-going struggle to capture people’s attention. These storytelling techniques include simplification, polarization, intensification, personalization, visualization and stereotypization” (Strömbäck, 2008, p. 234). For example, the media logic for Twitter implies a certain amount of characters users have to accommodate to this story-telling technique (e.g. format). Additionally, 24 hours news channels has a story-telling technique which comprise short footages. Indeed, a one hour long report is not likely to be broadcasted by these kinds of news channels. Nonetheless, due to the multidimensional aspect of mediatization, its definition should not be normative (Hjarvard, 2004 in Strömbäck, 2008, p. 230).

Applied to the Police, considered as part of the governmental institutions, the mediatization process is firstly materialized by the authorities’ institutional communication (e.g. television reports, press communiqués, press conferences, televised news showing police officers intervening etc.), and secondly by the development of its information and communication branch, even the creation of official National Police accounts on Twitter or Facebook. This latter aspect illustrates the police’s accommodation to the new media logic. Indeed, the development and modernization of the police’s communication testifies that this institution adapts itself to the media logic, and the fact that its communication is widely conveyed, through mass media and new media, testimonies that the media are becoming blended into other institutions - the police in this case. Besides, Couldry (2008) stated that “mediatization describes the transformation of many disparate social and cultural processes into forms or formats suitable for media representation” (p. 377). So this assertion helps understanding the double aspect of the police’s mediatization. Firstly, the fact that the Police, as an institution, integrates more and more the media into its practices. Secondly, and in parallel, police communication accommodates to different media formats as described earlier. Furthermore, footages and pictures staging police officers work are shot and further broadcasted – in other words, media exposure.

Although the police’s mediatization cannot be applied separately to the mass media (here understood as 24 hours news channels) and to the new media (specifically Twitter for this research), it must be acknowledged that mediatized police presents different features online and through 24 hours news channels. Concerning online mediatization of the police, it is relevant to first take into consideration Deacon and Stanyer’s (2014) argument on the

social constructivist approach to mediatization. According to the authors, this addresses the proliferation of ICTs (Information and Communication Tools) such as smartphones and tablets for instance (Deacon and Stanyer, 2014, p. 1034). Because of the proliferation of ICTs, which provides the opportunity to their users to be (inter)connected anytime, the on-going mediatization process is enhanced and largely embedded into social practices. It indeed affects many fields like the governmental ones (including the police), other institutions, shop owners, ordinary citizens, and more broadly social interactions. Furthermore, the combination of ICTs' proliferation and web 2.0 aspects led to the emergence of citizen-journalists depicted as "those members of the public who contribute to news production through sharing content with mainstream and emergent media outlets" by Ellis and McGovern (2015, p. 5). In regards to the police, the citizen-journalism issue addresses its online mediatization through the social media, especially Twitter. The police online mediatization is thus materialized by first the broadcasting of footages and pictures staging police officers at work in the public space by citizen-journalists, and secondly by the police's communication through its official and national account on Twitter. The first aspect of a mediatized police is to be further explored in relation to the concept of the police's new visibility (Thompson, 2005; Goldsmith, 2010; Sandhu and Haggerty, 2014; 2015).

Moreover, regarding mediatization of the police through 24 hours news channels, it is important to take into account that television has become and remains the dominant source of information (Strömbäck, 2008). Hence, the stress is put on tv news channels, especially real-time news channels. Mediatization of the police through 24 hours news channels encompasses interventions of Police institution's members on television stages, official communiqués, the presence of justice experts on real-time news channels stages as well as news content staging police forces working in the public space. This latter dimension of the police's mediatization related to 24 hours news channels is thus also present in online mediatization of the police and refers to the concept of new visibility as well. However, it is essential to note that mediatization of the police is not homogeneously distributed in time. That is to say, the media and public attention to policing activities are higher in tension-related situations (e.g. violent social demonstrations) or terror-related contexts compared to usual conditions.

2.2 Mediatization of terror: the media-terrorism relationship

In the situation of acts of terror, the usual journalistic and police routines are spoiled without doubt: by definition the effect of surprise is high. Regarding the 11/13 attacks, it is important

to take into consideration both the mediatization of the events themselves, comprising the journalistic presence and coverage among other dimensions, as well as the mediatization of the different actors involved, especially the police. Web 2.0 environment, in parallel with the social constructivist approach to mediatization, has paved the way for new forms of interactions between the media and governmental institutions - notably police forces - (Ellis and McGovern, 2015, p. 11). As such, in this kind of sensitive and sudden situation like the Paris attacks, television crews tend to collect information on-site, and from their usual sources if they have any. Withal, police forces were also on-site, as their operations have lasted a few hours long. This is the reason why one might suggest that journalists directly approached policemen to be able to report the events as fast as possible and to convey the information to 24 hours news channels notably. Moreover, regarding the important spread of ICTs underlined by the social constructivist approach to mediatization, the issue of witnesses and SNSs users' role arouses. Indeed street scenes are more easily captured and diffused through the web 2.0 environment, mainly while considering social network sites. Regarding the mediatization process within a terror-related context, certain aspects need to be explored more in-depth, such as the media-terrorism relation, among others. The police-media relationship will be discussed later on.

According to Brown (2003), within the digital era a greater involvement and role of the media whilst terrorist attacks is notable in a general way. Moreover, governmental actors, including police forces, as the management of this public institution belongs to the Minister of Interior, need the media to “mobilize support” and “defuse criticism” (Brown, 2003, p. 88). Thus, the mediatization of the police is accentuated within a terror-related context in order to reach the largest audience as possible. Subsequently, a large public and media attention was directed to order and policy institutions, which, in relation with the police's new visibility discussed further, have placed policing actors into a delicate position. Quickly after the Paris attacks, the French President, François Hollande, set up the so-called state of emergency (cf. *état d'urgence*), which is a security plan addressed against the terrorist threat on a national level, occurring on the whole territory. The state of emergency was first created within the context of the war of Algeria (Roché and Maillard, 2009). This law comprises:

[A] curfew establishment, circulation and stay in some areas regulation, to pronounce stay prohibition orders and residential assignations. It authorizes closing of public spaces, unions and gatherings prohibition, weapons owned by individuals confiscation, control over the media. Finally, it frees the Justice from essential prerogatives: administrative authorities get the right to carry out a search, day and

night, and military justice can be declared competent. (instauration d'un couvre-feu, de réglementer la circulation et le séjour dans certaines zones, de prononcer des interdictions de séjour et des assignations à résidence. Il autorise la fermeture de lieux publics, l'interdiction de réunions ou rassemblements, la confiscation d'armes détenues par des particuliers, le contrôle des médias. Enfin, il dessaisit la Justice de prérogatives essentielles: les autorités administratives obtiennent le droit de perquisitionner, de jour comme de nuit, et la justice militaire peut être déclarée compétente) (Sylvie Thénault, *L'Histoire*, 2016, para. 3)

Therefore, police officers have been directly affected by this state of emergency plan. The state of emergency implies that static security points must be assured (e.g. in front of places of worship or ministries), which make police officers more visible and immobile, and there is still the possibility that terrorists see how they are equipped and how many police officers protect such or such site. This, in relation to the concept of police's new visibility, is to be more elaborated in a further section.

Besides, Alexander (1978) has pointed out an ambiguous relation between terrorism in general and the media. The author indeed denotes that "the media are the terrorists' best friends. The terrorist's act by itself is nothing, publicity is all" (Laqueur, 1976 in Alexander, 1978, p. 45). The whole scholarly body of work concerning the media-terrorism relationship follows this idea. Thus, Harindranath has observed similarly that "the violent street theater of terrorism seeks an audience of mass publics through the media" (2011, p. 142). Through the term theater, the idea of a need for image(s) arouses. Otherwise the audience cannot live and experience the events reported (Harindranath, 2001). Iqbal (2015) went even further by suggesting: "it may be stated that the attention that a given news event receives is more or less directly proportional to the amount of audiovisual material it contains" (p. 198). This specificity needs to be related to the television technology embedded in the mediatization process. The latter is expressed by Hjarvard as following: "the ways in which media intervene into social interaction depends on the concrete characteristics of the medium in question, that is, both material and technical features and social and aesthetic qualities" (2008, p. 120). Hence the emergence of numerous information channels, implying 24 hours news channels such as CNN, or BFMTV and iTélé for the French television media landscape. In addition, 24 hours news channels present a real-time characteristic, which is shared with Twitter. Indeed, 24 hours news channels are characterized by the instantaneity and immediateness of their news reports as well as their repetitive characteristics when it comes to breaking news such as terrorist attacks, sometimes pictures and details are lacking, which

hinders the journalistic activity. For example, one prominent aspect of the case of Charlie Hebdo is that the police's operational organization was broadcasted in the same time police forces were about to take action. This raised the issue of media accountability and morality. The same can be said about the real-time report that has been made on BFM TV, revealing the presence of hostages in a cold storage room, hiding from the terrorist. The case of Charlie Hebdo materializes how mediatization occurs at the same time actions are made through 24 hours news channels.

Moreover, beside the capital need for image and material peculiar to 24 hours news channels, in order to live the reported events, the idea of performance emerges. Indeed, many scholars have pointed the fact that terrorists choose carefully their targets and the place where the attacks should take place in order to have the best visibility as possible and to have the largest audience as possible (Harindranath, 2011; O'Shaughnessy and Baines, 2009; Tsfati and Weimann, 2002; Weimann, 1983). As Tsfati and Weimann put it, quoting Jenkins:

Terrorist attacks are often carefully choreographed to attack the attention of the electronic media and the international press. Taking and holding hostages increases the drama. The hostages themselves often mean nothing to the terrorists. Terrorism is aimed at the people watching, not at the actual victims. Terrorism is a theater. (Jenkins, 1975, in Tsfati and Weimann, 2002, p. 318).

Hence, terrorist organizations do need to be mediatized in order to reach a broad audience and to be the center of attention. This refers to Lazarsfeld and Merton's status conferral function, defined by Weimann as following: "the audience of mass media apparently subscribe to the circular belief that if you really matter, you will beat the focus of mass attention and if you are at the focus then surely you must really matter" (1983, pp. 38-39). Nonetheless, the media also feed on terrorism in the sense that terrorist attacks are often spectacular, and by definition unusual and unexpected, which makes them figure as lucrative scoops. Thus, the idea of a media-terrorism symbiosis: "while the terrorists may write the script and perform the drama, the theater of terror becomes possible only when the media provide the stage and access to a worldwide audience" (Weimann, 1983, p. 38).

Furthermore, terrorist organizations use the media technologies for their own goals - terrorist organizations accommodate to the the media logic too - and access directly to broad audiences allowed by the web 2.0 environment. Osipova (2011) examined the case of Hizbollah in Lebanon and found out that this organization was adapting to the evolving mediatized environment and formulated its messages depending on the medium used and the target audience - domestic, neutral, enemy (p. 89). Similarly, the Islamic State which

perpetrated the Paris attacks, is very present within the media landscape. In the same way that its members part of the communication branch are very active online, but this is steering away from the focus of this paper. The symbiosis characterizing terrorism relation to the media assures the fact that terror events are very likely to be covered by mainstream and mass media. Thus, police forces on-site mediatization is ensuing and accentuated by the real-time characteristic, a dimension which is common to both 24 hours news channels and Twitter.

2.3 The Police's mediatization and the media-police relation

In addition to the media-terrorism relation, the media relationship with the police needs to be more detailed. Some scholars have argued that this relation could be assimilated to a form of “unhappy marriage” (Cooke and Sturges, 2009; Ellis and McGovern, 2015; Mawby, 2002). Originally, the police used to be a gatekeeper for information, but nowadays, due to the mediatized environment, “police service [had] to move forward from a culture of information storage to one of information management and sharing” (Cooke and Sturges, 2009, p. 410). This argument refers to one side of the mediatization process which is the institutions' adaptation and accommodation to the media logic. Indeed, before the emergence of information management and sharing culture, police services were quite the only source for crime reporters. However, due to the proliferation of ICTs (e.g. smartphones and tablets) and the rise of citizen-journalism - implying that ordinary citizens who assist to a crime, incidents or unusual events can easily and quickly share it online - among others, the police now has to deal with many requests from journalists and the public (Cooke and Sturges, 2009, p. 410). Journalists used to be the unavoidable means by which the police's information were circulating. Nonetheless, due to the mediatization process, police services can now communicate more directly with the public which reduces the role of media outlets in their communication and confirms the “unhappy marriage” observation. For example, the police can actually communicate on Twitter through official accounts. Consequently, the competition between journalists increases as police's communication does not systematically necessitate journalistic intervention anymore. It is also important to underline the even higher competition between 24 hours news channels crews due to the important need for images and information of these television channels. This is also why this research focuses on Twitter and 24 hours news channels.

In addition, the mediatization process also implies a professionalization of the police's communication (Mawby 2002; 2010). Indeed, scholars have observed that former journalists

and even marketing experts were hired by the police to be integrated in the communication branch and hence to manage as best as possible the information (Cooke and Sturges, 2009; Ellis and McGovern, 2015; Mawby, 2002; 2010). This way, some police agencies have Twitter accounts, Facebook pages or merely websites containing required details and opportunities for contact. In this sense, police services are more able to control the information going out of their agency, and in the same time this enables them to interact and communicate more directly with the public. Heverin et al. (2010) conducted an analysis of the kind of information that was shared by police's accounts on Twitter and it appeared mostly to be about crime and incidents, to a lesser extent about the department's events such as traffic, missing person and so on, however they tend to avoid the interactive options of the platform (e.g: retweet, or reply) (p. 6). As long as the police-media relation has not been studied yet through the lens of a terror-related context, it would be interesting to know whether Heverin et al.'s observations are still the same in a high-tension situation such as terrorism. This is the reason why this research also investigates on the French police's uses of Twitter. Furthermore, most of the qualitative researches have been conducted either in the United-States of America or in the United-Kingdom which reduces the field's spectrum.

2.4 Police's former vs. new visibility environment

Another aspect of this research concerns the police's new visibility. Thompson (2005) argues that current uses of communication technologies have led to new forms of (inter)actions (p. 32). Consequently, according to him, visibility needs to be studied from an interactional approach. He has established that these new forms of interactions were mediated, and might be dialogical, considering the real-time chat feature of certain online platforms. Thompson defines visibility at its earliest stage as following:

Visibility is situated: the others who are visible to us are those who share the same spatial-temporal locale. Visibility is also reciprocal (at least in principle): we can see others who are within our field of vision, but they can also see us (provided that we are not concealed in some way). (2005, p. 35)

Subsequently, this visibility has shifted in the same way that interactions did: visibility becomes mediated too. The primary - or actual - visibility consisted of co-located face-to-face interactions; whereas the secondary - new - visibility concerns its mediated aspect, notably inducted by television soaring (Goldsmith, 2010, p. 914). Thus, Thompson distinguishes the audio-visual and the textual- visual kinds of mediated visibility (2005, p. 36). According to him, the latter depends on the medium used. Thus, visibility is evolving in

the same way that the on-going mediatization of society process is evolving. Applied to the police, the concept of new visibility is thus to be understood at the same time as a dimension and a consequence of the mediatization process: the important circulation of images, footages and news inducts an increased visibility.

Nonetheless, it is important that, in relation to the police, this new visibility implies that people not sharing the same spatio-temporal frame can access images and sounds or images and texts mediating and staging the police. This is why moral assessments have been made possible from the public towards policing actors (Goldsmith, 2010). Hence the notion of police's accountability arouses: policing actors are made accountable for their mediated behaviors, even if these behaviors may be evaluated out of their context by the public. Subsequently, Goldsmith (2010) introduces besides the idea of an uncontrolled (police) visibility: disruption is more likely to happen when it comes to mediated public visibility (p. 917). It is materialized by the fact that the public tends to be more interested into improper policing news rather than normal policing, in addition to the fact that the police was more able to handle its impression management before experiencing new visibility (Goldsmith, 2010). This is the reason why new visibility may damage the police's image and disruption may alter police's usual mediatization.

However, the new visibility can also present advantages to the police: it does not only apply to policing actors but applies to a wider subject. Hence, new surveillance means have emerged as well and as Thompson (2005) has asserted that "surveillance is becoming more and more important today as states seek to develop new ways to combat crime and to counter actual or perceived threats" (p. 40). In regard to the Paris attacks, Twitter was sometimes pointed out because the platform contains jihadists' accounts, and does not want to close them because of the freedom of expression. Twitter users have an equal access to information on the platform depending on the privacy of certain accounts: this access does not depend on peoples' characteristics (Heverin et al., 2010, p. 2). Therefore, a police officer as well as a terrorist can access the same information in the same time through Twitter, which is to be related to the uncontrollable aspect of new visibility. Regarding the 11/13 case, Benjamin Cazenoves' initiative on the social media could have turned dramatic and provide intelligence clues to terrorists or their allies. This example shows the importance to investigate on police-media relationship, especially regarding the new media in this case. Additionally, this example illustrates the new mediatized context that the police has to adapt to: such a participation from a victim of a terror attack would have never been possible without the web 2.0 environment and the spread of smartphones among others.

Besides, Brown (2003) has underlined the fact that “media coverage has effects not simply on ‘the audience’ (...), but on those actually and potentially involved in the conflict” (p. 87). This raises ethical issues as well as the degree to which transparency occurs. This argument is reflected within the Paris attacks case: indeed, some of the terrorists who took action on the 13th of November 2015 were coming from Molenbeek, in Belgium. Hence investigations were led in the terrorists’ Belgian neighborhood. In order not to inform other potential terrorists or accomplices, the Belgian police asked the news media not to seek for any information nor to broadcast any. This way the investigations course could remain secret. Echoing Brown’s point, Alexander (1978) had early staged the three main detrimental effects on the media while police agencies’ action on acts of terror. First of all, they may “interfere with on-going operations” by providing intelligence information to terrorists’ accomplices for example. Otherwise, the media might “exacerbate the pressure on the responsible authorities and contribute to impaired decision-making” and last but not least, media agencies - in this case, 24 hours news channels crews - “harrass relatives of victims by pressing for interviews” (p. 47- 48). Besides, Alexander has underlined that:

In the October 1977, hijacking of the lufthansa jet, for instance, the media directly contributed to the death of a hostage because they did not realize that certain information, especially in regard to tactical operations, had to remain outside the public knowledge. (1978, p. 48)

The latter assertion underlines the importance of communications between media agencies and policing actors while an unexpected and dangerous situation more than ever. The necessity to take into account the police’s opinion and position before reporting on such unexpected and sensitive events seems indisputable.

2.5 Police’s new visibility consequences: towards a Police legitimacy crisis?

More recent studies have been done in Canada related to the police’s new visibility. Scholars even stated that police officers were actually experiencing a high visibility and have addresses the issue of a “Police legitimacy crisis” as a consequence of this high Police visibility (Sandhu and Haggerty 2014; 2015, Sandhu, 2016). The authors put the stress on the proliferation of cameras and smartphones equipped with cameras, which accentuates visibility and echoes the social constructivist approach to mediatization discussed by Deacon and Stanyer (2014). Films showing police officers working on the streets, interacting with citizens or detaining a suspect are now subjects to be uploaded on large video-content platforms like YouTube and go viral very quickly. According to Sandhu and Haggerty

(2014), mainstream media, understood as 24 hours news channels in this case, broadcast such footages if the images shown made the piece of news worthy (p. 9). Taking into account the need for material and the financial competition occurring between these channels, one could argue that videos susceptible to generate polemical debates are the most likely to be chosen for broadcasting.

The authors stated that cameras are the element that is changing the most the police's visibility. As they put it: "Today, the police's visible field is shifting, at least in part due to how policing increasingly occurs on camera. On a routine shift a constable might be recorded on public streets, in malls, police stations, in their cruiser, in interrogation rooms, by cameras attached to their uniforms or by ordinary citizens" (Sandhu and Haggerty, 2014, p. 9-10). They further expose the risk that these footages can be broadcasted online and reach a large audience, including people located far away from where the events took place. This materializes Thompson's (2005) concept of an uncontrolled police's visibility and the absence of web 2.0 geographical barriers in the same time (Livingstone, 2013; O'Reilly, 2005; O'Reilly and Battelle, 2009). In addition, mediatizing the police's actions appears to be appealing, as Sandhu and Haggerty (2014) have noted: "the portable and concealable camera that can easily post videos online has made police actions increasingly visible to the public. The widespread availability of cellphone cameras has positioned all manners of situations as filmable moments, police confrontations being perhaps the most iconic of such moments" (p. 10). This latter statement also materializes Goldsmith's (2010) and Thompson's (2005) observations about formulation of moral assessments from the general public. Indeed, once footages exposing policing actions are broadcasted online and by television news media, most of the large public's members can access the images, and diverse possible interpretations ensue. Hence, the idea that Police's legitimacy might be put into question when some footages become a real controversial ground for debates within the public sphere. Indeed, the public trust in the Police institution is reduced when such controversies occur (Sandhu and Haggerty, 2015, p. 3). This assumption refers to one dimension of the unhappy police-media marriage (Cooke and Sturges, 2009, Ellis and Mc Govern, 2015; Mawby, 2002; 2010). These authors indeed emphasized the police's need for the media to convey a trustful, transparent and thus legitimate image of police officers. Due to their proximity status, local populations need to trust their police. Furthermore, it is important to take into consideration that: "in the absence of any direct experience with them [police officers], their views on policing are shaped in a major way by the mass media" (Skogan, 1990 in Skogan, 1996, p. 424). It is therefore doubtless that, in addition to contribute to the police's mediatization, the

media play a major role between the police and public opinion, and this is as true for the 24 hours news channels as it is for Twitter: both platforms broadcast footages staging police officers intervening on the streets. Moreover, other early researches have observed: “a sharp decline in public satisfaction with police” (Skogan, 1996, p. 421).

As Sandhu and Haggerty have suggested, “while cameras are undeniably altering the police’s visible field, the consequences of this change are complicated, somewhat contradictory, and rather uncertain” (2015, p.4). Nonetheless, in their research, Sandhu and Haggerty (2015) have studied police officer’s attitude towards cameras, through the scope of their new high visibility. They especially put the stress on the uses made by citizens, which is to upload their footage on video-content platforms such as YouTube for the largest one or on other platforms, more police behaviors-oriented such as CopWatch for instance. The most popular footages on video-content websites are then widely shared on social media and mainstream media. Here, the focus is on 24 hours news channels recognized as mainstream media and Twitter as for the social media. Hence the will to investigate the mediatization process which embraces a broader visible field regarding police activities. Moreover, as Hjarvard (2008) has put it, the mediatization process goes beyond the action of rendering specific behaviors visible; it also integrates institutions’ organizations themselves. And the police is a part of those governmental institutions. Furthermore, this research addresses the police-media relationships, which encompass more than police officers’ attitudes towards an ICT (Information and Communication Tool) embodied by cameras. In this research, the police’s new visibility is addressed, and one goal is to investigate how police officers experience themselves this new visibility as professionals and what consequences this new visibility can imply for them on the personal plan. Having their legitimacy challenged is this way one possible issue ensuing from the new visibility they are exposed to.

2.6 A French police overview

Since this research focuses on the French police, a few aspects are relevant to note in order to contextualize this institution. Although only a few anglophone researches have been done, and most concern the French police during former riots in the suburb, it is commonly observed that the French police is very centralized. That is to say: “the system is centralized (in Paris) with little opportunity for local accommodation” (Mouhanna, 2009). Similarly, Roché and Maillard (2009) highlighted an “excessive centralization of the police system” (p. 34). This means that all the important decisions are made in Paris, and all the hierarchy is based in the capital of France. The authors also underlined the fact that the French police is

organized in very segmented and fragmented services, which slows down the police's response and reaction on crisis situations (e.g: riots or terrorist attacks) (Roché and Maillard, 2009, p. 38).

Regarding the French police's position toward the media, Roché and Maillard have explained that usually the official word belongs to the *Préfecture* "at the *département* level" (2009, p. 38). It materializes the regular police officers' interdiction to express themselves publicly and to the media. Thus, the structure of the French police supports the idea of an unhappy marriage with the media (Cooke and Sturges, 2009; Ellis and Mc Govern, 2015; Mawby, 2002; 2010). Additionally, Mouhanna (2009) asserted that:

The main idea behind this strict hierarchy and centralization in the national police force is that the general public must be watched, controlled, supervised but that it is by no means a partner or a client, and even less a person with whom they should negotiate. Legitimacy comes from above, from the State - not from the people. (p. 3)

Thus, the French police seems to present specific features due to its historically-rooted tradition and it is legitimate to wonder whether this tradition affects the mediatization process of the police in France, mainly in regard to the context of terrorist attacks. As such, mediatization theories together with police-media relation theories and the concept of new visibility have shed lights on the contemporary environment in which police officers are working: a mediatized society where information circulates faster and is not hindered by geographical boundaries, the emergence of citizen-journalists, footages staging police officers intervening on the public space, policy behaviors are morally assessed by the public making police officers more accountable for their mediatized behaviors notably. This environment is thus characterized by the media presence and influence.

3. Research Design

3.1 Methodology

As this thesis aims at a qualitative analysis, semi-structured face-to-face interviews were conducted. One of this qualitative research's goal, rather exploratory although theory-driven, is to: "gain new insights into old problems as well as to study new and emerging new areas in need of investigation" (Strauss and Corbin, 1998, p. 11). Here, the police-media relation is indeed a pretty old topic researched by the academical field. However, the new environment of terrorism and the police's perspective constitute these new insights. Additionally, the new media, as depicted in the earlier theoretical section, also requires investigation to complete the understanding of the police's mediatization and its relation to the media within a terror-related context. Last but not least, even if the police, media and terrorism present an extensive set of theories, none investigated the combination of the three subjects.

Moreover, semi-structured face-to-face interviews are the most relevant in this research because the researcher asks similarly the main questions each time, but lets room for further insights and probes while interviewing. Indeed with the semi-structured format, questions, ideas and terms can be developed and explored more in-depth (Gilbert, 2008; Curasi, 2001). Hence the goal is to gain more in-depth information compared to standardized interviews. Furthermore, interviewing enables the respondent to share more in-depth his own experience, which leads the researcher to have a better and more complete understanding of the answers provided (Hermanowicz, 2002; Kazmer & Xie, 2008), or as Strauss and Corbin (1998) put it: "to explore the inner experiences of participants" (p. 5). As the research questions leading this study explore police officers' perceptions of different media and their own experience in relation to their mediatization and new visibility, it is thus significant to meet them and talk to them face-to-face.

Besides, semi-structured interviews imply an interview schedule which refers to the list of questions asked (Gilbert, 2008). The order of the questions was pre-established. The interest here to ask the same questions to all the interviewees, but using semi-structures interviews, is to let room for discussing more about a topic or another, depending on the respondent's experience. The strategy was to obtain information directly from the police officers, themselves concerned and figuring as key-subjects of the researcher. This is to be related with what Strauss and Corbin (1998) have expressed as: "taking a holistic and comprehensive approach to the study of phenomena" (p. 5). Interviewing members of the police for an academic purpose should have enabled them to share their personal opinions

and experiences with the researcher, notably regarding the third sub-research question which investigates how police officers are experiencing their mediatization and new visibility. Personal opinions and experiences encompass here at the same time their true personal opinions as well as their opinions and orientations in relation to their professional status and insights into the institution they work for. Those kinds of information could not be obtained by journalists nor by conducting a content analysis even qualitative. Personal insights and points of view were thus collected, in the sense that the policemen interviewed were in Paris and its area on November, 13th 2015 evening. Indeed, police agencies operating in Paris and its area are the most relevant respondents to exchange with in regard to the topic and research questions, but their criteria will be detailed later on.

One last reason to have chosen face-to-face interviews is the fact that respondents' attention is increased while conducting face-to-face interviews (Kazmer & Xie, 2008). Besides non verbal communication can only be studied and taken into consideration while face-to-face interviews (Curasi, 2001; Kazmer & Xie, 2008). For the interest and relevance of the thesis, this kind of communication, referring also to given-off cues introduced by Goffman (1959), needs to be considered such as hesitations, tones or blanks for example. Moreover, the contextual naturalness should be preserved, hence face-to-face co-located interviews were conducted (Kazmer & Xie, 2008). In addition some personal information and details about the researcher as well as informations on the project were shared with the respondents in order to increase their attention (Curasi, 2001; Kazmer & Xie, 2008).

3.2 Sample

As respondents, field-policemen, police spokespersons and officers, working for the communication branch were contacted for the interviews. For a coherence concern, interviewees had to be still active (non-retired), working in Paris or in its suburbs, there were no age or gender specific criterion - all of them were male participants though - ; except for police officers working for less than a year. Due to the delicateness of the topic, personal contacts were engaged as well as the snowball sampling effect: respondents asking colleagues of them or other connexions they have in the same profession (Cronin, 2008). The situation in France at the time when the respondents were contacted was actually particular and needs some further precisions. Following the 11/13 attacks, the state of emergency was declared on the whole national territory. It implies among others that security checkpoints and police patrols are increased and that the police's communication is even more restricted than usual (Mouhanna, 2009; Roché and Maillard, 2009). In parallel with the state of

emergency establishment, French police officers are held to their deontology code which forbids them to talk publicly and to the media about on-course investigations notably. The police's deontology code includes a reserve obligation (*devoir de réserve*), forbidding regular police officers to express themselves. The French police also presents the syndicate specificity: police officers are allowed to communicate publicly if they subscribe to a Police syndicate and are elected at the head of this syndicate (trade union).

It was thus an intrinsic difficulty to enter into contact with French police officers, even more because of the focus on terrorism that is investigated in this research. The ordinary contacting process - contacting police stations through their websites, by email, sending private messages and tweets to trade unions and their representatives on Twitter, calling police stations and so on - was abandoned as it was a failure. The few answers that were received were all negative because of the legal interdiction to communicate police officers face, and because of the sensitivity of the circumstances, as the Bruxelles attacks occurred in between among other unusual events. This is the reason why the snowball sampling method has been adopted afterwards. Since the first interviewee was related to the researcher's entourage, it permitted to start the data collection and to further interview other participants. As Cronin (2008) has stated, the snowball sampling effect enables the researcher to enter into contact with respondents belonging to the same field and/or profession, which adds to the quality and coherence of the research. Nonetheless it must be acknowledged that a certain bias issue might ensue from the snowball sampling method, as some respondents know others. However the best possible data were collected despite recruitments problems faced by the researcher and respondents' backgrounds, positions and tasks within the Police institution still present a reasonable set of diversity and relevance. Four interviewees were part of trade unions, among which one captain (*commissaires*) union, one respondent is working for the communication branch, another for the intelligence service, and four others operate in Criminal Investigation Departments (*Police Judiciaire*).

In this research, ten face-to-face interviews have been conducted (N= 10). Additionally, out of the ten interviews, the shortest lasted twenty-five minutes and the longest is one hour and thirty-five minutes . Moreover, interviews were conducted in French as it is the mother-tongue of the researcher and the respondents concerned by the studied case are French as well, although the questionnaire was bilingual (see. Appendix A). The questionnaire was sent upstream to the respondents. A presentation of the project and a promise to communicate the results, findings and outcome of the thesis has been made to the respondents to guarantee their assiduity and willingness to answer the questions. Some of the

respondents who were enthusiastic and personally interested by the topic of the research made the request to have a full translated version of the paper, which supports the idea that police officer's perspective is not often investigated nor taken into consideration. The respondents present some difference as long as four of them are syndicates members, which provides them the ability to communicate with the public and the media more easily. However as the six other respondents do not belong to any syndicate/trade union, their anonymity must be assured because of the French police's code of deontology notably. This is the reason why the identities of the whole sample will remain private as long as it would not make a lot of sense to reveal only some of their identity. In addition keeping identifiable informations on respondents is a broad principle of ethics in the field of research (Wahyuni, 2012, p. 74).

3.3 Data Collection

Seven interviews out of ten took place in police officer's work places (N= 7), in order to preserve the contextual naturalness (Kazmer and Xie, 2008); as they were contacted because of their profession and location (cf. Paris and surroundings), it made more sense to meet them in their professional settings, that is to say inside police stations. One interview took place at the police officer's place (N= 1) and the two others in a restaurant because these were days-off or public holidays schedules (N= 2). Moreover, the interviews were audio taped with two devices each time and then transcribed verbatim manually. In a later stage, each transcript was coded manually on PDF document forms. Nonetheless, as the interviews have been conducted in French, only the parts of the transcripts which are to be used to illustrate arguments were translated into English to be incorporated in the text for practical reasons. The translation was thus made by the researcher. In addition, as the time period is limited, translating the whole transcripts would have taken too long, thus it might have jeopardized the quality of the data analysis process. The first interview was taken on the 18th of April 2015 and the last one took place on the 10th of May 2015 due to the Spring break, public holidays and difficulty to reach participants.

Besides, a mostly inductive approach is taken here; implying that the interview schedule, based on previous theories, have led the analysis of the collected data. It is materialized by the fact that theoretical concepts were used to make sense of empirical observations, collected through the verbatim transcripts. This approach enables the researcher to easily see connections between data and previously established theoretical concepts and consequently to spot relatively quickly new insights or emergent patterns from the data set,

which is an advantage. Therefore, the questionnaire (see. Appendix A) consisted of four main themes, respectively “Introduction of the topic, general question” (theme 1), “The police and 24hours news channels crews” (theme 2), “The police and Twitter” (theme 3) and “Impact of mediatization towards the police” (theme 4) relying on theoretical concepts such as the police-media relation, the mediatization process, applied here to the police, and the concept of new visibility or police’s use(s) of Twitter among others, as exposed in the theoretical framework. This way, questions such as “What kind of exchanges has your unit had with the media the week following 11/13 attacks ? (Q2)” - which relates to the scholarly body of work on police-media relations -, “If it is the case, in what ways did 24hours new channels’ journalists changed their approach to the Police after 11/13 ? After Charlie Hebdo ? (Q6)” or “In what ways does the increasingly mediatized environment affect you and your profession ? (Q13)” - relating to both mediatization and new visibility theoretical concepts- were asked to the participants.

3.4 Data Analysis

The interviews transcripts thus constitute the data base used for the thematic analysis, while the analysis is driven by academical theories. Besides, the thematic analysis aims to identify, analyze and report patterns and themes occurring within the data. The structure of the analysis was split into three steps based on the open, axial and selective coding method introduced by Boeije (2010) and Braun and Clarke (2008). This open, axial and selective coding method relies on the Constant Comparative approach developed earlier by Strauss and Corbin (1998) and further explored by Boeije (2002). First the fragments of a transcript were compared within itself and then comparison between each transcript was conducted in order to identify recurring codes and similarities between the different texts (Boeije, 2002). Therefore transcripts have been first of all openly coded, implying a highlighting of whole sentences, expression and words, called fragments. Indeed, the open coding process implies that: “the fragments are compared among each other, grouped into categories dealing with the same subject, and labelled with a code” (Boeije, 2010, p. 96). It is materialized by an active reading and rereading of the interviews’ transcripts, taking notes and already looking for emerging patterns.

Afterwards, those early codes and labels are once more compared during the axial coding process. The latter consisting of “retrieve and compare fragments assigned to a certain code, define the category, determine relationships between main categories and subcategories, memo file containing ideas and verified assertions” (Boeije, 2010, p. 114).

Thus, the primarily established codes are compared within the transcripts they belong to, then from one transcript to another, and further organized according to the meaning they produce. Therefore, meaningful categories were established, composed by the similar codes, relating to the same topic and theme. Which leads to the last stage of the thematic analysis method: the selective coding (Boeije, 2002; 2010, Braun and Clarke, 2008).

This last step, called selective coding concerns the activity of “looking for connections between the categories in order to make sense of what is happening in the field” (Boeije, 2010, p. 115). The latter coding process implies the establishment of a core category (Strauss & Corbin, 2007 in Boeije, 2010, p. 116). This core category is central to the research and all categories should be related to it, as it is the heart of the analysis process (Boeije, 2010, p. 116). In parallel with the establishment of the core category, the axially selected categories were compared one last time, in order to connect them depending on the meaning they produce and quality of the information they contain. Therefore the main themes and patterns have aroused, allowing a comprehensive analysis of the data set relying on previous theoretical concepts. Hence a theoretical thematic analysis is used as a qualitative method for this research. Its process, relying on constant comparison, is further depicted and explained. As each transcript was coded and compared within themselves and then compared to each other, the open coding process revealed a important amount of open codes, which was reduced while the re-reading activities. Moreover, due to the constant comparison method, the researcher identified superfluous codes within a quite dense flow of open codes. Some of them disappeared in a later stage also due to the constant comparison and re-reading activity. As an illustration of this open coding process, fragments and passages referring to the difficulty even interdiction that police officers have to communicate were labelled under the code: “reserve obligation” (cf. *devoir de réserve*); and fragments evoking 24hours news channels’ competition and financial needs were labelled under the code: “business-oriented news media”.

The axial coding process then enabled the researcher to further compare these open codes and to establish categories depending on the occurrences and commonalities of the codes. Thus six categories were identified namely: “Police institution”, “Police’s communication”, “Police-media relation”, “Police’s opinion on its mediatization and consequences”, “Police’s position towards Twitter” and finally “Police and public opinion”. As an example, the category referring to the Police institution implies codes which serve as label for fragments evoking “Police hierarchy’s reluctance to communicate”, its “historically rooted” characteristic, its “segmented organization”, the “complexity of its procedures” and

so on. The category: Police's communication contains codes labelling fragments expressing the "centralized aspect of the French police's communication", the "specificity of the syndical status" or the fact that the "extern communication is not identified as a priority" for instance. The third category named Police-media relation is composed by codes labelling fragments in relation with the "antagonistic goals that Police and 24hours news channels" pursue, or with the "necessity to interact with trustful journalists" among many others. The fourth category: Police's opinion on its mediatization and consequences encompasses codes such as "24hours news channels' lack of ethics", "film of reality", "scoop hunt", "greater Police visibility", "police officers demobilization" or even "risks to provide intelligence clues to terrorists". The fifth category called Police's position towards Twitter consists of codes referring to the "rise of citizen-journalists," a "civic use" (of Twitter for policemen present on the SNS), or the "uncontrollability of online content". Last but not least, the Police-public opinion category contains codes like "public interest for terrorism", "citizens' accountability" or "go pro issues".

Each category was reexamined and further reorganized in sub-categories. This sub-categories establishment was based on the importance of the codes; that is, the dominant codes within a same category formed a subcategory and so on. In addition to their importance, subcategories were also elaborated upon the meaning produced by the codes. This task - establishing sub-categories - helps the researcher making sense of commonalities found in the earlier stage and to organize the data depending on its importance and sense (Boeije, 2002; 2010, Braun and Clarke, 2006). This way, the Police institution category comprises three sub-categories, namely: "historical roots", "segmented organization" and "exemplarity". The second category: Police's communication revealed two sub-categories: "strict and regulated aspect" and "slow modernization". Three sub-categories respectively: "particularities of policemen-journalists relations", "Police's stance towards the media" and "components for improvement" aroused from the third category. The fourth category, dealing with the Police and its mediatization comprises three sub-categories namely: "Police mediatization environment", "Police mediatization, new visibility and consequences" and "Police and 24 hours news channels". Finally the fifth category encompasses two sub-categories: "Twitter and the institution" and "Police's uses of Twitter and opinion". Finally the sixth category related to the Police and the public opinion revealed two sub-categories: "Police's stance on its portrayal" and "discrepancies within Police-public relation". Once comparisons within categories did not reveal any new salient pattern the axial coding process reached saturation. Hence the selective coding started.

As Boeije (2002; 2010) put it, the selective coding consists of establishing connections between main categories in order to identify what is happening in the studied field. It is materialized by the establishment of a core-category and themes. The core category relates to all the other categories and sub-categories. Moreover, it is common to all the interview transcripts and is related to a theoretical concept (Boeije, 2002; 2010; Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Here, the core category is the unhappy police-media marriage already found while investigating the media's perspective (Cooke & Sturges 2009; Ellis & McGovern, 2015; Mawby, 2002; 2010). Indeed all categories have notably in common the notion that media agencies and the Police institution do not pursue similar goals, if not opposed. In addition of the core category, three themes have been elaborated. As Braun and Clarke (2006) have stated: "data within themes should cohere together meaningfully, while there should be clear and identifiable distinctions between themes" (p. 91).

Following the recommendations provided by the authors, the first theme gathers data on how the Police institution works, especially regarding its general communication structure. Furthermore, it reveals Police's specificities concerning its online communication and activity related to Twitter. This first theme helps to set up the police's environment and structure in order to better understand its point of view and position both within the study and towards the other observed agency embodied by the media. Regarding Braun and Clarke (2006) statement: "names need to be concise, punchy and immediately give the reader a sense of what the theme is about" (p. 93), this first theme was named "Police functioning and environment".

The second theme was labelled: "Police's mediatization seen by the police" and it reveals how police officers perceive their own mediatization and relation to the media. It gathers many examples of this mediatization and the interviewees' points of view towards different media outlets: 24 hours news channels' journalists and local newspapers' journalists for instance. Overall respondents seem to denounce some aspect of 24 hours news channels while acknowledging that these channels' journalists do their job, noting a preference for traditional media's journalists who seem to have a better and more professional approach when it comes to interact and communicate with policemen. The analysis of this theme helps to understand better how police officers perceive their interactions with journalists, especially those working for BFM TV and iTélé, and what the police's mediatization implies.

The third theme was named: "Police mediatization consequences" and shows the collateral damages caused by the mediatization of the police. It reveals that this mediatization seems to dig the gap between the police's action and its popular representations. The context

was indeed slightly dedicate in Paris when the interviews were conducted, due to important social movements and protests implying clashes and fights between rioters and police officers on the streets. Respondents discussed their visibility and media exposure in relation to this situation as well as how they were personally and professionally affected.

In sum, the analysis leading to these results have been done partly by the means of theoretical tools, which reinforces the findings' reliability and enables a comparison between former observations and this research's results. Additionally, it helped to assess more easily new patterns arousing from the data analysis.

4. Results Report & Interpretation

4.1 A particular police's communication organization struggling to adapt its model to the current mediatized society ?

This chapter exposes the different findings revealed by the data analysis. As expressed earlier, three main themes aroused. The latter are detailed and bridges are made with former theoretical concepts. Thus the first theme, Police's working and environment, had shown how the institution is organized and how it works, especially regarding its communication structure and its online communication features. Here the stress is put on the police's uses of Twitter and its role on the social network site. This theme sets up the police's environment and structure in order to better understand its stance and position both in the research and in regard to the other actors involved: 24 hours news channels and Twitter.

Before all the analysis' results enhance the historically rooted aspect of the police institution. Commonly, participants emphasized the fact that the authorities and policy services in general were actually reluctant to a certain transparence and to an open communication. Indeed, the so-called expression "Circulez, y a rien à voir" (Circulate, there's nothing to see) has been literally used by three interviewees out of ten and a similar meaning has been expressed by all the others: "The French police's tradition is circulate, there's nothing to see" (Interviewee n°5). This attitude seems to be adopted towards passers-by while intervening on the streets but also towards the public and journalists in general. This refers to what Cooke and Sturges (2009) named the information storage age: the police as the only source of criminal info and as the decision maker when it comes to delivering information. In addition, this "circulate, there's nothing to see" tradition is strongly linked to the segmented and hierarchical organization of the Police institution, leading to a very centralized command of policy services (Roché and Maillard, 2009). As the authors underlined, it seems to be characteristic and deeply embedded in the French police organizational working: "this fragmentation into separate police departments is explained by the history and culture of centralization. In France, the national police are organized in specialized squads at the national level (in order maintenance, judiciary police and so on" (Roché and Maillard, 2009, p. 35).

Thus, a fragmented organization in parallel with an opaque tradition induct particular communicational settings, which is the second observation resulting from the analysis. As for an example, all of the interviewees underlined the facts that police officers are tied to their *devoir de réserve* (reserve obligation), which means that they are not allowed to

communicate to anyone about criminal informations, that this communication is handled by the authorities and that communication on terrorism belongs to the highest political and policy authorities. As Roché and Maillard (2009) have noted, speaking to the media is “usually kept at a *département* level” (p. 38). Officers called *Préfets* are at the head of *départements*. Overall respondents’ accounts supported this fact. For example, one explained:

We don’t have the means to communicate, neither smartphones or communication authorizations from the *Préfets*. You have to see that France is very centralized, and with a tradition even in the territories, that the police *Préfet* who is in charge of communication in the provinces and in Paris that’s the police *Préfet* who is in charge of Police services communication ! (Interviewee n°5).

This materializes a vertically segmented organization of the French police’s communication. Furthermore, communication is even more restricted concerning terrorism cases. All of the participants underlined this aspect, no communication on terrorism is allowed, it belongs to the highest political and policy authorities as expressed earlier. As for an example, a respondent operating in the communication service answered to the question: how did the communication of your unit with different media outlets go the week following the attacks ? by stating: “the word is confiscated by the minister at those moments” (Interviewee n°8). He was referring to the minister of Interior, Mr. Bernard Cazeneuve. The last but not least specificity of the French police’s communication resides in the syndical status. Indeed a *syndicat* is a professional association (trade union) in which members gather to promote their rights and demands; a police officer subscribing to a syndicate can be elected at its head, and police officers at the head of a syndicate are allowed to express themselves publicly: “As a trade union representative, I am allowed to speak in the name of my syndicate” (Interviewee n°2). Therefore, communication procedures and authorizations of the French police seem complex and make the institution reluctant to an open communication, as directly expressed by a respondent figuring as a trade union representative, illustrating how the police was overwhelmed: “there is a matter or reorganization, rationalization of the criminal proceedings which has become so complex that it exceeds any other European country” (Interviewee n°5). The participant into question had been in partnership with the Berliner Police and spent four years in Germany. Regarding the online French police’s communication through Twitter, findings support Heverin et al. (2010) observations, which is to say that the police uses Twitter for districts and criminal information (on resolved cases) essentially, but avoided the interactive tools of the platform such as retweeting and replying. Indeed, one respondent stated: “the only

occasions I used Twitter was to diffuse an appeal to witnesses through the national police account” (Interviewee n°9). Nonetheless, the participant operating in the communication service underlined the importance and necessity to interact more and more with Twitter users and to adopt a more horizontal communication on this SNS: “When I started we had no interactivity. We didn’t even answer messages, besides it was closed (referring to the option private messages present on Twitter accounts) and it was exclusively descending, we diffuse messages. [...] so for me the first phase when I started was to topple over into interactivity which is to say: social networks are social, they are in a logic which is not descending but in a pretty horizontal logic within which we are able to exchange” (Interviewee n°8). Police’s authorities deem incompatible the use of social media by police officers. Indeed, the majority of the interviewees have expressed the incompatibility of their profession with being present on SNS such as Twitter. For example, a field officer, working in the judiciary police, has said:

The institution makes frequent reminders to tell us to remember that everything you say online is in the public sphere and not in the private sphere anymore, it is not liable to the correspondences secret, so everything you say, every picture you upload, every text that you broadcast can be rebroadcasted, distorted and built up. So it’s part of the reserve obligation which is part of our deontology duty, so prudence. (Interviewee n°1).

In the same way, a respondent member of a syndicate has declared that: “for a police officer, being on Twitter... it’s upsetting” (Interviewee n°2). This means that even if police officers can have Twitter accounts, it is not likely to happen commonly. In addition, out of ten interviewees, three had citizen accounts but were inactive and followed accounts not in relation to the police or their profession, five did not have any SNS account, one had both a civic and a professional use of Twitter, as a trade union representative, finally among these ten interviewees, three were familiar with a professional use, two due to their syndical status and the other as he operates within the communication service. Interviewees not using Twitter tended to denounce its caricatural approach to complex issues, especially considering the restricted amount of characters allowed per tweet. The platform embodies low quality information and interactions according to them. As one put it, “140 signs is not what I call thought... neither communication. This is stupidity. This is what I call thought twitterisation” (Interviewee n°6). Twitter’s format, which is characterized by 140 signs, reflects one aspect of this new media logic if we apply Strömbäck’s (2008) definition stated in the theoretical framework (see. 2.1 para. 1). Hence, it resulted that the police could not accommodate easily

to the entire Twitter logic because of its apparent too restrictive format. Indeed, as another goes further:

Twitter fosters a caricatural approach to problems. It is poor interaction with people you don't know to convey an idea reduced to its simplest expression... As a result, this a not pertinent enough level of details to approach issues as essential as the fight against crime, fight against terrorism, accurate social problematics. And so I think there's a real problem. Our society twitterisation is a problem. And real-time television channels present the same issue. (Interviewee n°5).

In sum, on one hand, there is a discrepancy between the apparent will of the Police institution to develop its online communication, to adapt a more horizontal use of Twitter - to accommodate to the media logic in others words, and its historically rooted culture and organization - embodied by the authorities' reluctance to an open communication, which slacken this modernization process. And on the other hand, Twitter's format, understood as a part of Twitter logic, seems not suitable for the police to accommodate to. Moreover, the rather paradoxical attitude of the Police institution, addressed to the communication and the media in general, impacts the police's mediatization, the way police officers perceives it, the kinds of interactions and relations happening between police officers and journalists and finally the way Police members experience their new visibility. Indeed, all of these facts happen to occur within an increasingly mediatized society, as Mawby (2002) states it, referring to Castells (1996, 1997) and Thompson (1995):

These conditions, including and informational economy, culture organized around electronic media, politics becoming media driven and image centered, combined with the linking up of information systems in distant locations, create media-driven, knowledge-dependent 'network' societies. [...] organizations and institutions, particularly those as the police which experience high visibility, have little option but to address how they communicate, how they project their public image and manage their visibility. (p. 308)

4.2 Police members' stance towards their relation with the media and their own actions' mediatization

The second theme which aroused from the thematic analysis has been labelled as Police mediatization seen by the Police. It is in this theme that the Police's perspective is the most explored. In order to better understand Police mediatization seen by the Police, it is important to contextualize police officers-journalists relations. As exposed previously, regular French

police officers do not have the right to express themselves publicly - due to the Police's code of deontology - unless they figure as trade unions representatives. This is the reason why it seems reasonable to question the kinds of interactions and relations police officers and journalists can have. Resulting from the analysis, these relationships were qualified as private in the sense that usually respondents were dealing with journalists they knew for a long time and trusted; they referred mostly to local newspapers' journalists, not so much to national and televised media channels. Overall, they put the stress on the necessity to maintain trustworthy relationships with journalists; as one put it:

There are two imperative rules to me [...]. And the confidence with journalists I interact with because sometimes I tell them something or I accept to deliver something but ask them to hush up the info. It depends only on confidence. A trustworthy climate must be established towards these journalists and you can create it only if you do them a favor from times to times. Because if you ask something without giving anything back, there won't be neither exchange nor confidence. And that confidence comes only after some months or some years.. Hence the importance to create trustworthy links with journalists. Once again, if you never talk to them, they won't know you well and won't trust you. It works in both ways. (Interviewee n°3).

Thus, personal relations happen to link police officers and journalists. Therefore, interactions were qualified as off-off in the sense that Police members remain anonymous/private sources, their identity is not revealed and journalists interact directly with police officers whom they have private cellphones numbers. As for an anecdote, one interview has been interrupted because a local newspaper's journalist called the respondent into question. This characteristic has been indeed evoked by the majority of the respondents, including these operating under a syndical status. It means that even though being allowed to communicate with the media, trustworthy relationships with familiar journalists were always preferred and promoted by the interviewees. This trustworthy necessity is even more increased whilst a terror situation due to the fact that the police's communication is restricted more than ever on terrorism cases.

In parallel, the second identified theme materializes how police officers perceive their own mediatization and gathers many examples of media buzzes around police officers and of the Police institution interactions with media outlets. Especially 24 hours news channels as the respondents evoked their intense and insisting characteristics whilst terror-related situations. As one expressed: "the pressure put by the media is a lot heavier, instead of 3-4

journalists who call you, there are 300-400. So yes it is completely different [...]” (Interviewee n°3). This must be linked with Karim’s (2002) observation about journalists’ disorientation whilst terror situations. The author underlines the fact that journalists cannot follow their usual routine. Therefore they have to stick to official sources and authorities to try to have as much and precise informations as possible. Nonetheless, disorientation affects also the case of police officers who must handle the situation, their intern communication to be organized, who must then react, and cope with the external communication in a secondary stage. However, the external communication might not be a priority to police forces on terrorism events. Moreover, early assumptions have been formulated regarding the journalistic on-site that would embody an obstacle to the police’s action (see: Alexander, 1978). Even though the context has drastically evolved since 1978 as well as the kind of terrorism authorities must face, an observation resulting from the analysis supports this idea. Indeed, one of the respondent was on-site on 11/13 evening and addressed the necessity to keep journalists away from the scene. He was called on a bar terrasse which just had been subject to gunfires in the XIth district of Paris, he answered as following to the question 1-ii) (Can you depict the situation, concerning the journalistic presence notably ?):

It was relatively weak. I think it’s due to the multiplicity of the sites, it was relatively weak and the Bataclan must have attracted a lot media attention. Or other sites that were more difficult to protect in terms of security perimeter. Our site was relatively easy to block... And the security perimeter that had been previously set up by our colleagues was pretty impermeable, so there were some journalists but situated to a respectable distance from the scene. This is an absolute security perimeter into which journalists cannot enter. (Interviewee n°9).

All the ten interviewees evoked the Charlie Hebdo attack mediatization in comparison with the 11/13 attacks, acknowledging an improvement from the 24 hours news channels - BFM TV and iTélé - in the way they handled information diffusion. As for an example, one has explained:

Normally they are supposed to have ethics. At a pinch journalists, let’s say, amateurs, people who go for walk, they don’t have ethics nor deontology, they aren’t journalists, it’s understandable.. But that professionals don’t have... ! It was during the hyper kosher assault (cf. Charlie Hebdo attack) they revealed on TV, BFM and iTélé, that there were hidden people in the cold storage room ! If the other madman (referring to the terrorist) knew it, it could have been even worse ! (Interviewee n°1).

During the case of Charlie Hebdo events, 24 hours news channels have jeopardized the police's operations by broadcasting intelligence informations and images in the same time the different police squads were taking action. Thus, they have put both police officers and hostages in danger, which has scandalized the Police institution as well as the public opinion. It is important to see here that mediatizing the police on terror events can undeniably have bad repercussions. In this case, police officers suffer this mediatization process which hinders their response to acts of terror and jeopardizes the course of policy operations especially if it is a real-time mediatization. The hostages into question who hid from the terrorists in January 2015 have pressed charges against BFM TV because of the vital risks they underwent. All the respondents emphasized this huge mistake committed by the French 24 hours news channels at that time; BFM TV's journalist into question formulated public apologies (David Perrotin and Andréa Fradin, Rue89 Le Nouvel Obs, 2015). In parallel with revealing that hostages were hiding themselves, these channels broadcasted images of police officers and entire units such as the RAID getting prepared to take into action, supposedly providing clues about their strategy to the terrorists in the case of these ones were following the news; as one interviewee put it:

January (referring to Charlie Hebdo case) was an absolute mess in terms of media management. [...] There are some journalists who ended up to follow RAID columns on interventions.. The intervention in Vincennes (referring to the hyper kosher supermarket assault) has been filmed in real-time to such an extent that put police officers' lives, who were present on-site, in danger... So there were very very important media false notes. (Interviewee n°9).

These examples serve as support for the argument warning about journalistic presence on sites subjects to terrorist attacks. Nonetheless, in a general manner, the respondents acknowledged that the media management regarding November 2015 attacks was improved, as evoked earlier. One major factor that explains these capital mistakes made by the 24 hours news channels on the terrorist tracking down and the hyper kosher assault following the Charlie Hebdo attacks is their important need for images and materials in addition with their business-oriented aspect related to the increasing competition occurring between news broadcasters (Deacon and Stanyer, 2014; Hjarvard, 2008). For instance, an interviewee declared:

The issue is an accountability matter, between making audience and... Yes because these are commercial companies, they have to work. So if they don't show, the concurrent channel will and will walk off with the commercial breaks budgets. So it is

for sure not an easy issue. But at some point, when that's people's security which enters into account, they'd better being more careful. (Interviewee n°1).

In the same way, respondents generally acknowledged that 24 hours news channels' journalists were doing their job despite the fact that these television channels in particular were seen as "enemies" by police officers, which echoes the theoretical concept of an unhappy police-media marriage (Cooke and Sturges, 2009; Ellis and McGovern, 2015; Mawby, 2002; 2010). Notably, a trade union representative participant stated: "Media are enemies to us. All of our techniques, all our cases are revealed, everybody knows everything..." (Interviewee n° 7). Over all police officers seem to be wary of televised media, 24 hours news channels notably. It appears then that 24 hours news channels lack of ethics - partly due to a lack of hindsight on what is happening - when mediatizing in real-time the police on terror events. Resulting from the analysis, it is thus a matter of media accountability, morality and editorial line from 24 hours news channels. Other participants denounced the fact that showing their operational modes hindered the police's actions, among others, one explained: "To the police officers, [BFM TV] is a channel synonym of incompetence or irresponsibility. In the end that's an ennemi for a serene action of the police" (Interviewee n°8). In addition to the police's techniques and operational modes revelation by mainstream media, respondents commonly criticized the lack of news' context exposed by 24 hours news channels, despite that they acknowledged a fundamental gap between the police's timing and televisual journalistic timing of 24 hours news channels:

Two hours in a journalistic time, you cannot let them go by like that. Actually yes that's it, the police's time isn't the same than television's time. That's it, in fact I think that's a television problem. Because a radio journalist can hold fourth, he can fill during a quarter of an hour. A TV journalist, if he has not a quarter of an hour of images to show, he's dead. (Interviewee n°1).

It is important to note that this observation made by a participant reflects on the media logic, referring to this concept developed in mediatization theories (Schulz, 2004; Couldry, 2008; Hjarvard, 2008; Strömbäck, 2008). According to Strömbäck's (2008) definition, formats are part of the media logic. In this sense, findings suggest that the police has trouble accommodating to a dimension of 24 hours news channels logic: its format. Another aspect of the difference in terms of timing is that police officers knew that terrorist attacks were occurring in Paris by 24 hours news channels and not by the police's channels of information. Unanimously, the interviewed police officers deplored the fact that 24 hours news channels did not inform the Police institution before covering such events. Despite the discrepancy

happening between the police's timing and 24 hours news channels' timing, it commonly resulted from the analysis that a certain lack of news context was regretted for several reasons. First of all, lacking context lowers news' quality down, and secondly, in addition to the repetitive aspect of these channels, an orientation of the public opinion can be thus brought about. A scandal involving police officers took place in France while the interviews were conducted, which was pointed out almost unanimously by the participants (the affair occurred after the first interview was conducted). The scandal is built on a footage showing an handicapped man on a train station platform. His prosthesis lie on the floor around him and two police officers are running away from the scene. The person who shot the footage explains then to journalists that he saw everything: the police officers ripped the prosthesis off the handicapped man, disrespected and disturbed him. Nonetheless there were surveillance cameras in the station which proved later on that the police officers were doing their duty while intervening. The person with disabilities was actually urinating publicly on the station's platform and took off his prosthesis himself. As a participant described it :

[...] Automatically the story went viral. Of course everyone watches inevitably... Especially because we need that at the moment (being sarcastic) : hm hi ! Don't you think policemen are fascist ?! The result is that there are some comments that undermine police officers. No luck, RATP's (metro and buses company in Paris area) video proves that the man was actually urinating on the station's platform and ripped off his prosthesis himself [...]. There was no real-time warning on TV saying that this video was untrue. However during a week it has automatically fed a sort of anger, hatred against the police. (Interviewee n°4).

This example shows how an orientation of the public opinion can be made, lacking context and providing an unfair coverage. Additionally, staging this way the police does not portray a trustful image, which supports the theoretical argument of an unhappy police-media marriage (Cook and Sturges, 2009; Ellis and Mc Govern, 2015; Mawby, 2002; 2010), and explains the police officers' position who consider 24 hours news channels as an enemy. According to Strömbäck's (2008) assertion: "the depictions of reality that are conveyed through the mass media presumably have an impact on how people perceive reality" (p. 230), it is reasonable to assume that the mediatization of the police through 24 hours news channels, considered as mass and mainstream media, has thus an influence on the public's perceptions of the police.

4.3 A perpetrating French culturally-rooted tradition of opposition to the police from which could ensue serious implications

The previous observation paves the way for the third theme resulting from the analysis, namely Police's mediatization consequences. First, this theme comprises collateral damages caused by the mediatization of the police's actions. One of the main natural consequence of the police's mediatization is its new visibility (Thompson, 2005; Goldsmith, 2010; Sandhu and Haggerty, 2014; 2015; Sandhu, 2016). The police's mediatization and new visibility have in the same time a factor-consequence relation as well as go in pairs: the police's new visibility is also a dimension of its mediatization process. The police's actions and communications are more transparent due to the mediatization of society implying among others the emergence and rise of citizen-journalists; this fact going along with ICTs' proliferation (Cooke and Sturges, 2009; Deacon and Stanyer, 2014; Ellis and McGovern, 2015; Hjarvard, 2008). As Sandhu and Haggerty (2015) put it: "Technological and social developments are rapidly making aspects of police work increasingly visible. A consensus seems to be emerging that is new high-visibility undermines public trust and challenges police legitimacy" (p. 1). Therefore, the police's visibility is not only new, but high too; and it seems to have an impact on public opinion. Findings resulting from the analysis support this idea. Indeed, the necessity to include the whole context when broadcasting footages showing police officers intervening on the streets has been unanimously highlighted by the participants. In parallel, a trade union representative has declared:

We are the police the most watched over in the world... The French police; which is to say, you have the Justice, you have our hierarchy who watches us, you have the media, you have the citizens, we are watched over from everywhere. (Interviewee n°2).

This supports Sandhu and Haggerty's (2014) assertion that "policing increasingly occurs on camera" (p. 9), as detailed in the theoretical framework. In the same way, another respondent said: "Whatever you do, in terms of Police, there are a hundred people filming you." (Interviewee n°6). Here the term people can be applied to the media, as demonstrated through the case of the hyper kosher supermarket attack and examples of violent demonstrations, it can also be applied to ordinary citizens shooting footages of the police and further uploading the film online, which makes them figure as citizen-journalists, and finally it can be applied to Twitter users who relay these footages on the social network site; contributing this way to the police's mediatization and its visibility's increase. Hence this research's results support the idea that the police in general is experiencing a new and high

visibility (Sandhu and Haggerty, 2014; 2015; Sandhu, 2016). However, besides affecting police officers themselves, the mediatization of the police in parallel with its new and high visibility can also create collateral damages regarding ordinary citizens. As for a probative anecdote, an interviewee has told an experience from his debut in the judiciary police: following a maiden's disappearance on a train, his squad discovered that she had been run over by another train than the one she was in. When they found her body, journalists were nearby and he drove them away. However the journalists went on a bridge which was situated 1 km away from the site and were well equipped enough to take pictures of the maiden's seriously damaged body. The respondent depicted how he had to handle the sequence of the events:

[...] And in the evening, when I'm on the phone with the family I, I tell them: there it is... We have identified your daughter's body.. And the mother asks me: can I see my daughter's body ?.. And I say: no, no she's too ruined, you'd better keep a nice image of her etc. And she says to me: yes I saw you picking up the pieces.. That's what comes when mediatizing our cases and the impact it can have. [...] So hyper mediatization can be painful. (Interviewee n°9).

This example supports the idea that mediatization of the police can harm citizens too, as it has been undoubtedly the case of the hostages on the hyper kosher market attack. Besides, when their mediatization affects directly police officers, it can have a quite negative impact. Indeed, it appeared that some police officers were demobilized and experienced a disaffection of their profession; which partly contradicts Sandhu and Haggerty's (2015) assumption that: "by publicizing instances of police abuse to a wider audience, the police will be pressured toward greater professionalism and accountability." (p. 3). Indeed, even though police officers are pressured to be more professional and are rendered more accountable, the present findings also reveal that some of them had decided to stay in their offices inside their police station and not to go on the streets anymore in order to avoid being into trouble.

That is: the basis is demobilized. We have examples of police stations with police officers around 40-50 years old, who have known an authoritarian Police, and who will say: I don't want your weapon ! They refuse to be trained to new weapons because they refuse to use them. He is not annoyed this way at least. He says: if someone throws me pebbles, I leave. I won't counter-attacks, I'll go. [...] These police officers have a demobilization discourse that is very dangerous. Regarding terrorism, obviously we cannot say that is a dominant discourse, but that's a discourse a bit present among emergency services members which is to say: I won't go under

these circumstances. Hum, I went on Charlie Hebdo, I went in the Bataclan without any shield, any powerful weapon...[...]. (Interviewee n°5).

Therefore, mediatization can push police officers to avoid being exposed to the media while working and intervening on the streets. To an extreme extent, because sanctions are very heavy for French police officers from their hierarchy and from the public opinion as well, being subject to a media scandal can destroy careers and affect police officers' private lives; which is to say falling into depression and even divorcing in certain cases. As for an example, one interviewee among these who evoked those extreme collateral damages said: "These damages can toggle a career and a familial life, with the divorce and so on, the depression. [...] because you withdraw into yourself, and you don't have social life anymore." (Interviewee n°7). Respondents were essentially referring to riots in the course of violent demonstrations. These events are very likely to be covered by 24 hours news channels. All the respondents mentioned the fact that if a police officer was subject to a media scandal, even though his/her innocence is proven later on, administrative sanctions were very heavy, to serve as a general example for everyone and that hierarchy does not manifest any solidarity towards police officers making mistake. This refers to the police's increasing accountability because of its mediatized actions (Thompson, 2005; Goldsmith, 2010; Sandhu and Haggerty, 2014; 2015). For example, one interviewee has explained:

No but wait ! That's staggering ! Robots have to be put for the preservation of order that's it ! During hours long you're hit, beaten, insulted, colleagues of yours are wounded.. You succeed in laying the hand on the kind of stupid fool who shows off hours long with a balaclava on the face of course you hit him, obviously ! It's just that today we cannot indulge ourselves anymore. The police officer into question has been suspended, and will be very heavily sanctioned by the Justice. Meanwhile you have Orioters being freed and without doubt never convicted. Police officers are exasperated with this different media treatment that exists. In three words we tell you that 25 police officers are wounded among which three seriously, and afterwards five minutes are dedicated to a far-left communicative representative saying that he hopes that justice will be made... This is non sense. (Interviewee n°3).

One reason for these heavy administrative sanctions, in addition to the exemplarity promoted by the Police institution, is that one isolated behavior becoming a scandal or media buzz harms the whole institution, as observed by the majority of participants. The latter citation from an interview transcript leads to another finding resulting from the third theme analysis: it seems like the police's mediatization, through 24 hours news channels, digs a gap

between the police's actions and the police portrayal/representation. It is materialized by the fact that respondents tended to denounce an unfair and/or unequal televised coverage between both police officers and rioters while violent demonstrations; and between the police's successes and its failures. Overall, respondents evoked the fact that on the one hand 24 hours news channels tended to show more polemical footages looking like the police was abusing force in an irrevocable way: images aim to speak for themselves; inducing a rioters' victimization. On the other hand, the police's successful interventions and operations were not likely to be shot and even less to be broadcasted through mass media, and thus 24 hours news channels. Both factors, in addition to the repetitive and often spectacular aspect of footages broadcasted by these channels, led some of the respondents to suggest that it could orientate somehow the public opinion, in disfavor for the police. These observations draw a parallel with what Sandhu and Haggerty (2015) have labelled as the police legitimacy crisis, implying a decreasing public trust in the Police institution as well as a challenged police's legitimacy to a certain extent. The authors highlighted the fact that crediting as well as discrediting footages were made of the police; discrediting pictures are defined as "images of the police are often the stuff of hard news and political controversy" (2015, p. 9). However mainstream media, especially 24 hours news channels, are more likely to broadcast discrediting images. As one participant put it:

There is all the same a prejudice today.. Information, I think, is not given in its whole.. We are looking for sensationalism you see ? So this kind of journalism, by looking for sensationalism, and by looking for shocking pictures, is taking a side, and doesn't show all the elements, you see. [...] So somehow the consequence is that there's a prejudice and an opinion manipulation which happens. Well orientation actually not manipulation. And that's not fine. We must not forget that behind there are police officers who are wounded daily at least at the moment; it's actually very serious what is happening (Interviewee n°2).

Therefore, police officers seem to suffer this portrayal made by 24 hours news channels - due to the discrediting aspect of mediatized footages which can lead to biased news. Regarding the unequal coverage between police failures and successes, a link can be established with what Entman has called distortion-bias, which he has defined as: "news that purportedly distorts or falsifies reality" (2007, p. 163). In the case of the French police portrayed by BFM TV and iTélé, this distortion-biased would be materialized by the absence of successfully achieved interventions; there is only room for apparent failures: abuse of force directly assimilated to a police blunder, as underlined by a respondent: "There's a

media semantic toppling, which is not so recent, but to assimilate any force use by police officers or *gendarmes* to a blunder” (Interviewee n°5). Whereas the police is recognized as a legitimate actor legally allowed to use force (Ellis and McGovern, 2015; Goldsmith, 2010; Sandhu and Haggerty, 2014). Furthermore, considering the imbalance occurring between police officers and rioters coverage whilst violent demonstrations, this refers to what Entman has described as content-bias; defined as: “news that favor one side rather than providing equivalent treatment to both sides in a political conflict” (2007, p. 163). Applied to the examples exposed earlier, lacking context while mediatizing the police’s actions on violent riots favors a victimized view on rioters and presents police officers as violence-driven public actors. Respondents notably emphasized a very positive portrayal of Police forces after the Charlie Hebdo attacks in January 2015, in opposition to a pretty negative mediatization through 24 hours news channels on *Nuit Debout* demonstrations and protests against a labour law (cf. El Khomri law), especially in Paris. *Nuit Debout* is a social movement happening in many French cities since March 2016, it was launched to protest against the El Khomri law, a labor reform that the French government wants to pass without taking the MPs’ opinions into account. Slowly and surely the most influential trade unions (e.g: CGT, FO) joined the demonstrations against this law. It turns out that rioters also joined the protests and rendered these demonstrations pretty violent. Interviewed police officers underlined thus a roller coaster cycle between police officers, their portrayal through 24 hours news channels and subsequently the public opinion.

Nonetheless, it appeared also in the results that interviewees tended to acknowledge an apparent French culturally-rooted tradition of a popular opposition against authority. This latter observation partly illustrates Mouhanna’s (2009) argument which is: “conflicts between suburban youths and police officers are also quite frequent” (p. 1). The author further has put the stress on “the historically tense relationships between the Police and different types of minorities - ethnic, or even generational, such as youth” (2009, p. 3). Most of the rioters disturbing the demonstrations are indeed quite young, some of them are not even of age, as one fifteen-years old secondly school pupil explained to France3, a public television channel: “We throw things on police officers, where they are standing. A battle is starting, it looks like civil war, it’s funny ! It feels good instead of staying home” (Nous, on jette des trucs sur les policiers, là où il y a des postes, ça part en petite bataille, on dirait la guerre civile, c’est amusant. Ça fait du bien, au lieu de rester enfermé à la maison.) (Francetvinfo, 2016, para. 2). In order to echo and broaden this observation, it is relevant to take Wilson’s (1994) assertion pointing out: “the frequency of political demonstrations” and stating “rioting to be a national

sport” in France (p. 23). This would serve for a justification to the increasing gap between media representations of the police and rioters’ coverage. Moreover, the interviewee who went to Germany on a partnership with the Berliner police evoked the fact that in their early childhood, French people had been used to make fun of their authorities and to challenge them so to speak; indeed he referred to the *Guignol* spectacle. The latter is made with puppets, and as the respondent said: “the main attraction of the show is when Guignol hits the gendarme, at this point all the 4-5 years old kids are jubilant !” (Interviewee n°5). In parallel, he compared what it actually was to be a police officer in France and in Germany, which appears to be pretty probative when contextualizing the French police’s environment:

In Germany I took my son to school in the morning, wearing my uniform... And I almost became an alive god !! Unbelievable, unbelievable ! And even a year after there was a kid: *bist du die Polizei ?* (are you of the police ?) ! Then you say to yourself: woaw, it does exist ! Whereas in France... (Interviewee n°5).

Thus, the French police seems to be on thin ice when its actions are mediatized, especially through mainstream media such as 24 hours news channels due to the several reasons exposed earlier in this section. Violent events such as riots - and terrorist attacks - render the police even more visible. The police’s new and high visibility (Sandhu and Haggerty, 2014; 2015; Sandhu, 2016) can have important repercussions on the institution, in the sense that one isolated mediated and publicized behavior harms the whole profession if it’s a discrediting footage. Moreover police officers can be personally negatively affected in extreme cases, to the extent to have their career and private lives put at risk. Even more recently, a probative event occurred in France which also illustrates the risks underwent by police officers when their identity is publicized. A couple of police officers have been murdered at home on June, 13th 2016 by a terrorist who took action under ISIS’ orders (Elise Vincent, Julia Pascual, Le Monde, 2016). Nonetheless, it appears that the French culture presents a traditionally-rooted tendency to challenge authorities, aimed to explain 24 hours news channels different coverage between both police officers and rioters and police’s successes and failures. This national tendency would also explain the persistent discrepancies between actions of the police and its perception by the public opinion.

In sum, it resulted that the French Police institution is struggling to adapt its modernization discourse to its practice - in regard to the communication -, due to a strongly embedded tradition of: “Circulate, there’s nothing to see”. Indeed, even if the institution has the will to adapt more to the contemporary media logic, it turns out to be difficult because of the complexity of the police administrative procedures. However, accommodating to 24

hours news channels' logic seems complicated since these channels storytelling technique is characterized by quite short footages. A complete presentation of the police forces cannot be achieved through films lasting only a few minutes, as it has been demonstrated by the police portrayal on riots. Thus, 24 hours news channels' formats are not adapted for an in-depth portrayal of the police. The same observation has been made about Twitter. Indeed, it resulted that some police officers are reluctant to accommodate to Twitter's format, due to its too restrictive aspect, leading to a caricatural approach of complex issues. Overall, the police's perspective on its relation to the media - 24 hours news channels and Twitter - has been explored, as well as police officers' points of view on their own mediatization. No generality is doable on these opinions since police officers: firstly, favor interactions with known and quite close journalists, secondly, deem a mainly ethical difference between local newspapers journalists and national television channels' crews, and thirdly, experience extremely diverse media exposures and coverages. The latter, together with the French tradition of opposition to the authorities, influence thus, often negatively, the public opinion towards the police.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

In sum, this research explored the police's perspective in relation to two different media outlets: 24 hours news channels and Twitter; within the context of terrorist attacks. The case studied consists of the French police as the terror-related context refers to the 11/13 attacks essentially. The investigations were structured in such a way that explores different dimensions of the police's perspective: police officers' relationships with journalists, their experience about the police's operations mediatization on terror events (e.g. the case of Charlie Hebdo and of 11/13 attacks), their point of view toward new visibility and its implications for the major findings.

Thus, it appears that police officers-journalists relationships were private in the sense that police officers favor communication with journalists they know personally and for a long time. This finding also materializes the necessity to maintain trustworthy relations with journalists. Police officers who accept to communicate must be able to trust their interlocutors because of the risk they take regarding their hierarchy. As French police officers are not legally authorized to express themselves publicly, they must figure as an anonymous source of information and therefore make sure that they will not be betrayed. Consequently, police officers-journalists interactions have been qualified as off-off: journalists have police officers' private cellphone numbers, which enables them to interact pretty easily with their crime information sources and to remain as discreet as possible. The issue of privateness of police officers-journalists relationships can present advantages within a terror-related context. Indeed, since the police's communication is strongly restricted on these cases, journalists who are aware of the barriers that police officers face to communicate are more comprehensive when their police interlocutors refuse to give such or such information. Also due to the private characteristics of their relations with journalists, police officers can stop a false rumor by restoring the truth to journalists. Nonetheless, no generality can be made concerning journalists: some police officers also tend to keep the number of certain journalists that they do not trust, in order not to answer them. Indeed, it appeared that the police preferred dealing with local newspapers journalists, who verify more their informations and approach their topic more in-depth, in opposition to 24 hours news channels - BFM TV and iTélé - journalists, that they know less and thus trust less.

This way, 24 hours news channels were overall considered as an enemy to a serene action of the police. First, these channels' journalists tended to be more insisting and uncaring about police officers' legal obligations nor about the Police institution' intern structure. Secondly, these channels have committed pretty serious mistakes on the Charlie

Hebdo case (cf. Hyper Kasher supermarket's assault in Vincennes). 24 hours news channels have undoubtedly jeopardized the police's response to this terrorism event. Moreover they endangered police officers and hostages' lives present on-site by providing intelligence informations in real-time on national television. Thirdly, 24 hours news channels seem to broadcast especially discrediting and unfair footages of the police in regard to violent social protests: police officers are portrayed as violence-driven actors and rioters as victims. Thus, within a terror-related context, the police tends to be wary of 24 hours news channels, especially considering the fact the police will be less likely to be mediatized on national television when the situation is usual. Their distrust can become an anger feeling when it comes to the police's mediatization through 24 hours news channels regarding violent demonstrations, if the coverage is seen as unfair and inequitable. The first sub-research question addressed how the police perceive its interactions and relations to 24 hours news channels. In a general way, these channels are thus perceived as enemies by police officers and the interactions are private. Nonetheless, it is essential to take into account the fact that police officers acknowledge that these channels' journalists do their job and have directives - need for image and material - compelling them to approach police officers with insistence and a little consideration for the police's communication structure. Thus, the category police-24 hours news channels, comprised as a component of the police-media relation in this academic field supports the idea of an unhappy-marriage. It is also important to note the gap between 24 hours news channels timing and the police's one: the police cannot easily accommodate to 24 hours news channels' format and thus logic. As accommodating to the media logic is part of the mediatization process, it seems that the police's mediatization - regarding 24 hours news channels - cannot actually be in the police's favour.

This finding leads to the police's new - and high - visibility in relation to the mediatization. It was found that the police's new visibility was at the same time a dimension and a consequence of the police's mediatization. Indeed, because the Police, as an institution, has to accommodate to the media logic, its presence is more visible within the large media landscape (e.g: creation of official and national accounts on social network sites, press communiqués, and so on). And in the same time, while considering the spread of ICTs, peculiar to the broad mediatization process, citizen-journalists are enable to film the police on the public space; which increases the police's visibility. Thus the police's new visibility is implied by the mediatization process as well as is an aspect of mediatization applied to the police. Overall, police officers tend to acknowledge the positive effect of this new visibility which is to control and reduce police officers' bad behaviors. However when these footages

are discrediting, consumed largely by the audiences and become a polemical topic debated within the public sphere, the coupling mediatization-new visibility inducts negative consequences on both the Police institution and police officers. Indeed, as one isolated behavior harms the whole profession, the Police institution suffers this visibility and mediatization even though the isolated behavior into question is proven justified and legitimate later on. Furthermore, for the police officer at the heart of a media scandal, administrative sanctions are very heavy to such an extent that can put an end to his/her career, as for the professional plan. Additionally, as the public opinion reacts often with virulence to police-related media scandal, the social and private life of police officers can be seriously harmed, ensuing a depression and even divorces in the most extreme cases. Therefore, the police has had positive and negative experiences of its new visibility and mediatization. Regarding the context of terrorism, the police's new visibility is enhanced as they figure as the public actor who has to respond to acts of terror, together with the politics. One aspect of this response is the state of emergency in France, which implies static security points, rendering police officers very visible to both citizens and potential terrorists. Thus the police does not actually benefit from its new visibility in the context of a terrorist threat. Regarding the police and Twitter, findings suggest that the police essentially communicate proximity (e.g: disparition, traffic) and criminal informations. The police also uses Twitter as a means to recruit young police officers. These findings shed light on the fourth sub-research question of this study: how does the police use and communicate on Twitter ? However, due to a slow modernization of the Police institution, its usages of Twitter are not completely mastered in the sense that the institution experienced bad examples of police officers' misuses of the platform. In addition, the authorities lack of media and technology knowledge in order to optimize a better police's use of Twitter. This use comprises a surveillance role notably, implying watching emergent rumors launched on Twitter or merely citizens' reactions during a terrorist attack, which the police struggled to achieve on the night of November, 13th 2016. Therefore, results on the police's uses of Twitter confirm those exposed in previous theories and reveal in addition that the police tends to have a watch role on Twitter during acts of terror.

Furthermore, considering the police's distrust in regard to 24 hours news channels, its mainly negative experiences of the new visibility and mediatization in relation to unusual situations - violent social protests and context of terrorism - and the serious repercussions both can induct, it resulted that the police's mediatization accentuates the unhappy aspect of police-media marriage. Concerning 24 hours news channels, this concept of unhappy marriage

would refer to the pressure put by those media outlets and to the disputable coverage of the police they provide, along with the dangers their presence on sites of terrorist attacks prompts. Regarding Twitter, the concept of unhappy marriage materializes the police's authorities lack of knowledge and will to accommodate fully to this new media logic (e.g: adopting a horizontal use of Twitter, interacting more with the users).

Overall, results support the academic theories stating a unhappy police-media marriage (Cooke and Sturges, 2009; Ellis and Mc Govern, 2015; Mawby, 2002; 2010). It is important to note that this concept of unhappy police-media marriage is partly due the modernization of communication: the police can communicate informations directly to the citizens because of web 2.0 environment (e.g: Twitter accounts and interactive opportunities on police stations' websites), this argument formulated by Cooke and Sturges (2009) is supported by this research's findings. Moreover, the unhappy characteristics also resides in the fact that mediatizing discrediting footages of the police (cf. distortion-bias and content-bias exposed by Entman, 2007) - on 24 hours news channels and Twitter - challenges its legitimacy towards the public opinion (Sandhu and Haggerty, 2014; 2015; Sandhu, 2016); which appeared to be verified by the present findings. Going further, results showed that this new visibility of the police could cause serious damages to police officers, both on the professional and the personal plan. This argument helps to answer Sandhu and Haggerty (2015) interrogations about the consequences of this new visible field for the police. This visibility field has been proven to be hindering the police's response to terrorist attacks, notably regarding the journalistic presence on-site (e.g: the case of Charlie Hebdo and hyper kosher supermarket), argument which updates old assumptions (Alexander, 1978) and reinforces conspicuously the idea of an unhappy police-media marriage. Since this thesis aimed to determine how the police's mediatization affects its position towards both 24 hours news channels and Twitter within a terror-related context, it seems logical to state that the French police's mediatization is not optimum yet. Nonetheless, its mediatization process, within the context of terrorism, makes the number of exchanges with media outlets increase, especially regarding 24 hours news channels. It makes also police officers more wary of these channels because of the coverage provided and their legal interdiction to communicate on (terrorism) on-course cases. Regarding the police's position towards Twitter, it seems not very developed yet: the police needs to master more this social media in order to benefit from it while acts of terror and under a terrorist threat.

Regarding the double-sided aspect of the mediatization process (Couldry, 2008; Hjarvard, 2008; Schulz, 2004; Strömbäck, 2008), when it is applied to the police, some

discrepancies start to be felt. One side of mediatization implies that institutions accommodate to the media logic, which is not entirely possible in regard to the police and Twitter because the police institution lacks of technology and media knowledge on one hand. And on the other, Twitter's logic, comprising its format, is not seen as worthwhile to accommodate to by some police officers. Therefore information and communication tools and modes are not properly handled by the authorities yet. The other side of mediatization concerns the integration of the media within other institutions, even though policing is more and more "performed through both interactive and mass media" (Hjarvard, 2008), the police's mediatization process seems not fully achieved since the authorities are reluctant to a total integration of the (new) media within its organization. Considering 24 hours news channels, the format does not seem neither the most suitable and desirable for the police. If we consider Schulz's (2004) observations on the mediatization process, some aspects are relevant to link with this research's findings. The scholar stated that media figured as an extension of human communication, which is undeniable, and applied to the police it materializes its external communication. Schulz (2004) also argued that the media were actually replacing usual social activities and social institutions; which turns out to illustrate citizens' ability to lodge complaints online instead of interacting with police officers in a police station - to an extreme extent, some citizens even do so on Twitter by sending their complains to the national police's account assuming this is enough to officially lodge complaint against someone. This also shows how much the media are embedded into social practices (Hjarvard, 2008). Consequently, this refers to the accommodation to the media logic - from Twitter users' this time - as well.

However, due to the slow modernization of the French Police institution, its mediatization is not optimum yet, which makes police officers passive actors of their visibility and mediatization. In order to better adapt to the media logic and thus benefit from their mediatization, at last to have more positive experiences, it would be relevant for the French police officers to be taught how to friendly behave to camera-policing (Sandhu, 2016). Indeed, if they learn how to better handle and to adapt to their new working environment, they would be less likely to suffer their media exposure and discrediting footages staging them intervening on the streets. It seems also reasonable to assume that being trained to camera-policing and adopting a friendly attitude towards camera would tend to reduce tensions existing between the police and the public opinion.

In sum, the French police's authorities could benefit from a more pronounced modernization, notably because mediatization is a "high modernity process" (Hjarvard,

2008). Hence, the mediatization of society will induct more and more transparency and openness in communication. Therefore, the police will not be left apart from this process: in fact the police cannot prevent its mediatization. The French police should also take advantage of getting to know better the journalistic profession: partnerships between police services and media outlets should help police officers and journalists to learn each others' profession and implications and thus to render their unhappy marriage happier. Moreover, in order to be better apprehended by the police, the media, and especially 24 hours news channels, should provide a fairer and more equitable coverage when it comes to show police officers intervening on riots in the public space. Additionally, 24 hours news channels would be more positively considered by the police by taking a step back before broadcasting intelligence informations on national television about the police's operations on a terrorist event. A more cooperative approach by both the police and the media, towards each other, would thus aim to benefit both actors, notably under the circumstances of terrorist attacks and threats. Nonetheless, the methodology of this research relies on ten interviews, which is a quite small sample, together with the snowball sampling mode, it is absolutely not possible to apply the results to a broader social subject. Hence the results of this study concern essentially the Parisian police even though some findings echo and support theoretical concepts previously established. However, this thesis relies on in-depth knowledge that was gained from a typically inaccessible group of practitioners. This way the sample allowed a collection and analysis of high-quality data. In this sense, researching the police's mediatization issue within a larger sample would make a lot of sense and reinforce this investigation's findings. Regarding the context of terrorism - in France -, as this research figures as a pioneer, further insights on the journalistic perspective would aim to complete the spectrum of the police's mediatization under the circumstances of acts of terror. This thesis' goal was to elaborate on previous scholarly bodies of work about mediatization, police's new visibility and police-media relations essentially by investigating on the police's perspective. As such the results hopefully contribute to these fascinating research fields.

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Appendixes

A: Questionnaire for police officers (interview guide)

→ Theme 1 : Introduction of the topic, general questions:

1) Were you on duty on the evening of the events ? / *Étiez-vous en service le soir des attentats ?*

i) if yes, can you please explain me how you experienced the situation, as the events started relatively late and different places were concerned ? / *Si oui, pouvez-vous m'expliquer comment vous avez vécu la situation, d'autant que les attaques ont commencé tard et ont touché des endroits dispersés ?*

ii) [According to the outcome, which is if the policeman was on duty and was on one of the sites where the attacks happened] Can you depict the situation, (journalistic presence notably) ? / *Pourriez-vous décrire la situation, notamment concernant la présence de journalistes ?*

iii) if yes, have you been directly approached by a journalist (and how) ? / *Si oui, avez-vous été interpellé directement par un journaliste (et comment) ?*

iiii) if no, what did you do when you heard about what was going on ? / *Si non, qu'avez-vous fait lorsque vous avez appris ce qui était en train de se passer ?*

2) How did the communication of your unit with different media outlets go the week following the attacks ? / *Comment se sont passées les communications entre votre unité et les médias pendant la semaine suivant les attentats ?*

i) What were the biggest challenge(s) your unit faced when dealing with the media at this point ? / *Quel(s) ont été les challenges les plus importants pour votre unité pour traiter avec mes médias à ce moment-là ?*

ii) What kind of exchanges has your unit had with the media during this period ? / *Quels types d'échanges votre unité a-t-elle eue avec les médias pendant cette période ?*

3) In what ways instructions within a terror context differ from previous instructions about dealing with journalists? / *De quelles façons les instructions données dans un contexte de terrorisme diffèrent-elles de celles données "en temps normal" concernant la façon de traiter avec les journalistes ?*

4) In what ways/How did the media approached your service the week following the attacks ? / *De quelles manières/Comment les médias ont-ils approché votre unité la semaine suivant les attentats ?*

probe 1: I will shortly explain the theories on media-terrorism relation; notably the idea of symbiosis (terror acts are unavoidable scoops to cover for the media, implying a certain notion of prestige and professionalism + increasing competition between reporters & in parallel, terrorism needs the mass media to reach a broad audience and to be visible enough)

→ Theme 2 : The Police & 24 hours News Channels Crews

5) In general, can you describe the kinds of relationships you have had with 24 hours channels journalists ? / *Pouvez-vous me décrire les types de relations que vous avez eus avec les journalistes de chaînes d'info continue d'une façon générale ?*

6) If it is the case, how did these channels' journalists changed their ways to approach towards the police (following the attacks ? Following Charlie Hebdo, earlier in 2015)? / *Si c'est le cas, comment les journalistes de ces chaînes ont-ils changé leur manière d'aborder la police (après les attentats ? Après Charlie Hebdo?) ?*

→ Theme 3 : The Police & Twitter

probe 2: I will shortly summarize Web 2.0 environment (its participative aspect + network effects on social media) and discuss it in relation to the activity going on online notably on Twitter during Paris attacks (#PorteOuverte; users's exchanges and sharing of informations, pictures and videos of the events; certain pictures of within the concert hall

and videos of the shootings have been removed for several reasons; users' comments on the police's activity and role) + description of Heverin et al.'s (2010) findings on police's uses of Twitter (tweeting especially about crime information, in a lesser extent about the area's happenings such as events, traffic and so on BUT avoiding the interactive options of the platform such as retweeting or replying)

7) Do you use social media as a policeman or a citizen ? / *Utilisez-vous les réseaux sociaux en tant que policier ou citoyen ?*

i) if policeman, can you elaborate and provide examples of your activity ? / *Si vous les utilisez en tant que policier, pouvez-vous me donner des exemples de votre activité en ligne ?*

ii) if citizen, why preventing a professional use ? / *Si vous les utilisez en tant que citoyen, pourquoi vous abstenir d'un usage professionnel ?*

iii) Is your team active on Twitter with an official/professional account ? / *Votre équipe est-elle active sur Twitter avec un compte professionnel et officiel ?*

8) How did the police experience the activity taking place on Twitter during the attacks, in regard to the points detailed earlier ? / *Comment la police a-t-elle vécu cette activité exhaustive qui a pris place sur Twitter le soir des attentats, en considérant les différents points exposés un peu plus tôt ?*

9) How did the police's stance towards Twitter and its users differ within a terror-related context compared to usually ? / *De quelle manière la position de la police par rapport à Twitter et ses utilisateurs change dans un contexte lié au terrorisme comparé à d'ordinaire ?*

→ Theme 4 : Affects of mediatization towards the police

probe 3: explanation of the media-police relation's evolution (quote from Cooke & Sturges (2009): "police service [had] to move forward from a culture of information storage to one of information management and sharing") + explanation of what it means regarding mediatization (professionalization of the police's communication has been observed, employing former journalists and even marketing skilled people to ensure a good communication, regulated and controlled in the sense that it is distributed directly by the police and less by traditional media outlets)

10) In what ways does information management differ in a terror-related context compared to quieter situations/settings ? / *De quelles manières la gestion de l'information diffère-t-elle dans un contexte lié au terrorisme, comparé à une situation plus ordinaire ?*

probe 4: explanation of the freedom of information legislation developed by Cooke & Sturges (2009) : the latter implies that the police's websites have to offer the opportunity to demand informations from them among other consequences + many of these requests come from media outlets & risk that some of their requests are too close to intelligence which is to stay private for the police.

11) Regarding the freedom of information, what do you consider to be the limit of information that can be publicized in the context of terrorism ? / *En rapport avec la liberté d'information, où considérez-vous être la limite pour qu'une information soit rendue publique dans un contexte lié au terrorisme ?*

probe 5: explanation of the new visibility : because people can shoot pictures and upload them only in a few minutes then share them online, police's more exposed and vulnerable to see her image morally assessed by the public + accountability

12) How do you perceive the current media activity ? / *Comment percevez-vous l'activité médiatique actuelle ?*

13) In what ways does the increasing mediatised environment affect you and your profession ? / *De quelles façons l'environnement de plus en plus médiatisés vous affecte-t-il, ainsi que votre métier ?*

probe 6: I will remind the definition of police's new visibility and expose both its positive and negative aspects developed in the theories + reminder of the ICT's proliferation and idea of citizen-journalist meaning that anyone is nowadays able to capture an unusual scene happening around and to report through the social media notably.

14) How do you perceive this new visibility regarding your daily activity, especially regarding the course of police investigations ? / *Comment percevez-vous cette nouvelle visibilité, par rapport à votre activité quotidienne, notamment en rapport avec le cours des investigations policières ?*

15) In what ways do acts of terrorism in particular impact the visibility of police work ? / *De quelles manières les actes terroriste en particulier ont un impact sur la visibilité de la police ?*

B: Code Tree

Code Tree

