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Social Media- A stimulator for active citizen engagement?

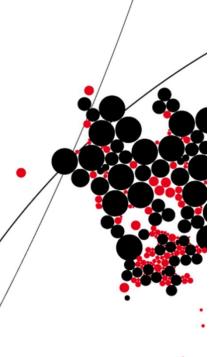
The influence of social media on policing in terms of communication with citizens

A case study of the police in Enschede and Gronau

Bachelor Thesis
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Abstract

This study is dedicated to discovering the impact of social media on policing in terms of communication with citizens and their engagement. While being a case study, this thesis concentrates on the police stations in Enschede (NL) and Gronau (DE), hence on the microlevel where street-level bureaucrats interact with citizens. Important theories that are included concern Street-level bureaucracy, New Public Governance, as well as the concepts of community policing and social media itself. Data about the chosen cases was gathered through structured interviews with the police officers. Therefore, this study is based on original data, that is supposed to enrich the already existing literature, concerning this topic. The investigation discovered that the police Enschede uses Social Media actively and regularly, while the police in Gronau is not allowed to do so. The analysis shows, that Social Media can help the police to communicate directly and fast with citizens, to discover more and to become more visible and easily approachable. Nevertheless, it cannot replace personal contact like face-to-face conversations.

Keywords: Policing, Social Media, Street-level Bureaucracy

Table of Contents

Introduction	1
Research Question	3
Theoretical Framework, Concepts and Hypotheses	4
Street-Level Bureaucracy	4
New Public Governance	6
Concept of Policing	7
Concept of Community Policing	7
Social Media	8
Hypotheses	9
Research Methods	9
Research Design	9
Operationalization and Data Collection	11
Case selection and sampling	14
Findings	15
Police in Enschede	15
Police in Gronau	20
Analysis	25
Communication between police and citizens	25
Citizen´s response towards police	28
Contribution of Social Media to Policing	29
Conclusion	33
References	34
APPENDIX	35

Introduction

Liking, sharing, commenting- these are terms that are familiar to almost everyone around the globe. Social Media, such as Twitter, Facebook, Instagram or Snapchat, play a crucial role in most people's everyday life. All over the world, these platforms are used to share messages, pictures, videos or information of other kind and to simply communicate with others. Besides the entertaining factor Social Media sites often have, they are also used to establish and obtain professional networks. For example, LinkedIn is a social network service that mainly focuses on business and employment.

"Digital communication is woven into the fabric of nearly every part of life – personal and professional – and law enforcement is no exception" (DeCarlo, 2016). This comment by Cindy DeCarlo summarizes and clarifies the importance of digitization of every part of society and shows that digital communication is not only used for personal and entertaining matters but also plays an increasingly important role in the professional sphere, for example also in policing.

This bachelor thesis will focus on social media, as one part of digital communication, and how it helps street-level bureaucrats to include citizen's into their daily work. More specifically, the aim of this paper is to identify and explain the influence of social media on policing in the chosen settings – the police stations in Enschede (Netherlands) and in Gronau (Germany) and to explain existing differences of Social Media usage.

Existing theories to New Public Governance stress the importance of active engagement of citizens into policy-making processes and their implementation. In order to see if social media help to promote the involvement of citizens into policing, it is necessary to investigate how social media are integrated into daily police routines to inform or interact with citizens and what other instruments or sources do exist to fulfill these matters. It is expected that there are differences in the use of social media between the two chosen police stations, thus it is of interest to discover where these differences evolve from and if the setting itself has an influence on that.

The chosen topic of this research is not only embedded in the theoretical framework of New Public Governance, as already mentioned, but also in the theory of street-level bureaucracy. This theory's concepts have been mainly developed by Lipsky, who for example introduces coping as a concept of street-level bureaucrats. According to him, these bureaucrats have to develop strategies to keep up with the workload by establishing so called "standard operating

procedures" (Hill, Hupe, 2017) This thesis shall discover if using social media is a strategy to cope within the field of community policing in Enschede and Gronau. Community Policing is a concept that, according to Terpstra (2009), is based on five elements, including the active cooperation with citizens in the management of crime and disorder. The study will also look into the implementation of these elements concerning citizen engagement in the chosen cases. It is expected that by the additional provision of information via social media, the police is able to address concerns of the community and mobilize citizens to assist in solving disorders or minor crimes more efficiently and effectively, which is in line with findings by Goldsmith and Crawford. (Goldsmith, Crawford, 2014)

By focusing on the two cases, Enschede and Gronau, this study will provide new detailed knowledge on how street-level bureaucrats interact with citizens at the micro-level that has not been addressed in existing literature yet. The research will give an outlook on what can be done to include citizens effectively in the management and fight against disorder and (minor) crime, which also represents the social relevance of the chosen research topic. In addition, this paper shall broaden the understanding of how social media can be used beyond the entertaining factor, for example by actively shaping or influencing policy outcomes.

Furthermore, existing literature has already focused on the impact of social media on the police, as the article by Crump that asks: What are the police doing on Twitter? or the article by Grimmelikhuijsen and Meijer that investigates the influence of Twitter on perceived Police Legitimacy. These articles also suggest social media as an instrument for open government, which clarifies the topic's scientific relevance.

Nevertheless, scholars have not been focusing on the comparison of social media use in the chosen settings. After interviewing representatives of both police stations, the analysis of the findings shall lead to new insights and add to the knowledge about the impact of Social Media on police work, in particular in Enschede and in Gronau. This is achieved by referring the findings to the theory that will be introduced in the theory section of this paper. Based on this, the research questions, sub-questions and hypotheses of this thesis shall be discussed. The conclusion of this thesis summarizes the findings and provides an outlook for further research in this field.

Research Question

The clear research question, which significantly influenced this work and points out the general objection of the thesis, is:

Why does or does not the police use Social Media to communicate with citizens in Enschede and Gronau and what explains the differences?

In this question, the independent variable is the social media use of the police the dependent variable is policing, which includes the communication and information exchange with citizens. It is of interest how the influence varies in the different settings.



To find an answer to this empirical, explanatory question, the following three sub-questions shall be answered, which also clarify the general research objectives.

- 1) How do police officers with and without the use of social media communicate with citizens about public safety in Enschede and Gronau?
- 2) How do citizens respond to police by using Social Media in Enschede and Gronau?

The answering of these descriptive questions shall lead to knowledge of how social media is used to communicate between police and citizens and show what other communication sources are used.

3) What does the use of Social Media contribute to policing and public safety compared to traditional modes of communication?

By answering the third sub-question, the explanatory factor of the research question shall be addressed.

Theoretical Framework, Concepts and Hypotheses

The following chapter shall introduce the theoretical framework and main concepts, the topic is embedded in. The main focus lays on Street-level Bureaucracy and New Public Governance Theory. The most important concepts included are Coping, Discretion, Social Control and Professionalism, concerning street-level bureaucrats. A concept that is closely connected with New Public Governance theory is Community Policing. These sections will be based on reviewed literature of other scholars that focused on these topics.

In addition, the concept of social media, conceptualized by myself, will be introduced and the importance of social media within policing will be substantiated by an article by Crawford and Goldsmith.

Street-Level Bureaucracy

Within the field of street-level bureaucracy, Michael Lipsky is considered the main scholar as he developed the central concepts of the work of street-level bureaucrats and influenced many other scholars who provided further research. (Hill, Hupe, 2007) According to Lipsky (1980), street-level bureaucracies are "the schools, police and welfare departments, lower courts, legal services offices, and other agencies whose workers interact with and have wide discretion over the dispensation of benefits or the allocation of public sanctions". Hence, street-level bureaucrats as the police are providing public services in direct contact with citizens, they are interacting at the interface of the state and society. By doing so, they "actively shape policy outcomes" (Meyer, Vorsanger, 2003), while interacting with professional, policy, organizational, socio-economic and community systems.

This already indicates the bureaucrats' unique and highly influential position and one of the core concepts of street-level bureaucracy — discretion. Discretion provides street-level bureaucrats with freedom of action, they are able to decide which rules to apply and to what extent. Therefore, they can decide how to apply policies that have been developed by the affiliated politicians of their work field. Consequently, they are ultimate policy makers, which is necessary due to their demanding, unpredictable and varying work. Furthermore, public service provision cannot be programmed or totally determined, but strongly calls for human judgement. (Meyer, Vorsanger, 2003) This is probably also the case when it comes to the judgement whether to take information into account, that are communicated through social media, for example by citizens. The police officers, who use social media, generally have the freedom to decide if they react to messages or not.

Another central concept, which is closely linked with discretion, is coping. The work of street-level bureaucrats has many facets and as already mentioned is highly demanding. For example, often there are conflicting interests, bureaucrats heavily rely on their clients, there is scarcity of information, time and financial resources and at many times several stakeholders are involved in addressing the client's' problems. Due to this cross-pressure street-level bureaucrats have to develop their own coping strategies to keep up with the workload. (Vedung, 2015) The three traditional coping mechanisms, defined by Michael Lipsky, are mentioned in an article by Halliday and Burns et. al. The first mechanism states, that streetlevel bureaucrats have to establish so called "standard operating procedures and stereotypes" (Lipsky, 1980). This shall reduce time and resource demands. Another mechanism is the modification of the job's concept, in order to narrow the gap between the objectives and available resources. One could expect, that this gap is getting smaller by the use of social media, since more information is available and shared more easily as well as in a shorter time. In addition to this, the mechanism of modification of the concept of the clients shall make the gap between objectives and actual accomplishments more agreeable. (Halliday, Burns et al., 2009) By sharing accomplishments, information about interesting incidents etc. of daily policing activities, it might follows that police work and police themselves will be more appreciated by citizens, as they can see actual outcomes in form of a post and furthermore they might feel more connected to the police as they can easily contact them via social media. In this paper, it will be of interest how social media are used by bureaucrats like the police to cope with their work and if these have an influence on the introduced traditional coping mechanisms.

By possessing far-reaching influence, street-level bureaucrats are frequently seen as 'agents of social control'. (Meyer, Vorsanger, 2003) The concept of social control is supposed to reduce crime in addition to policing. The main idea is to combat minor crime and disorder, to prevent the loss of public trust and further crime. In order to achieve this, it is necessary to involve citizens more into policing to restore public confidence, for example in the effectiveness of police. What impact social media have on implementing this, will be focused on later in this paper. For example, how the police use these networks to gather information about hotspots or troublesome persons, not only to fight but also to prevent crime.

The previously described concepts of street-level bureaucracy are based on the professional status that street-level bureaucrats have. Professionalism is characterized by referring to the claims of exclusive expertise as well as competence, and the claim to work for client's benefits. (Princen, Geuijen et al., 2016) Furthermore, they should enjoy professional

autonomy, based on legitimation, which indicates the high degree of trust as an indispensable characteristic of their job. They are trusted to "produce desired responses, and to deal with situations, that may be exceptional in a sensible and creative way (Hill, Hupe, 2007, 282)." To achieve this, street-level bureaucrats work within sets of inter-organizational exchanges of various forms. There exists a horizontal and a vertical dimension. Horizontally, the exchange occurs between peers and co-workers and vertically, between the public managers (often politicians) and citizens. (DiMaggio, Powell, 1983) If and how this vertical exchange towards citizens is influenced by the use of social media, shall be described in the following thesis as well.

New Public Governance

The paradigm of New Public Governance (NPG) has developed from the Public Administration and New Public Management Paradigms, caused by the complexity of policy problems of the 21st century. It focuses more on the relationship with the external environment and on inter-organizational relations, as a response to Individualization, Horizontalization and the emergence of Information and Communication Technologies (including social media). (Osborne, 2006) In addition, it concentrates on service effectiveness and outcomes.

The nature of contemporary policy problems becomes more wicked and often involves cross-boundary problems, especially if one compares them to the past. Hence, decision-making processes on the local, regional or state level become more and more complex. Therefore, Governments become more dependent on other, external stakeholders. New Public Governance defines a pluralistic state, as well as a plural state. The pluralistic state is characterized by "multiple processes..." that "...inform the policy making system (Osborne, 2006, 384)." Within the plural state, public services are delivered by "multiple interdependent actors (Osborne, 2006, 384)." This leads to new forms of integrated service delivery and an increased cooperation between public and private actors. Furthermore, new forms of citizens' engagement and stakeholder participation are created. (Osborne, 2006)

In this paper, it will be of interest if social media platforms are used to enhance this cooperation with private actors and if it can be seen a one of these new forms that integrates citizens into public service delivery.

In the context of this study, the New Public Governance theory is closely related with the concept of community policing.

Concept of Policing

Within this thesis, policing is the dependent variable of the main research question and therefore this concept needs to be clarified, before the concept of Community Policing will be explained.

According to Reiner (2010), a popular scholar in the field of policing theories, policing implies a set of activities connected with a social function, which mainly aims on securing and maintaining social order. This entails to control crime, maintain order and public safety. Policing can be carried out by a variety of institutional arrangements and processes, when there is potential for deviance, disorder or conflict. More specifically, it means the creation of systems of surveillance coupled with the threat of sanctions for discovered deviance.

Policing is also an aspect of the concept of social control, that was introduced earlier in this theory section and indicates that it is carried out by Professionals. These professionals can be street-level bureaucrats employed by the state but also a variety of other (non-public) agents. Thus, policing can also be implemented voluntarily by citizens. (Reiner, 2010) To make this possible, well-functioning communication between the police and citizens is necessary. This can take place through traditional channels of communication like personal conversations (also on the phone) or contact by mail. In addition, Social Media can actively be used by the police to reach out to the citizens or citizens can use it to support the police, for example by organizing a neighborhood watch or by sharing police relevant information.

Considering ensuring social order as the main goal of policing, the effectiveness is constantly debatable. This thesis will also cover, if Social Media makes information gathering more effective, for example by leading to more information than other communication channels.

Concept of Community Policing

The concept of Community Policing contains elements of different and sometimes even contradicting police models, which makes it hard to define it precisely. Anyhow, a definition by Skogan (2006) states, that the concept includes citizen involvement, problem solving and decentralization. Nevertheless, it is more feasible to concentrate on five key elements, that are constantly considered as main characteristics of Community Policing by international literature. (Terpstra, 2009)

The first element is the focus on proximity, approachability and visibility, which shall enhance the amount of information obtained by police, as well as increase trust of citizens into police work. By the use of social media, it is expected that citizens feel less intimidated to contact the police, since it is easier to write a message or a comment on a social media

platform than actually talk through the phone or even in person. The second element is the use of pro-active and preventive strategies, besides the reactive one. Prevention is therefore seen as an integrated factor of community policing procedures. Social Media could be used to implement these procedures, for example by warning citizens about a troublesome area in the city or a certain person. Another main element of Community Policing is the concentration on a broad range of issues. Following this assumption, besides crime itself, disorder and the feeling of insecurity are of great interest to the police to address a variety of demands of citizens or other external partners. (Terpstra, 2009) This also complies with the earlier described role as social control agents. This could also be supported by the use of social media, since it makes it easier to get and/or share information about these issues. In addition, citizens might feel more confident to communicate their demands via social media than in person, as mentioned earlier in this theory section. The cooperation with external partners from the public as well as the private sector, especially at the community level, represents another key element of Community Policing, which clearly links the concept with New Public Governance theories. (Agger, Poulsen, 2017) The fifth key element is the assumption of cooperation with citizens, which includes the support and promotion of active citizen involvement. This element can also be seen as a result of New Public Governance. It is expected that Social Media are very important in the promotion of active citizen involvement, for all the previously stated reasons.

Social Media

define the concept of Social Media. In general, it is a very broad concept which is hardly defined precisely. Social Media are web-based tools that are used to create and share information of all kinds (personal messages, photos, videos, links of articles etc.). Furthermore, they enable the online community (users of social media) to interact and collaborate. The most famous examples of Social Media are Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn, Snapchat and Instagram. Within this paper, Blogs are not considered as Social Media.

In general, media, but today especially social media have a great influence on public opinions, therefore also on the opinion about police. If communication between citizens and police works well, for example via social media, there is a higher degree of trust in policing which can also have a positive effect on perceived Police Legitimacy and increased transparency. Legitimacy in the context of this thesis is understood as the public acknowledgement and approval of police work. This is connected to the degree of proximity, approachability and

Since this paper focuses on the influence of social media on police work, it is indispensable to

visibility, that could be increased by the use of social media and which shall be described further in the analysis of this paper. Furthermore, the increased transparency has an impact on perceived procedural fairness, which in the end influences perceived Police Legitimacy as well. (Grimmelikhuijsen, Meijer, 2015)

According to Goldsmith and Crawford (2014), the use of information provided by social media makes police work efficient and effective. The information can be used to fight crime, address community concerns and to mobilize the workforce, which means for example to activate citizens to engage into policing in this context. These are all important factors of the previously explained concept of community policing. As already mentioned, this thesis is also dedicated to find out, how information is selected by the police and further if the source, for example social media, and content play a role in this selection process.

Hypotheses

Based on the previously introduced theories and concepts, the following hypotheses are formulated:

H1: If Social Media are used by the police, traditional communication channels are less important.

H2: If the police use Social Media, it is more likely that citizens cooperate.

H3: The more often the police are visible on Social Media, the higher the degree of perceived legitimacy.

Research Methods

Research Design

A research design provides the plan on how to find an answer to the research question of the thesis. The first step of achieving this aim was the presentation of findings of existing literature, which includes Street-level Bureaucracy and New Public Governance Theory. Supplemented by the most important concepts Coping, Discretion, Social Control and Professionalism, Policing, Community Policing and Social Media.

Then the main findings of the interviews will be presented, consequently the research is qualitative. Furthermore, data will be gathered cross-sectional, in form of an explanatory case study. This means that data will be conducted within a short period of time (within ten

weeks), without any manipulation of the investigated objects, while focusing on two selected cases – the police stations in Enschede and Gronau. Carrying out an explanatory case study means, that the findings shall be explained and substantiated by existing literature. Further, it means that this thesis tries to discover how and why Social Media are used in policing, which shall be explained by the use of the introduced theories and concepts.

The research design entails several limitations. Cross-sectional data gathering is connected with two main threads of internal validity: time order and third variable influence. Because the data are gathered at one point of time, time order problems like reversed causation cannot be taken into account. Without manipulation, it is not possible to determine whether the two defined variables are directly connected or if a cofounding variable has an influence on their relation. (Dooley, 2001) But, by applying this research design, it can be investigated if an association between the two variables exists at all, which is appropriate for the focus of this thesis.

Cross-Sectional research is often associated with strong external validity, since it allows huge samples, which makes the results most-likely generalizable.

Anyhow, in this study external validity is certainly limited, due to case based, qualitative research of the special settings in Enschede and Gronau. Anyhow, generalizability might be possible to the extent of police stations at similar municipalities with a comparable social media use, but in overall the generalizability is rather low.

Furthermore, there will be the description of the police's perception of social media influence only. Due to limited time, citizens will not be interviewed or surveyed about their opinion on how social media helps them to communicate with the police or enables them to engage in policing processes. Thus, this thesis provides a one-sided picture, but also leaves room for further research that includes citizen's perceptions as well.

In general, it is not possible to rule out all possible threats within research and due to the limited time frame for writing the thesis, cross sectional research is the most feasible approach to answer the formulated research question and sub-questions, because it allows to gather as much data as possible and necessary in a short amount of time.

It is simply important to keep in mind the variety of threats of this study, while analyzing the results and connecting them with the theoretical framework. It is also the aim to come to new insights concerning social media use by the police and how it stimulates citizens' engagement into policing, which shall be finalized in the conclusion of the thesis.

Operationalization and Data Collection

To find answers to the formulated hypotheses and research questions, the chosen topic is assessed by using qualitative research methods, as already mentioned, and therefore by the conduction of in-depth interviews "in a natural field setting (Dooley, 2001, 248)." The aim was to collect original data from interviews of police officers in their normal work sphere. Five structured interviews with police officers at the station in Enschede were conducted and audio-recorded, as well as the three interviews in Gronau. In addition to that a police officer who is responsible for public affairs of the "Kreispolizeibehörde" Borken, to which the police Gronau is subordinated to, answered the interview questions via email. All interviews were anonymized after conduct.

The set of questions as well as the main focus of the interrogation were clear before the interviews started. Whereas, "the conversation between two or more participants is informal and free to vary (Fylan, 2005, 65)." Nevertheless, in some interviews questions were added spontaneously to understand the interviewee even better or to get more details about a certain topic. The interviews in Enschede were conducted in English (Appendix 1) and the interviews in Gronau were conducted in German (Appendix 2). The set of questions varied for the different police stations, as it became clear before the interviews took place that the police in Enschede does use Social Media in their daily work routines and in contrast to that the police in Gronau does not use Social Media so far.

The interview matrix at the police station in Enschede was the main common room at the police station for the first two interviews, where only police officers with an ID-card have access to. The other three interviews took place at another station in small conference rooms, which were also only accessible with an ID-card. While the setting was formal due to the location and the uniforms of the officers, the interviews proceeded in a rather informal atmosphere. This is characterized by the use of colloquial language by the police officers and their description of their personal opinion and experience concerning the topic. The interviewees did not know the questions before and answered spontaneously. It appeared like all the officers answered honestly and out of their own motivation. It did not seem like they were trying to present a certain picture, that could have been asked of them by the police organization, for example. Even though one officer seemed to have prepared what he wanted to share about the topic social media in general. He did not always respond to the question asked, but with what he might considered as important. But this also led to further and

detailed information. In general, there were smaller complications within all interviews due to misunderstandings since English is not the native language of the interviewer nor the interviewed. Anyhow, all of them could be resolved and the answers are comprehendible. But of course, it is possible that this led even more to under- or overinterpretation of statements.

The three interviews in Gronau took all place in a small office at the police station. They were conducted on a rather stressful day, since in the night before some serious crime took place. Two out of three of the police officers that were suggested for the interviews, were all busy with handling it. Therefore, factors like time pressure and stress might have influenced the answers of the police men, who as well as their colleagues in Enschede did not know the questions before the interview. They answered spontaneously and presented their own view, under recognition of their particular position. All officers came from different fields, which might has influenced their answers as well. In general, it seemed like all of them told the truth. They included their own opinion and gave examples based on their own experiences. Even though the interview took place in the native language of both interview partners, some questions needed more clarification. Anyhow, the police officers were able to give longer and somehow more detailed answers in a shorter amount of time, compared to the Dutch officers, which most likely is also associated with the language. One interview form was filled out and sent via email by the officer who is responsible for public relations of the police of the "Kreispolizeibehörde" Borken, to which the police Gronau belongs. In the beginning, the officer gives a general overview about police organization in the state of North-Rhine-Westphalia and the use of social media. Then he answers the same questions that the other policemen were asked in Gronau, in a clear and detailed way. While interpreting these answers, it is important to take into consideration that he did not answer spontaneously and he could have even asked others for their opinion. Additionally, it is his task to present a positive picture of the police. Thus, it is hard to tell if he answered honestly and out of his own perception and beliefs.

The qualitative methods appear to be most applicable to address the empirical research question and sub-questions as well as the formulated hypotheses, that focuse on two certain cases, hence require investigating specific situational factors. (Dooley, 2001) The structured interviews allowed to emphasize on the most interesting topics and to get to know the professional's opinion about the topic, which was compared to existing literature afterwards.

The interviews provide insights on how the use of social media may or may not influence policing.

To ensure quality of the research outcome, the quality criteria according to Mayring (2002) are applied throughout this investigation. In total, there are six criteria: Proximity to research objects, definition of systematic analysis units, documentation of the procedure, fact based interpretation, triangulation and communicative validation.

The proximity to the research is given because the interviews took place at the police's working sphere, as explained in the previous abstracts. Before the interviews started, the research aim and overall objective were explained to all interviewees. The analysis will present to what extent this research helps the research objects, thus the police in Enschede and Gronau.

Through the formulation of the research questions, the sub-questions and hypotheses, the analysis follow a specific structure with distinct analysis units.

All interviews were recorded and afterwards transcribed, which serves the cause of documentation of the research procedure. The outcome is furthermore summarized in the findings chapter. The research methods chapter itself, outlines the research process and the different steps that were taken to receive the outcome.

The interpretation of the findings is validated on facts, which are either findings of the interviews or provided by included theories and concepts. The use of different theories to substantiate the findings, as well as the comparison of the cases Enschede and Gronau, fulfill the quality criteria of triangulation to some extent.

To test the validity of the research, Mayring suggests presenting and discussing the outcome with the object of investigation. This took place in a limited extent, because the results were presented to one of the police officers from Enschede, who generally agreed with the findings. But the communicative validation could be increased by presenting it to all involved research objects.

It is clear, that there still exist limitations of this data collection methods. Due to time reasons and strict regulations, only a limited number of interviews could take place. Especially in Germany it was more complicated to arrange the interviews because an approval by the Ministry of Inner Affairs of the state of North-Rhine Westphalia was needed to conduct the interviews. (Appendix 3) This was also the reason why less interviews were conducted in

Gronau. Therefore, only a small insight into daily policing and what role Social Media play in it will be achieved.

Objectivity is also endangered, since everyone interprets statements differently. For example, to me it might seems as social media has a huge impact on communication between police and citizens, but in reality there are far more helpful instruments. As already mentioned this can also be connected with the interpretation of statements in another language. In addition, the answers given by the police officers are rather subjective, which makes it also harder to generalize the findings to other settings. This has to be taken into account, when conducting qualitative research.

Case selection and sampling

As the thesis is focusing on gaining insights about social media use on policing in terms of citizens' engagement at the micro level, this has led to the dedication to two certain municipalities.

Hence, the populations of the study are the police stations in Enschede and Gronau, which were somehow predetermined by this bachelor thesis' supervisor. Additionally, I had an interest to compare the influence of Social Media in two municipalities from different nations. This research strongly depended on the cooperation of the police, which can be problematic due to bureaucratic rules and regulations, especially on the German side which was described earlier. The case selection therefore strongly relied on the pre-established connections of the bachelor supervisor Dr. Guus Meershoek. The subjects that were interviewed, were simply chosen on the basis of their willingness to cooperate. Therefore, I was not able to randomly choose officers and the officers could have been specifically determined by the police organization, which would also have an influence on the reliability of their statements.

It was of great interest to engage with officers who do use social media and with officers who do not use it in their daily routines, in order to be able to compare and analyze the influence of social media in the chosen settings. Therefore, it was advantageous that the police station in Enschede uses Social Media regularly and quite extensively, and the station in Gronau does not use Social Media actively and regularly during their daily work routines. But in Enschede one officer who was interviewed does not use Social Media himself and only gets informed about it by his colleagues and in Gronau there was one officer who passively checks Facebook when investigating on a regular basis. Consequently, the level of Social Media usage of the interviewed varied which helps to analyze the influence even more.

Findings

In these sections, the outcome of the interviews in Enschede and Gronau will be summarized, which documents the research process and will provide the basis of the following analysis. (Mayring, 2002) All names were anonymized by assigning a capital letter and the numbers 1 to 9 – each number stands for one interview, E for Enschede and G for Gronau. At the end of this section a table shall give an overview of the main findings.

Police in Enschede

Before the interviews in Enschede were conducted, it was clear that the police there is very active on Social Media. By doing so, they do not depend on another organization but only on general legal constraints and restrictions. There exists a Facebook account of 'Politie Enschede' since 2015. (Officer E2, 2017) In addition to that, some officers have a private account, they exclusively use for professional reasons. (Officer E5, 2017) Furthermore, there exists a Twitter, Instagram and Snapchat account of police Enschede.

Five interviews were conducted in total and the officers are anonymously called officer E1 to E5 in the following.

When it comes to collecting and receiving information important for their work, the officers of the police in Enschede mainly depend on the police organization itself and on citizens. Two out of the five officers consider the police system as the most important source, the rest perceives citizens on the top.

Information that is provided by the organization itself is collected and secured in a police intern system that runs on the computer at the stations. This system contains all the important information that concern the police and that is necessary to fulfill their tasks. For example, the system gives information about who owns what kind of car or who is living where and with whom. (Officer E2, 2017) At every station there are computer analysts, who analyze and refine all the information and data. In addition to that, the police heavily rely on citizens, as they are described as the "ears and eyes of the police" (Officer E5, 2017). According to officer E5, it is important to gather information from the people who actually witness what has happened. The advantage of today's technology is, that evidence can be recorded and saved, which leads to "real time witnessing", officer E3 states.

There exist different ways of communication with citizens, such as face-to-face conversations, phone calls, through the website or the exchange of emails. Personal contact is still from great

importance and there is frequent contact between the police and community in Enschede. Especially face-to-face conversations are valued by the police and they take place in different situations. Once a week there is a contact hour in every district to which citizens can come and talk to the responsible police officer, or "Wijkagent" how it is called in Dutch, of the area. This officer also regularly goes to the neighborhood he¹ is in charge of, and talk to people he meets spontaneously. (Officer E4, 2017) Furthermore, community councils meet on a monthly basis and discuss issues of their district. Most of the times a community officer is also present at these meetings and citizens have the chance to talk to him. There is also the possibility of mailing or calling the officer and ask for an appointment at the police station. Many times, this is organized also by the use of Social Media, which already indicates the growing importance of Social Media concerning communication between police and citizens. All interviewed officers consider Social Media as a very important source of information, even though one of them does not even use it on his own. But when colleagues inform him about something, their knowledge often was influenced by Social Media. The officers agree that the importance of including these platforms will only increase in the future, as almost everyone has Facebook or WhatsApp today and especially the young generation uses it frequently in their daily lives. (Officer E2, 2017)

Therefore, the police Enschede uses Social Media to ask citizens for communication, cooperation or information of all kind, depending on the case or incident. In general, they try to post a lot, to show police work from different perspective. This can be anything that the Social Media administration team of the police considers as interesting for citizens. For example, they posted a photo of an officer in his uniform and one in his regular clothes or pictures of an (minor) accident. They also notably use it when looking for witnesses or suspects or when there is a person missing. In these cases, they actively ask citizens for their help through Social Media. But, there are always legal constraints and regulations the police have to takt into account. They are not allowed to post any pictures of suspects, names or addresses. Concerning these details, a personal conversation is still more appreciated because it is possible to share more details and some scenarios can be better described in a personal conversation. (Police officer, E4)

Anyhow, whenever something is posted by the account of police Enschede, there is a high response by citizens. The share, comment or like posts and give information of all kinds. "It can be really everything" (Officer E1, 2017) Anything that appears interesting or urgent, leads to a respond. Especially high response can be noticed when a child or a person is missing.

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¹ To enhance the legibility of the text, the female version has been omitted in this paper.

Other times, they just comment their own thoughts and opinions, for example about a police action. These reactions can be more or less positive. (Officer E4, 2017) But in general responses are more positive compared to the beginning. Officer E2 talks about a small group that was "bashing on the police", when they first started to use Facebook. The police did not react, but other users did and after a while they stopped doing it. Today the Facebook site has around 20.000 followers and the comments and messages are mostly positive and appreciating, nevertheless also critical very often. "They share their criticism with us and I think that's only good because then we improve" (Officer E2, 2017)

Besides the direct response to posts and appeals by the police on Social Media, citizens contact the police through these channels every day about anything they are interested in or anything that disturbs them, hence anything connected with police work. For example, they ask about crime that take place online or send screenshots of posts that disturb them or seem suspicious. As already mentioned, responses especially increase when there is a missing person. One example took place at the "Freshtival" Festival, that is located in Enschede, this year. There was a girl who was lost and through the use of Facebook, the police found her friend. (Officer E1, 2017) Or in general, if the police are looking for a suspect or the owner of stolen goods they found, they post it and citizens share it or comment it. Therefore, the information spreads quickly and easily. Another example for this was given by officer E1, when the police arrested a guy who was accused of having stolen a bike. They posted a picture of the bike on Social Media and "in one and a half hour it was shared like 1000 times" (Officer E2, 2017). Shortly after that, the owner responded and identified his stolen bike. All in all, there is a frequent connection between citizens and the police through Social Media, whether the police ask for citizen's engagement or not. "When the police is active on Social Media, citizens are as well" (Officer E3, 2017)

While conducting the interviews, it was also of interest on what basis the police judge whether an information they receive by citizens is important or not and what role content and source play in this judgement process. All officer asked, stated that it mainly depends on the content of the information, which is also connected with different priorities. Every time a citizen calls the emergency center, a couple of questions are asked and based on that a priority is assigned to the incident and based on that the police has to reacts. This means, every information that come through the emergency center leads to a binding action of the police, as it is an order, ranging from priority one to four. Whereas, priority one means they have to react immediately, priority two means they have to get active within 15 minutes and priority three and four can wait until they have time for it. (Officer E2, 2017) Every information that

is received through another communication channel, is judged by pure gut feeling and the officer's experience. Often it will be discussed with colleagues and the validity of the received information will be checked. A background check of the person affected by the use of Social Media often helps in these situations. (Officer E5, 2017) Something that appears as a minor incident, can be of great importance to the police. Therefore, every information is checked, no matter what source it stems from. Hence, all sources of information are equally important to the police. The only exception are calls that go through the emergency center and consequently formulate an order. When it comes to information that are particularly received on Social Media platforms, there exists a Social Media team that collaborates and decides how to proceed with it.

So, in general, information coming from citizens, independent through which channel, strongly influence police work. Especially in urgent cases, when traditional ways of communication like phone calls are used, the information communicated by a citizen has an immediate impact on police activities. Nevertheless, information that are shared through Social Media also have a growing impact on police actions. Particularly when it comes to minor crimes or disorder, the police easily get information and can also antagonize. For example, sometimes citizens send the police a message and complain about their noisy neighbors. Then the officer can ask them to calmly talk to their neighbors and try to solve the problem on their own. This might solve the problem, without the police actually getting active at the spot. (Officer E1, 2017) All interviewed officers in Enschede agree on the fact, that the importance of Social Media will further increase in the future, as is connects 1000s of people, also with the police and therefore contributes to the daily work routines of the police. Officer E2 even mentioned a pilot that is running in the city of Hengelo right now, where scholars investigate whether it is possible to report crime and other urgent incidents through Social Media.

The use of Social Media also contributes to police work in the way that more people report suspicious things to the police before, as it is easier than calling. People communicate more minor things than before. Before the might have thought that it was not important enough to actually call the police. (Officer E1, 2017) The more information the police receive, the more things can be discovered. Many citizens also ask questions about Social Media matters, for example when someone sells something on Instagram, they consult the police to clarify if this is legal. In addition, they forward posts of illegal, suspicious or disturbing content to the police. When someone talks about committing suicide or someone posts a picture with a gun, then concerned citizens send this to the police, which is followed by direct actions. It helps to

tackle the drug problem in Enschede as well. In this field, the police do not receive much information besides the ones on Social Media. If citizens pass by a spot in the city and recognize something suspicious, they message the police via Social Media. In that case "Social Media help to extend the eyes and ears of the police" (Officer E4, 2017). Also, the police get some information quicker and can close cases faster. Even murder cases can be solved with the hints provided by Social Media platforms. (Officer E3, 2017) All officers stated, that they do discover things through Social Media, they would not have discovered without them.

This makes it seem like the rise of Social Media also help them to tackle their daily workload, on which the officers partly agree, referring to the previously explained facts. But in general, all officers agree on the fact, that it actually creates more work, since there are more hints and there is more information available, more crime is discovered, hence there is more work for the police. But it also helps to tackle work tasks and information are transported faster. (Officer E5, 2017) Nevertheless, it creates the need for a social media team that checks and responds on the platforms, which is very time consuming. Another problem is, that officers tend to check the Social Media channels even when they are off duty, as stated by two of the interviewed. If they do you and see something serious, they have to react and tell other colleagues who are on duty. Thus, they engage in their job, even in their spare time. There is also no possibility to restrict incoming messages. All they can do is ask citizens to only respond with necessary and valid information, try to coach them, which does not work most of the times. (Officer E3, 2017) Even though, all police officers stated that incorporating Social Media creates more work, they think that the overall effect is positive. One of the asked officers even stated to like checking the Social Media channels while being off duty. As it is easier to reach a high range of people, it is also easier to mobilize them to actively engage into policing. To reach as many different age groups, the police even uses different Social Media platforms, for example Snapchat and Instagram for younger people in addition to Facebook. (Officer E1, 2017) This increases the chance that more citizens get active, also because it is easier to do it from the phone or the own computer, as already mentioned. Officer E5 said, she has the impression that more citizens get involved more frequently because they have the feeling they can directly contribute and can actively be a part of police work through Social Media. They also have to possibility to get active on the spot, with new devices and programs they can conduct evidence and then share it through Social Media. Moreover, it also leads to prevention of crime, for example through established Neighborhood Watches on Social Media. These media bring citizens of one neighborhood close together and

they are well connected, which enables them to work together in order to prevent (minor) crime like burglary in their neighborhood. (Officer E4, 2017)

The police in Enschede administers an official website (politie.nl) in a formal format, where citizens also find contact information and press articles are published. Additionally, police Enschede chooses to have an informal contact channel to citizens through Social Media platforms. This is not only used for all the previously introduced reasons, but also to clarify that they are not police officers 24 hours a day, but "normal humans" (Officer E1 & Officer E2, 2017) This brings them closer to the citizens, since almost everyone is using these media and it makes it very easy to get in touch with the police in a formal, as well as informal matter. (Officer E5, 2017)

Police in Gronau

Before the interviews were conducted at the police station in Gronau, it was clear that there is no active use of Social Media in this setting. The police Gronau belongs to the superordinate "Kreispolizeibehörde" (KPB) Borken. Consequently, the station cannot decide on its own whether to administer a Social Media account or not, but relies on the decision of KPB Borken. The KPB actually plans to start using Social Media in the near future, but has not yet set a stating date. (Officer G9, 2017)

Three interviews were conducted and one interview form was filled out online, thus the positions of officer G5 to G9 are summarized in the following.

The interviewed officers of the police in Gronau indicated the police intern information system and citizens as the most important sources of information, as well as their colleagues in Enschede did. The internal system is called Intranet and is comparable to a police intern internet. In addition to that, files in paper form are still very important and contain all information needed, which are also presented at briefings at the beginning of every shift. In these briefings, a presentation of all ongoing police operations in the area is given. The information exchange with colleagues is also perceived as important by the interviewed. General media, as well as Social Media were also mentioned as important sources of information.

Concentrating on contact with citizens, it mostly takes place in form of face-to face conversations or through phone calls. This indicates how the personal contact is still very important, especially for the department of crime investigation it is indispensable. (Officer G8, 2017) In addition, there exists a website on which citizens can file charges online, by

filling out a form and sending it to the police. Another option of getting in touch with the police is via email.

When citizens contact the police, they share all kind of information that could be relevant to the police. This can be cases of emergency or to inform them about a burglary. If anything appears suspicious, or they mention a disorder, or feel unsafe, they contact the police. "If people are speeding in a street, then they ask: Can you execute a speed control?" (Officer G7, 2017)

Many departments heavily rely on information and hints by citizens, according to the interviewed. Therefore, their information has a direct impact on police activities most of the times. Especially if citizens inform the police about something suspicious and there is probable cause that there is a criminal offense on hand, a direct response by the police will follow.

Whether the police classify an information as important, depends on their experience and personal impression of the truthfulness, just like in Enschede. Hence, the content of an information is most important and different priorities are given to different scenarios, comparable to the system in the Dutch setting. The police take everything into account that citizens tell them, especially if there is an indication of a legal breach. Where the information stems from is not important. Especially, when solving a case, any information that helps with that is important and all kind of sources, even Social Media, are checked. "As long as the facts are substantiated, well-grounded and one can make use out of them, is does not matter from which source it comes from" (Officer G8, 2017) Anyhow, the police always takes into consideration that Social Media foster the spread of fake news, when checking for information on these platforms.

This can also be seen as one factor, why the police Gronau does not use Social Media as much in their work routines. Apart from that, the station itself cannot decide about the Social Media use, but totally relies on the regulation given by the KPB Borken, as mentioned in the beginning of this section. For now, the use of Social Media during the shifts is simply forbidden by the employer, which also becomes clear when looking at the phones the officers have to use when they are on duty. They are older models, that cannot be connected with the internet. The same applies with computers at the station in Gronau, from which one cannot enter platforms like Facebook etc. It shall prevent that officers also use it for private matters during their shifts. "It cannot be guaranteed that there won't be a mixture of private and professional interests" (Officer G6, 2017). In the moment, there is one officer in charge of internet investigation and if there are any questions, concerning this context he can be

contacted. Officer G7 also tries to explain the non-use with the fact, that Social Media simply would not bring great advantages, especially when compared to telecommunication. He perceives this way of communicating as the best fitting option, since one can respond or ask for further details immediately. When they would use Social Media and the other user is not online, there is a time shift in which the police cannot get active. In addition, there are many restrictions due to the great importance of data protection and privacy policies in Germany, which always would have been on the police's mind while using these Media platforms. This means a high risk that the police might breach these policies while using Social Media. (Officer G7, 2017) Anyhow, the interviewed officer from the Criminal Investigation Department stated, that they check Social Media channels more or less regularly for investigations, but they do not post actively, as it is prohibited for them as well. (Officer G8, 2017) All interviewed officers agree on the fact, that most important info reaches the police anyways through the traditional communication channels.

However, the general view of the interviewed about Social Media and police work is very diverse. Two officers see Social Media as an additional channel, that citizens could use to directly inform the police. As the importance of Social Media is growing in society, the importance to use these platforms for communication between the public and the police as well. (Officer G9, 2017) Furthermore, it is easier to reach younger generations since they mostly use these channels to get informed. Anyhow, how well it can be used depends on the case or offense. It is more seen as a tool to help investigate in minor incidents, for example when a person was filmed while shoplifting and the police is looking for that person. It also helps to get information about a suspicious person and it's friends. This can deliver good hints, or even evidence that help with the investigation. Nevertheless, due to the already mentioned strict private policies, it can be very hard to get certain information that would be important for the police work, which hinders the successful use of Social Media. (Officer G8, 2017) Officer G7 is again very sceptic when it comes to the active use of Social Media. He does not believe that the use would have an overall positive effect, but rather sees the risk that there will be a lot of negative reactions towards the police. The perception of the police in Gronau tends to be more negative already, he stated. He thinks that citizens would post more nonsense than actually useful or helpful information. (Officer G7, 2017)

In contrast to this, his other colleagues in Gronau think that through the use of Social Media a broader range of information in a shorter time could be received. Particularly, in hardly investigable or detectable contexts, it could help. Examples are cases of stalking or extremism, where the police mostly have to deal with scarce information and a low amount of

actual evidence. (Officer G8, 2017) In addition, Social Media can also play an important role to quickly respond to falsely shared information by citizens, as the example of the rampage in Munich showed. The Social Media team of the Police Munich quickly replied to false news on social media by clarifying that there is only one gunman and that there was only one location where the shooting took place, for example. (Officer G6, 2017)

If the involvement of Social Media into police work routines would help to tackle the daily workload, is perceived differently as well. The opinions on that ranged from "it would significantly help to tackle the workload" (Officer G6, 2017) to "it would just make it more difficult and create more work, as well as slow down the flow of information compared to telecommunication" (Officer G6, 2017). The officer from the public relations department and the contact officer, comparable to the Dutch "Wijkagent" expect mostly positive effects concerning the workload.

If there is successful use of Social Media, three out of the four interviewed officers agree on the fact that it would enable a strong engagement of the public into policing. It would be easier to spread information faster, in a more transparent way, with more people compared to traditional ways of communication. As already mentioned, it is also perceived as the better way to get in touch and mobilize younger generations, especially in the age range between 15 and 25. (Officer G6, 2017) It would further help to mobilize and activate people when tracing a suspicious person, as explained earlier. Nevertheless, while using Social Media to mobilize and engage citizens, the police would always have to pay attention to the privacy law, which is why officer G7 still prefers the traditional modes and personal contact to mobilize them.

On the whole, all interviewed officers in Gronau see the use of Social Media somehow skeptical. In contrast to some of their colleagues in Enschede, they could not imagine having a personal Facebook account for professional matters but only an account for the whole police organization. For example, they see the risk that criminals try to get in touch with them and that they could easily find out about their personal life. One officer even stated, that he and his girlfriend already had received a friend request from a criminal before. (Officer G7, 2017) Therefore, there is the risk that it would be too close to the personal sphere, as it is hard to draw a line once you are using it for professional matters as well. Consequently, he trusts more in traditional modes of communication. Although, by the rest of the officers it is seen as a possibility to get closer to the community and its citizens because it is easier for them to come in contact with the police also due to their more anonym position. Also, because they can do so wherever they are on their smartphones or computers and do not actually have to come to the police station anymore. (Officer G8, 2017)

	Police Enschede	Police Gronau
Main sources of information	Police intern information system (electronic), Citizens	Police intern information systems (files) Citizens
Communication with citizens	Traditional communication channels: face-to-face (patrolling, community council meetings, contact hour, appointments), phone calls, mails + Social Media: Direct messages and posts	Only traditional communication channels: Face-to-face (patrolling, open door events, appointments), phone calls, mails
Influence of Citizen's response on police activities	Direct effect of citizens´ responses on police work Social Media enables citizens easily to formulate of demands: - will be addressed - help police to improve work	Direct effect of citizens' response on police work.
Use of Social Media	Active use of Social Media: Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and Snapchat Integrated in daily work routines	Use of Social Media forbidden until now Sometimes passive use of Social Media, f.e. criminal department
Social Media and Workload	Helps to discover more and to exchange more information within a shorter amount of time Nevertheless: Workload increases due to increased number of information received	Expected to create more work load due to higher amount of (useless) information and possible misunderstandings
Social Media's influence on mobilizing citizens	Successfully used to reach out to citizens (high number of responses) Helps to easily activate and mobilize citizens, f.e. when a person is missing	Expected to make it easier to reach out Appears especially useful for contact officer
Social Media's influence on approachability and visibility	Police is more approachable and visible: > citizens feel closer to police > perceived legitimacy increases	Expected to help to become more visible and approachable to some extent Citizens "close enough" anyways
General attitude towards use of Social Media in Policing	Very positive See great chances for the future	Positive, but very sceptical See many risks associated with Social Media use

Analysis

In the analysis, the findings will be compared and interpreted, following the fact-based reasoning suggested by Mayring (2002). The main findings of the research were presented and discussed with one of the police officers from Enschede, who agrees with the outcome of the investigation. Therefore, this study has been communicative validated by one of the research objects. (Mayring, 2002) The other officers will receive the finished work as well and their feedback would validate the results even further.

Communication between police and citizens

As problems become more and more wicked, the communication with the external environment and the fostering of inter-organizational relations becomes even more important for public officials. (Osborne, 2006) Consequently, the communication with citizens through diverse channels is very important for street-level bureaucrats like the police, since they interact at the interface of the state and society. (Meyer, Vorsanger, 2003)

The following shall present the answer to the first sub-questions of this research: *How do police officers with and without the use of social media communicate with citizens about public safety in Enschede and Gronau?*

The police, at the chosen settings, heavily depend on witnesses and information that can be received by members of the community. They are the "extended ears and eyes", of the police. (Officer E5, 2017) Especially when it comes to wicked problems or cases in connection with scarcity of information, the police rely on external stakeholders. By including citizen's information into their "standard operating procedures", it is possible to tackle the scarcity of information the police sometimes face. (Lipsky, 1980) In the case of Enschede, there is an active exchange of information between citizens and the police on a daily basis. The use of Social Media is integrated into the police's daily routines, to fulfill this matter in addition to the traditional modes of communication that occur between police and public. These can be personal conversations or the exchange of mails. The personal conversations can take place while patrolling, at community council meetings or during the contact hour, through phone calls or other occasions. An example when the police Enschede heavily relies on citizens are observations concerning the drug scene, since they hardly get information from somewhere else. Through the quick exchange and spread of data by using Social Media, it also helps to cope with the limited time, especially in urgent cases. For example, when a child is missing or

a suspicious person is wanted. (Appendix 4) Therefore, the use of social media can be seen as an additional coping mechanism, that has not been considered by Lipsky.

On the contrary, in Gronau the use of Social Media during the shift is not allowed and the police relies on mostly personal contact. Their mobile phones for working matters are not capable to connect with the internet, as well most computers at the station. Personal contact can take place through phone calls or meetings at different occasions like patrolling, appointments, open door events etc. Nevertheless, sometimes the police Gronau consults Social Media platforms to get further information about a suspicious person, for example. Especially the interviewed contact officer, would appreciate an active use of these networks, which would make it easier to reach out to citizens. In the moment, he has to drop his business card in the postboxes to ask citizens to call him and get in touch. (Appendix 5) By using Social Media to get in contact with citizens, the police could save time and resources, which again would help to cope. (Agger, Poulsen, 2017) Anyhow, when the police in Gronau asks for it, the cooperation and information exchange with the public works well. The officers are sure, that personal contact cannot be replaced by communicating via Social Media on which the colleagues from Enschede also agree on. (Appendix 4 & 5)

Therefore, one can say that at both settings citizens and the police exchange a variety of information on a regular basis. The content can be anything that is related to police work and citizen's feelings towards public safety. By using Social Media, it is even easier to address a wide range of issues, while reaching a broad audience quickly, at the same time. (Appendix 4) Thus, the police in Enschede use Social Media to actively foster this key element of Community Policing. (Terpstra, 2009) Furthermore, citizens tend to be even more confident to formulate their demands through messages or posts on Social Media, which could be related to the more anonym position they have. This helps the police to address this variety of demands, provide services the citizens ask for and therefore again to implement Community Policing. At the same time, it helps the police organization to constantly improve their work. In Gronau it can be harder to reach people and it often costs more time as well. (Terpstra, 2009) Nevertheless, traditional modes of communication are still described as most important in both settings and cannot be replaced by Social Media. Only in a personal, direct conversation the police can ask detailed questions and get a personal impression of the situation. In addition, only through the call of 110/112 the police can react fast enough, as the mission are structured by the emergency center, that attributes priorities to the information immediately. Consequently, Social Media can be seen as a new form to engage citizens which

can positively add to the traditional engagement forms New Public Governance is asking for, but it cannot replace personal involvement.

Based on that, the first hypothesis, H1: If Social Media are used by the police, traditional communication channels are less important, is rejected.

But especially when the police are combating minor crimes or disorder, it is valued as very useful to reach out to people of the community through Social Media, even though the police in Gronau is not yet doing so. In both cases, it is understood to help restoring Social Control, which means to reduce crime through prevention in addition to general policing. (Meyer, Vorsanger, 2003) It is possible that citizens organize a Neighborhood Watch through Social Media, which also leads to the prevention of (minor) crime like burglary and is very appreciated and encouraged by the police, especially in Enschede. (Officer E4, 2017) This underlines the police's effort on not only fighting crime, but also to prevent crime as another key goal of Community Policing. (Terpstra, 2009)

While communicating with citizens, the police continuously has to judge what information are important or not and what priority to attribute to it. This underlines the police's status as Professionals, as they decide these things based on their expertise and competence they have linked to their education and experience. (Meyer, Vorsanger, 2003) About every information they receive, disregarding calls through the emergency center which create direct orders, the police officers have to decide on their own whether to take it into account or not. This indicates, closely connected with their Professionalism, the discretion street-level bureaucrats are endowed with and the importance of human judgment in public service provision. (Lipsky, 1980) It is interesting that according to the interviews (Appendix 4 & 5), the source of information does not play a role in this process. All information that are well-grounded and police relevant are processed, independently if it was received through a face-to-face conversation or a more anonym message on a Social Media platform. But the police are aware that fake news spread easily and quickly on these sites, which they take into consideration within the judgement process. At the same time, Social Media also provide the possibility to counter react fast to this false information, which the police successfully did in the case of the rampage in Munich in 2016, for example. In this case the police could immediately react to falsely published info and set the facts right. (Officer G6, 2017)

In summary, the police in both settings communicate mostly on a personal basis, but in Enschede the use of Social Media helps to get more information and to get to know more about citizen's demands. Especially in connection with minor crimes it is seen as a helpful communication channel, which also helps to prevent further crime.

Citizen's response towards police

In both settings, there is a high response to requests or publications of the police. The responses of citizens almost always have a direct impact on police activities, which underlines the important of engagement of external actors and indicates the implementation of New Public Governance once more. The voluntarily implementation of policing by citizens, an important factor of policing according to Reiner (2010), appears to be even enhanced when Social Media are used by the police.

This shall provide the answer to the second sub-questions: *How do citizens respond to police* by using social media in Enschede and Gronau?

Due to the fact that the police in Gronau do not actively use Social Media, citizens cannot respond via these channels. In Enschede it can be seen that citizens contact the police not only through traditional channels but also through Social Media on a daily basis. They inform and ask the police about minor incidents or general questions about legal affairs, which they might not would have done through direct contact, as it would not have been perceived as "important enough to call the police for" (Officer E1, 2017), which indicates that the police become easier to approach through the use of Social Media. (Grimmelikhuijsen, Meijer, 2015)

This way it is easier for the police to combat minor crime and disorder, sometimes without even going to the scene, but by monitoring and guiding through Social Media. An example for this is the case in which someone complained to the police about a noisy neighbor via a message on Facebook and the officer asked to calmly talk to the neighbor first, before they would come. This could already solve the problem. (Appendix 4) Therefore, it appears that police officers are easier to approach for citizens and they feel less intimidated, compared to direct contact. Further, this enhances the number of obtained information by the police, which is not only an objective of Community Policing but again illustrates how Social Media can help to tackle the scarcity of information. (Terpstra, 2009)

Furthermore, constructive criticism is shared more easily through Social Media, that also helps the police to continuously improve their work. (Officer E2, 2017) The police can post about accidents, missions, ongoing investigations etc. and people can directly react on these publications. They can criticize or praise police work, give the police feedback they can use for their work in the future. Through the response on Social Media, citizens can be a part of the police work, for example they can actively contribute to solving a case and in the end most likely see the result. (Officer E5, 2017) This can motivate them to cooperate on a more frequent basis.

All in all, one could say: "If the police are active, citizens are active" (Officer E2, 2017). Not only are the police easier to approach, but their visibility is enhanced through Social Media appearances as well. Especially younger generations use Social Media a lot more than traditional information sources. In the case of the police in Enschede, they even use different Social Media platforms to make sure they reach a wide range of people. (Officer E1, 2017) This shows how the police there successfully use Social Media to increase their approachability and visibility, hence to implement Community Policing. It does appear that the citizens in Enschede are more prepared to cooperate than in Gronau, as many get constantly informed about what is going on in their community. Nevertheless, when the police in Gronau needs and asks for cooperation, the citizens are willing to help on a sufficient level as well. (Appendix 5)

Based on this, one can partly confirm the second hypothesis, H2: If the police use Social Media, it is more likely that citizens cooperate.

Contribution of Social Media to Policing

Social Media can contribute to policing in several ways, which was indicated in the previous abstracts already. This shall give a clear overview of the overall impact that Social Media have in the chosen settings to answer the third and final sub-question of this research: What does the use of Social Media contribute to policing and public safety compared to traditional modes of communication?

Social Media can be used to promote the active engagement of citizens, following the objective of Community Policing. (Terpstra, 2009) The police in Enschede asks for engagement and information in person, as well as on Social Media because it is easy, quick

and effective. In this way, a wide range of people is reached within a short amount of time. Especially younger people who usually use Social Media a lot, are reached more easily. (Officer E1, 2017) Meanwhile, in Gronau the contact officer still has to drop his business cards in post boxes to activate citizens, which costs more time and resources, thus is less effective. This indicates that the successful use of Social Media can make police work more efficient as suggested by Goldsmith and Crawford.

This is substantiated by the fact, that Social Media help to discover things, that would not have been discovered without the use of them. Especially in the area of online crime and minor crimes, that get reported through theses media more often. By discovering more, this also means that the police have to solve more cases, based on the increased number of hints they get. Therefore, more crime could be discovered that would have stayed unknown and even a rise of the crime rate could be expected in the future. (Officer E2, 2017) The more information the police receive, the higher the workload will be they have to deal with. Therefore, it is necessary that there is a team focusing on the maintaining and administrating of the Social Media accounts of every police unit. The police in Enschede has such a Social Media team, that analyzes the information received on Social Media channels, responds and determines appropriate reactions. (Officer E1, Officer E2, 2017) This means that extra personnel would be needed in Gronau or the unit of Borken, if they want to use Social Media successfully in the future. Consequently, Social Media can help to cope with the demanding work as explained earlier, but at the same time it creates a higher workload and is associated with the risk that false information hinders the police from their actual tasks, which the officers in Gronau are also afraid of and identify this as a reason, why they have not started to use Social Media yet.

Another way in which policing becomes more efficient through Social Media, is the prevention of (minor) crime and social disorder. This is also why the police Enschede as agents of Social Control appreciates and fosters the communication through Social Media. (Meyer, Vorsanger, 2003)

As mentioned earlier, the appearance on Social Media increases the visibility as well as approachability, which can be seen on the high level of responses in Enschede. This enables an even better communication between public and police which also results in a higher level of trust and appreciation, due to the higher level of transparency of police work. (Grimmelikhuijsen, Meijer, 2015) When citizens can follow what the police is doing on their private devices by checking Social Media and when they are able to comment or question it, the understanding of police work becomes deeper, thus the citizens feel closer to the police.

Media and particularly Social Media have a great influence on public perceptions and opinions. (Goldsmith and Crawford, 2014) When the police additionally post about accomplishments or particularly interesting incidents etc., it creates a more positive picture of the police in the public. This was also described by the officers in Enschede and expected by most of the officers in Gronau. Especially in the case of Enschede, it appears as the public appreciation increased since the use of Social Media. Compared to when the police started to use Social Media accounts in 2015, the responses have become more positive and appreciating. In comparison to that, the public's perception of the police in Gronau tends to be more negative. (Officer E2, Officer G2, 2017)

Based on that, the third hypothesis, H3: The more often the police are visible on Social Media, the higher the degree of perceived legitimacy, can be confirmed.

Therefore, one can conclude the use of Social Media contributes in terms of active citizen engagement promotion, it makes the police work more efficient due to a easier, quicker and more direct way of communication, it helps to discover more and connected with that also to prevent (minor) crime and it can lead to an increase of perceived police legitimacy, affiliated with the higher degree of trust and transparency it creates.

It would be interesting to see, if the citizen's attitude significantly changes after the police Gronau starts to use Social Media in the future. Furthermore, it is questionable if the citizens in Enschede would actually agree, that their perception of police legitimacy has actually increased due to their appearance on Social Media. There could be other factors, that the officers did not take into account, that increased the appreciation. Or maybe, the citizens would not even agree that their attitude towards policing has become more positive compared to the past. This indicates the necessity for further research, in which citizens are actively included through interviews or surveys.

Even though Social Media positively contributes to policing in several ways, there are also a variety of risks connected with the use of Social Media. Many of them, have been mentioned by the police in Gronau and were also used as an explanation, why Social Media are not used actively yet. First of all, there is a high risk that privacy policies are breached or data protection cannot be assured when using theses platforms. Especially in Germany, these policies are very strict, and Social Media are perceived as a thread since it could lead to breaking the law by accidentally posting too sensitive data. (Officer G6, 2017) Furthermore, the accountability of police on Social Media platforms is somewhat questionable. It could be used to create a more positive picture, by only posting about achievements and not about failures. This would create the risk that reliable reporting becomes more blurred and one sided. Besides that, officers in Gronau are afraid, that the presence on Social Media could lead to too much transparency, which would make it easier for external actors to influence and hinder investigations. (Officer G6, Officer G8, 2017) Additionally, Social Media also fosters the spread of wrong information due to the high degree of anonymity. All these risks have to be taken into account when using Social Media in the professional sphere.

Conclusion

The importance of Social Media grows in the private as well as in the professional sphere. Consequently, the use of Social Media platforms become also more relevant for the police, since it makes communication with citizens easier, faster and more efficient. These are all reasons, why the police in Enschede decided to actively use Social Media as an additional channel to traditional communication. It helps them to discover more, to counter react and to become closer to citizens. All of this is highly valued by the interviewed officers in Enschede, who want a close relation and well-functioning information exchange to enable good cooperation with citizens.

The police in Gronau instead, is not allowed to use Social Media yet. It is forbidden by the employee, the "Kreispolizeibehörde" Borken. Therefore, they rely on personal contact with citizens, who are mostly approached when the cooperation is needed. Relating to that, the police in Gronau tries to establish a good relationship with the citizens, but does not want to engage them excessively.

It seems like the German police obtains a more distant connection to the citizens that mainly focuses on pure law enforcement. While the Dutch police also concentrates on service provision in addition to the general law enforcement, by addressing a wide range of issues and citizen's demands through the Social Media channel. This shall answer the main research question: Why does or does not the police use Social Media to communicate with citizens in Enschede and Gronau and what explains the differences?

There exist many starting points for further research on this topic, for example, it would be necessary to include citizen's into the research to complement the rather one-sided picture. It would also be interesting to see if the use of Social Media has a different impact on different police departments. Especially interesting would be the investigation of the impact of Social Media in Gronau, after the introduction of their Social Media account in the future.

Overall, this research shows that Social Media can help to actively engage citizens in the fight and management of disorder and (minor) crime, by implementing concepts of New Public Governance, Street-level Bureaucracy and Community Policing. Therefore, Social Media can be used beyond the entertaining factor and enable citizens to actively shape policy outcomes, which underlines the great societal relevance of the topic.

I think the police station Gronau could learn from the police in Enschede how to integrate the use of Social Media networks into daily working procedures since the overall outcome has been very positive in the Dutch context and the further development seems promising.

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APPENDIX

Appendix 1)

Interview questions - Communication with citizens

Enschede:

Communication with Citizens

- 1) What are the main sources of information that are important for your daily work?
- 2) How important are social media as a source of information from citizens in your neighborhood and what kind of information do you receive this way?
- 3) How frequently do citizens use social media to contact and inform you?
- 4) What other sources do exist to communicate with citizens?
- 5) What do you share with citizens via social media? Is that content different compared to other sources?

Response by Citizens

- Are the main activities that you do in your neighborhood stimulated by messages from citizens communicated through social media?
- 7) Do you discover things with the help of social media, that you would not have discovered without the use of Social Media?
- 8) How do citizens respond to messages that you share on Social Media?

Street-level Bureaucracy Theory

- 9) Do social media help to tackle your workload or do they make it more difficult?
- 10) How do you judge if messages from citizens are important?
- 11) What roles do the source and content of information play in this selection process?

Social Media contribution to police work

- 12) Is it easier with the help of social media to mobilize citizens to assist in solving problems or minor crimes?
- Do you think that you as a police officer are more visible and approachable through the use of social media?

Appendix 2)

Interviewfragen - Kommunikation mit Bürgern

Gronau:

Kommunikationsquellen

- 1) Was sind die Hauptinformationsquellen die wichtig für Ihre Arbeit sind?
- 2) Wie wichtig wären Social Media als Quelle um Informationen von Bürgen in Ihrem Zuständigkeitsbereich zu erhalten?
- 3) Warum nutzt die Polizei Gronau kaum/keine Sozialen Netzwerke?
- 4) Welche Möglichkeiten gibt es, um mit Bürgern zu kommunizieren und welche Inhalte werden mit Bürgern ausgetauscht?

Reaktionen/Rückmeldung von Bürgern

- 5) Wie stark werden die Hauptaktivitäten innerhalb Ihres Tätigkeitfelds durch Benachrichtigungen von Bürgern (durch Social Media) beeinflusst und angeregt?
- 6) Glauben Sie, dass sie mit Hilfe von Social Media Informationen erhalten und Dinge herausfinden würden, die sie ohne die Nutzung von Social Media nicht herausfinden würden?

Street-level Bureaucracy Theorie

- 7) Glauben Sie, dass Sie durch die Nutzung von Social Media Ihr Arbeitspensum besser bewältigen könnten?
- 8) Auf welcher Grundlage entscheiden Sie ob Informationen von Bürgern wichtig sind? Welche Rolle spielen die Informationsquelle und Inhalt bei diesem Prozess?

Beitrag von Social Media zur polizeilichen Arbeit

- 9) Glauben Sie, dass es durch die Nutzung von Social Media einfacher wäre, Bürger zu mobilisieren sich in die Polizeiarbeit einzubringen? (z.Bsp. beim Lösen von Problemen eines bestimmten Viertels)
- 10) Glauben Sie, dass Polizeibeamte durch die Nutzung von Social Media erreichbarer und leichter ansprechbar für Bürger erscheinen?

Appendix 3)

Approval by the ministry of Inner Affairs:

Ministerium für Inneres und Kommunales des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen



Ministerium für Inneres und Kommunales NRW, 40190 Düsseldorf

21. Juni 2017 Sette 1 von 1

-Elektronische Post-

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Unterstützung wissenschaftlicher Arbeiten durch die Polizei des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen

"Einfluss Social Media (Twitter, Facebook, etc.) und Messenger Applications (WhatsApp etc.) auf Polizei und Polizeiarbeit"

Ihr Schreiben vom 13 06 2017

Sehr geehrte Frau Krompholz, sehr geehrte Frau Janzen

ich genehmige die Unterstützung Ihrer wissenschaftlichen Arbeit im beantragten Umfang. Ich bitte, mir eine Kopie Ihrer Arbeit zu übersenden.

Dienstgebäude: Friedrichstr. 62-80 40217 Düsseldorf

Einzelheiten bitte ich direkt mit der Kreispolizeibehörde Borken Fürstenwall 129 abzustimmen.

Lieferanschrift 40217 Düsseldorf

Mit freundlichen Grüßen

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Im Auftrag

Offentliche Verkehrsmittel: Rheinbahnlinien 732, 736, 835, 836, U71, U72, U73, U83

gez. Ziegenfuß

Haltestelle: Kirchplatz

Appendix 4)

Interview Transcriptions Enschede

Enschede, 07.06.2017

Officer E1:

- L: Okay, so I would like to start in general, what are the main sources of information that are important for your work? So where do you get them from?
- I: Ehhhh...you think about social media, or what do you.?
- L: Well, just in general and then later on focusing on social media, like what role does it play?
- I: Most of the times we get called from citizens because if there is something wrong they call us. I don't know the English word for it but we have a special officer for one community
- L. Mhhm
- I: So, he goes by and he goes to homes and talks to people if they have problems or something
- L: Okay so there is one person that is responsible for one neighborhood
- I: Yeah, yeah...one officer for one specific neighborhood and yeah that is the direct way
- L: okay, and then...what important or how important are social media as a source of information in combination with the sources you already mentioned?
- I: It's now very important, because many people are communicating about with social media
- L: okay
- I: I think everyone almost everyone has Facebook, everyone has Whatsapp, Twitter not so much anymore but I think Facebook is one of the important things right now.
- L: okay, and what kind of information do you get from social media? Like is it any kind or?
- I: Yes, any kind, sometimes we |...| Yesterday someone texted us in private. She made a screenshot from someone. He wanted... he wrote about a suicide he wanted to do.
- L: Oh okay, in order to...
- I: Yeah, so someone text us that he wanted to do this so we are checking the name from him so we can do a research about him and we discovered he had some issues with his wife and that's why.
- L: okay, so...
- I: Like that one we are almost getting... cute things.

L: So, it can be anything that disturbs citizens and they feel like they need to contact you? I: yeah, and sometimes... Marten has a fan, he just talks, he tells what he did that day so if he washed car, he texts that he washed the car or he takes selfies. Yeah it's...

L: Okay, do you respond to that?

I: Yeah, sometimes.

L: Or is there any way to restrict this kind of messages?

I: No, we can't restrict it... we can't...we can only check the messages or not, everyone can message us... but yeah, sometimes we respond but not the whole day, then we would be busy only with him.

L: But in general, social media is a very important source of information, especially nowadays?

I: yeah.

L: And how frequently do citizens contact you via social media?

I: Every day, we get every day private messages about... sometimes they message report through Facebook if the neighbor makes a lot of noise... I think it's gonna be five or ten years from now everyone goes social media.

L: So, sometimes they prefer messaging through social media than calling?

I: Yeah, cause it is easier messaging from your computer write than calling.

L: What other sources to exist to communicate with citizens?

I: Yeah, Twitter...I don't use Twitter... it's more communication of the police Enschede using Twitter... we only use Facebook, Snapchat, Instagram.....Facebook is more different people, Instagram is young people, Snapchat is very young people.,. we wanna reach everyone.

L: So, you have a wide range?

I: Yeah.

L: So, what do you as the police share with citizens via social media? Is there a difference also compared to other sources? Like what do you share? What content?

I: It is very... we think when there is an accident by cars, we think it's a daily thing for us but for some citizens it is very exciting to see what we are doing, so for us sometimes it is difficult to decide what to post or what not to post... most of the time we post almost everything... yeah but what we think is good, yesterday or last week a colleague posted a message from her daily clothes and her work clothes.

L: Ok, so it can be anything?

- I: Yeah, what we think citizens like and they like everything.
- L: So, this was focusing on communication in general, now we will focus more on the response by citizens. The main responsibilities you have in your neighborhood, how are these activities influenced by social media, for example when citizens message you on social media. Do you involve information you get from social media?
- I: Do you mean only one neighborhood or the whole city?
- L: Yeah, your neighborhood you are responsible for.
- I: We can't only reach this one, we have around 80.000 followers, but not only in Enschede. If we wanna reach only here... yeah, I don't know... we can't only reach here. With Social Media it's difficult for reaching only one area.
- L: So, it's for the whole city, but if there are any concern, then this influences your work?
- I: Yeah.
- L: Okay, and are there things that you would not have discovered without social media or in the past? Do you think there is a big difference?
- I: Do you have an example of what you actually mean?
- L: Well, in general...do you have the feeling that you get more hints or that more people try to get involved, in I don't know, to solve f.e minor crimes or something like this? Do you get information by citizens more easily than before?
- I: yeah, as I said before, people think it is easier to get to the computer than calling. I don't know why but almost everyone is with a cellphone or tablet or computer, so we get many questions about social media, not only about social media but about everything. Sometimes they send us screenshot from Instagram because many people selling things on Instagram and they message us and ask us "Is this allowed?"-that kind of stuff. But they don't call us anymore. That's difficult ..it's social media and we get a lot of questions about social media and crimes on social media, like last week we get a screenshot from someone he had a gun in his hand and we get many messages from people:" this is not good, go to him and find out!"
- L: Okay and then you obviously check on that person so that is probably something that you wouldn't have known before. So, if that person wouldn't use social media and wouldn't post a picture with that gun. So probably there are thing that are discovered that wouldn't have been discovered in the past or they are discovered more easily than in the past.
- I: Yeah, and we are busier with Facebook and many people are...mh, how to say... it is a big step to call the police for many people because they don't wanna call the police for little things because they think we are busy enough but with Facebook messenger it is easier. You type a message and it is done. That's why many people use the messenger. And we are very busy with it.
- L: Okay, and how do citizens respond to the messages or things that you share in particular? For example, when you share something about an accident or something, do they respond directly to that? Or do they just receiver the information or do they comment?

I: It depends on the post, so if we post a picture of a dog or something then many people are responding on that, many people are "find ik leuk". But if it's a regular thing... last week we had an interview with some he is a millionaire and we posted a picture with him but not many people were responding. Or last week there was a girl on "Freshtival", she was lost and we found with Facebook her girlfriend, we posted about it and 5000 likes. Many, many people are responding.

L: Oh okay, and it depends on the content but if it appears urgent or interesting then there is a higher response, obviously.

I: Yeah.

- L: Okay. Then I also focus on street-level bureaucracy in general and how street-level bureaucrats as the police have a lot of work to deal with a high work load. So, do you think that social media helps to tackle your workload and all the things you have to do or does it make it more difficult? For example, you said there are a lot of messages sometimes really basic things coming in does it make more difficult or does it help you overall?
- I: Sometimes it helps but it gives you more workload. We are with, I think, ten or twelve people that are administrating our Facebook page and we only can post things on Facebook so not other colleagues. So, for us it is sometimes busier because we need to respond but we also want it and we also like it. Sometimes it gives you more workload. So yesterday, what I told you about the man who want to commit suicide. I was on my way to home and I was looking on my Facebook and I saw that. So, when I was home I need to call someone and you are busy.
- L: So, you keep checking social media. So, also when you are off duty, when you are at home you keep checking social media and if there is something urgent you call somebody?
- I: Yeah, then we have a WhatsApp group with twelve people and we ask is there someone at work, if not then I do it by myself but if someone is working that day then he or she will do it.
- L: And how do you judge if the message is important, you already said that you kind of respond to almost everything. But for example, with the hint of the suicide.... How do you judge that it is really something you have to take care of or is it someone just talking about it but not doing it. I mean you never know. How do you judge the information is actually important and you do have to do something about it?
- I: Many times, when I don't know what to do, I ask in the WhatsApp group "Guys, what do you think about it, should we respond or should we not?" If many people say: "Yeah, we need to respond and we need to do something with this", then I do. But sometimes they say: "Let it go, it just attention, don't respond and delete it." Then I ignore it and delete it. So, we are checking each other.
- L: Does the source in general have an influence how you select the information and if you get active or not? For example, is a call for you more urgent than something you get on Facebook.
- I: Right now, I have a late shift and if I get an order from the emergency center I need to go. And if they message on Facebook, I can decide if I go or not.

- L: So, the rather traditional source of information is a little bit more urgent. If there is someone calling and says I think there will be a suicide, then you act faster than when you get the message on social media.
- I: Yeah, but if there is a suicide, you need to do something about it. But sometimes we get messages about noises from the neighbors, If we get an order from the office we need to go, we need to go to the neighbors. But if I see it on Facebook, I will tell them go first to your neighbor and ask them to turn the sound lower, this is something you can do.
- L: Okay. Does the content itself play a role? I mean that's probably self-explanatory. If there is a suicide or something dangerous then you act anyways, so you basically I think answered that already. So, if there was a call and you get an order then you have to get active and if not then you talk to your colleagues and decide based on that.

I: Yeah.

- L: So, I think this is already covered and then we already hit the last part. The contribution of social media to police work, to finalize it. Is it also easier to mobilize citizens in for example assist solving problems, if there is like a spot in the city that is perceived unsafe or minor crimes are happening more. Do they watch out more because you reach out to them on social media?
- I: Yeah, you reach a lot of people and if people of your city see the message, or they like it or not. Many people repost is and when people repost it, many people see it. Like, in the city we got a big problem about drugs and when we post about it and we see days after that we get many calls "there something happens now" or "They are dealing now" We can see that people are responding and that they call more often.
- L: And the message is shard more easily then. What is the alternative before social media? If you had a problem like this, you would just patrol and talk to citizens?
- I: When we are patrolling, it's sometimes people... I think it is easier to get contact with an officer through social media. Because people... it is easier to send a message than actually ask an officer "oh, something there happened". I don't know why, because we are just also people but many people don't like going to a police officer.
- L: Yeah, I think it is the authority you have.

I: Yeah.

- L: So, it is easier to probably just message. Well, the last and final question, which is really easy cause I think we have already discussed it. Do you think the police officer, like you as police officer are you more visible and also approachable through social media? Yeah, I think that is what we've basically discussed already.
- I: Yeah, I think it is. It's a part of the world now: Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, WhatsApp... I think if you wanna go with the time, it is like girls buy clothes because top models use it so girls want to use it. If you wanna go with the time, we need to use Facebook, we need to use Instagram, you get closer by the people and if we don't do that you get not close...

- L: So, it helps to get closer to the citizens?
- I: Yeah!
- L: And also, to get the information you need to do your work. Okay, that's it. Thank you very much!
- I: Yeah, I hope it will help.

Officer E2:

- L: So, the first question would be: in general, what are the main sources from which you get the information that are important for your work?
- I: From the community?
- L: Mh, but in general. Is it the police organization that gives you instructions or ...?
- I: Generally, the main information we get from the police organization itself. When officer1 and I work on the streets, we put in a computer everything we are like effected with. And we have some departments that do research from all the information that we put in the system. So, for example, if somebody got a sentence- it is in the computer. If somebody got a lot of fines for speeding- it is in the computer. We can see who is the owner of a car, who is the owner of a car, we can see who is living together. So, we get a lot of information from the police organization and other organizations but it's like when we are looking for witnesses it is all in the community. We can do it through paper, we can ask for witnesses but I think the last half year we do a lot of Facebook and Instagram. We are looking for witnesses through social media.
- L: Yeah, that would be also the following question. In the whole getting your information, what role or how important are social media? So, you already kinda touched that. And also what kind of information do you get from social media?
- I: A lot, just like for example if they are putting a message on social media about like summer in the center of the town there is a lot of annoying people like, I don't know (dutch word) it's like people drinking alcohol..., homeless people. People that are irritating normal population. If you put a message about summer in the center, you immediately get reactions from other civilians like they are in the center but look at the South End of Enschede. We also got a lot of problems there. So, it's like everything. We get back everything from the community.
- L: Okay, so it is any kind of information that citizens feel is important?
- I: Yeah, but also if we are looking for a suspicious car or person and we put the photo on social media, we get a lot of reactions.
- L: How would you indicate the role or the importance of social media? It's really high or low?
- I: It is really high and I think it will grow.

- L: Okay. And how frequently do citizens use social media to inform you about problems or whatever they feel like is important?
- I: If we are asking for information, because if we are asking for information we will receive a lot of messages and if we don't ask we still get some information through private message on Facebook for example. It depends, so if we are active, they are active.
- L: And what are the alternatives, what other sources do exist to get in contact with citizens besides social media or personal contact, you already mentioned.
- I: For example, we have small community councils in Enschede. They meet monthly and they will discuss about different topics in the small community and mostly there is also a community police officer there. So, he can tell them about traffic problems, about like burglary in their small community. The Dutch police, we communicate fact to face to the civilians. So, if I walk out of the bureau I ask civilians something. Through social media but also through the papers, through traditional media but also through small the community councils.
- L: Okay, what kind of content do you share with citizens via social media? You already said if there is somebody missing or if you're looking for someone.
- I: Yeah, well I am really a fan of sharing a lot of information but I am also aware that you cannot share everything. When you're looking about chasing a suspect, we have a lot of regulations and restraints and the police does not decide that it's the (asking his colleague something in Dutch) "Staatsanwalt"...
- L: Oh, okay...
- I: We can't decide that, the "Staatsanwalt" is our chief and he decides if we can share police information on social media.
- L: Okay, and how is that what you share on social media different compared to other sources? Is it the same or is it also regulated what you...?
- I: I think it's the same but more like images and videos and a lot quicker. So, if we are looking for witnesses, I can send a message now and if I use the paper I have to wait to tomorrow, so it is a lot quicker.
- L: Okay, and now focusing on the response by citizens. The main activities you do during your shift, how are they influenced by messages from citizens through social media?
- I: Not really, I think if a civilian wants to report something they, at this moment, they call us and I think in the future and there is also running a pilot, not in Enschede but in Hengelo. There they can report crimes through Facebook and through social media. That is not like official, it's some pilot where trying if it's possible in the future. In general, I think we are not calling each other, we are like sending text messages. I used to call my friends, now I will text them through WhatsApp or Signal...
- L: So, citizens also tend to do the same with the police?

- I: Yeah, it's getting more and more informal. I think we have to be reachable for civilian, not only through email or telephone but also on social media.
- L: Are there things that you discover with the help of social media, that you would not have discovered without it? Or...?
- I: Yeah. It's like for example, we arrested a guy, a suspect who does a lot of bike stealing, he is stealing a lot of bikes. We arrested him because we know a 99% sure that the bike was stolen but we didn't know the owner of the bike. We made a picture and put in on social media and in one and a half hour it was shared like1000 times and after that the guy, the owner of the bike he reported "It's my bike." That is just one example.
- L: So, now focusing a little bit on your workload because I also focus on the workload street-level have to deal with an obviously how social media influences this workload. So, do you think social media helps to tackle your workload or does it actually make it more difficult? Is there actually more to do, because you have to for example reply to the messages and information you get.
- I: I think it is not more difficult but it will deliver extra work. Because, the lower, the easier a civilian can get in contact with the police, the more information they will share. And the more information we receive, the more work there is for the police. It's like, you can compare it to when there is more police, there will be more crime because more police will see more crime. And if more civilians reaching the police, we will report more crime so it is a political discussion because the politics want to see the crime rates to drop and I think we are really investing we will see a rise of crime rates. But that is not really growing, there used to be crime that wasn't seen or reported to the police and now it will be reported. But I hope in the future social media will, I hope there will be more police because there is more work through social media. So, it is positive but it builds a lot of extra work.
- L: And, how do citizens respond to messages you share on social media? I mean you already said, if there is somebody missing, you are looking for someone there is a lot of...But how do they respond in general?
- I: When we just started with Facebook, it was November 2015, it was a small group that was really negative. They were like bashing on the police and in general. We did not really react on that guys but other followers did. "Why are you bashing on the police? simply don't follow them!" We didn't do anything, we did not interfere. We let loose and just simply watched and now the civilians did it for us. So now two and a half year later, we have 20.000 followers it is like mostly positive but they are like critical. They share their criticism with us and I think that's only good because then we improve. We only improve if civilians share their criticism, if they don't, we don't see what we don't do really good.
- L: Okay, how do you judge if messages from citizens are important in general? Any...not only through social media, if you get a call or whatever...How do you judge if it is important?

I: Gut feeling.

L: Okay...?

I: If somebody is sending me a message: "I am in my house and I see a car with Polish license plate with three guys" and it's like 2 o'clock in the night and they are looking into houses then

my gut feeling tells me "Okay, we gotta do something about it". But if I get the same message at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, I will say they are allowed to drive there, so it's gut feeling and it simply has to do with that the message tells.

- L: Mh, that is the following question. While judging what information you select and like take actions because of this information. How important is the source you get it from and how important is the content?
- I: The source is also important. We have some small examples from people that are not really functioning well and they calling the 112, the emergency call, for like 200 times a day, because they are mental. If somebody didn't ever call the emergency line and they want to make a report that somebody has been stolen... we will be reacting immediately. We call it reacting now or later. The now is we are going with sirens and a lot of sound to the place we have to go. A later message we will... We give priority to our reports: Priority one we go immediately, Priority two we go within 15 minutes, Priority three and four it's like later, so we do it when we have the time.
- L: And how do you decide what priority it is?
- I: We don't, the center decides...
- L: Where they get the calls in?
- I: Yeah!
- L: And there is like a certain system behind it?
- I: Yeah, they keep asking questions and then after that we get like: it is like important or less important or not really important or why do you call the police? But we see more messages also through social media and we are the guys behind social media. It is not the central, so that's a new thing. We also have to receive message and do it on gut feeling, depending on the content of the message.
- L: Coming to the last part, finalizing once more what social media contribute to the police work. So, the first question would be: Is it easier to mobilize citizens through social media, for example that they assist solving a problem or minor crime? Is it way easier than before?
- I: Yeah. It is not easier for us, but it is easier for the civilians to contact the police. You simply... Everybody has Facebook and if you follow the police Enschede and we put a message on our timeline and we are looking for a suspect or looking for witnesses, they simply can react on that message. It is something totally different to picking up the phone, 112 and wait in line for more than 10 minutes and wait and wait and wait. You can directly react, it's better.
- L: Do you think that you as a police officer are more approachable and more visible through social media? Does it help you a lot?
- I: Yeah, yeah. We, as the politic Enschede, we are choosing to be in informal contact. We have like the official website www.police.nl, it's really formal. It's like media messages, what happened, three suspects and what did they steal. On Facebook and Instagram we are like also sharing, I am not only the police officer but I also change my uniform for my normal clothes

and I am playing soccer tonight, with colleagues or drink a beer. Well, that's different but...We want to address that we are not only 24 hours police officers, but we are also humans. So, I think it's good.

L: Okay, that probably also makes you close to the citizens, so they feel closer to you?

I: Yeah, a lot closer!

L: Okay, all in all it is a good thing?

I: Yeah, I am really positive about social media!

L: Okay, then that was already it!

Enschede, 16.06.2017

Officer E3:

L: The first question would be: What are the main sources of information that are important for your work? So, all kind of sources.

I: First, it is very important that you got the information who are seeing it or hearing it or witnessing it. In the new time, the citizens have mobile devices they can record it, they can... In earlier times, they must go to police station to report it there and in newer situation they can send it to us from the device or have the device on the situation and communicate to police station in the neighborhood. "I am here now" and the police can ask "Can you send me the pictures?" Nowadays the images are quicker as the driving speed of the police cars approaching. You are real time witnessing, if you are connected with that kind of communication. Now we are awakening that it is important to adjust your organization to the new situation.

L: But do you also get information from your police organization itself? Is this also important?

I: Yes, because you have... when you are at the police station, everywhere you see computers but not in earlier times a police station was looking at. Then you had a jail, a lot of people working there in uniforms, but now 2/3 of the police officers are computer analysts who are analyzing the information and not the main are not the police men in uniform. You need another kind of police officers in the future, who look at the information that is not recorded in the police station but is recorded out there. You must look at that.

L: The following question would be how important are social media, which you have already explained in this part and what kind of information do you get especially from social media?

I: Nowadays, everyone is connected. Nowadays you can record via your mobile phone this investigation, you can choose to travel all over the world and you can manage it on your mobile phone. In earlier times, you had to go to the shop for the travel...But nowadays you can manage themselve. Everybody know everything, because they have a device to connect. It is important for organization who are dealing with safety that they know that and how can we adjust us to the new situation. Normally, I think in earlier times for about 10 years ago I had

one telephone. Now I have in my house ten old phones, three new ones, IPad, a computer. It is booming.

L: And you would say that you can get any kind of information through social media?

I: Yes, and also the applications are better than in earlier times (...) Also the photos you can make now, they are very good. In earlier times, you couldn't see a lot of the...But in the new... If you now make a photo, it will also say I know who make the photo, I know where the photo is, the time, you can reconnect it afterwards.

L: So, social media is really important for your work?

I: Yes!

L: And, how frequently, how often do citizens use social media to contact you and inform you?

I: A lot of times, but you don't see that because in the communication, a part of it is also hidden in it. So, they say this and that happened and if you ask them then they say that they received it from an app. It's not the communication to one to one, but in the communication, there is also a lot of social media.

L: But they use social media to contact you frequently, regularly?

I: Yeah, so we have for example a demonstration on Sunday in Enschede and the mayor has said: "I don't want to have it because of this order from the public safety. Now the person who has received it, the organisator has been on YouTube I welcome to Enschede and I call everyone in Holland to come to that. This YouTube, this is social media...Normally, he would have phoned his members but now he can make a broadcast like real television and everyone who is connected with him can see it and can phone or reconnect others.

L: But also for you, you can also get the information and you know what will be...

I: Yes, we have seen it with missing children. In no time we have 700 people who want to search. It was in earlier times not possible. Project X..., a fear of approaching of very bad weather. It goes boom. Everyone is going to warn...§Ey what is happening here is very..." and you see it on Twitter shhh... Nowadays police stations and otherwise when they see on Twitter a booming, they look cause then I have two or three minutes to react. That is the new world of new devices.

L: And what other sources do exist to communicate with citizens besides social media?

I: We have Facebook, LinkedIn, Instagram, Twitter, Snapchat...

L: And besides social media, what else is there? How can you communicate with citizens?

I: You have the normal things like making an appointment like this or having regular communication on meetings. We also have this. In earlier times, you send them to them via paper and now you send them online. ...

L: Okay

- I: You have an application to make appointments. You see everywhere there is a new thing who make the communication quicker. The most... the people who receive it, are they mental ill or not able to go with the device- that's the problems. Not the computer, not the application, not the possibilities to communicate. Like you experience with an organization like the German police, who makes it very... If the...your work here is now closed and about three months they will communicate and it doesn't have any sense to connect them.
- L: What do you share with citizens through social media? What content do you put on social media?
- I: You can ask for information, you can ask for communication, you can ask for cooperation. In Holland, there is an organization that examined it and they make clear what you can do with social media. In earlier times they only asked: "be attend the police needs that or that", but this is very old fashion. They can also say there are a lot of groups connected... in WhatsApp...and they are looking every day in their neighborhoods if there is something going on. If the police or community is connected to this group, they only have to look once in a week and "Have you seen something? No? okay". In earlier times they were driven through the neighborhood and asked the people "ah, what's. how is here?"
- L: So, this is also different compared to the other sources when you are just having a normal conversation?
- I: But it is very important that you have a relation. You must meet people to people, you must know each other and then you can use smart communication. But if you don't have in a relationship, you don't have good communication. It's from a little child to mother, it must have a relation to each other and you must have stressed that if you have communication that the other party will react in a way that you have communicated.
- L: And how do citizens respond to messages on Social Media?
- I: Mostly they are saying: "Hey, I have seeing something or they are warning." For example, now we have a problem in Enschede with so called "Zigeuner" who are hugging and then your jewelry is gone. Then we put in on social media, Twitter that everyone is being aware if somebody is approaching me and asks something and doing "ah, I am very sad" and they hug you and then your thing is away. It is warning...or burglary in the neighborhood. To saying there was one there and there and then they are looking.
- L: They also respond to these messages?
- I: Yeah, but you also can say: "If you don't want to have that, be connected!" and you can also prevent it by saying user your mobile phones to inform each other. But the connection to the police and other organizations is available, it must be there. Because otherwise, there is no sense.
- L: Now I want to have a closer look on how social media helps you with your workload. Do you think social media help to tackle your workload or do they actually make it more difficult?
- I: At the start it will increase, it will be more because for example there is bad communication. If you putting in new devices, it will increase. You can manage that by

saying to the people: "We are in a bad situation in our organization. Don't give me too much at the start, but I only want to have data of that" or "I will only see this once a week" or "Don't send me every mail you are communicating" what a lot of rubbish is in it and is not important for us. Only the main issues, so burglary.

- L: You have to restrict it a little bit?
- I: You must coach.
- L: So, you get a lot of messages and information. How do you judge if it is important?
- I: That's your profession, that's what you are knowing already comparing to what comes in. Like you get a lot of messages, but one or two are in your mind and you are Hey! From all the apps you think okay, that's my...now I'm knowing I am educated, I have got my exam, I will phone my friends and professor.
- L: And when you decide what is important or not does it play what source it was? Is it more important when you have it directly from people than from social media? Or is a certain kind of social media more...
- I: Some people are so important then we have one on one communication because my person who is connected to the mayor, I can app him. But he knows when officer3 apps, he know a lot of things going wrong, cause otherwise I do not app. So, if he sees a message from me he knows...oh, okay...because he must warn the mayor or he must do his things. But you will also have...how many app groups you have?
- L: Several...I don't know...
- I: Yeah, sometimes they are for broadcasting, to improve your image and sometimes with friends for deeper ones...so have you different. Also in the profession we have this.
- L: And what role does the content play?
- I: What is very dangerous if digital groups form his own group and not letting other group into it. Then they have a lot of information who can miss...bad use to it. If we are in a group and we don't say it to another...we have a lot of fast internet now, in African countries they don't have...we can choose earlier than they and you can get that.
- L: You mean an unequal information share?
- I: Yeah, it's internet, access to laws to democratic systems, it all must be equal in approach.
- L: But in general, the content, like what is in the messages that citizens send to you? Is it all equally? Like, if somebody reports you something about unruly behavior, or...
- I: Every people who sends is influent cause he always sees what he knows. But what he sees can be for me very important because I know more. If he sees a car with that...Maybe I know it is the car from the "Zigeuners" who are parking there, he only see they are park there. But I know that they only do that but then they are going to make victims.
- L: So, social media does influence your activities during work?

- I: Yeah, if there wouldn't be social media, I could not communicate with 1700 people on LinkedIn, 2000 on Facebook and every day I am choosing which one I will.
- L: So, they do influence your work?
- I: Yeah. With you both I had an experience to give you a lack of information. I give you only short messages to you because I know German people are always polite and give a lot but when you read it you are like...What do you want? That and that... And I got afterwards, the second time I got short information back. That is what communication does, if I do that you do that. If I smile, you smile. You must...this kind of communication, an appointment we have also to invest, you must say okay then you can be no polite but I want...because you already has approval from me an now we can do short. And that's important with the new communication, it is possible to be quick.
- L: Yeah, and would you say that you discover things, that you would not have discovered without the use of Social Media back in the day without all these applications.
- I: Yeah, I use a lot of applications and sometimes I lose them, because I think: "Naah, there is a newer one available".
- L: But do you get information that you would not have had without the use of social media? Like, do you get to know more things from citizens than before?
- I: Yeah, I don't want to know the telephone number, I want to know the email address. If I have the email address, it is now experienced that they don't answer their phone but they always checking their emails.
- L: No, but what I mean is the information about for example crime or disorder. Do you get more information about this than before? And therefore, do you discover...can you solve things easier than before?
- I: Yeah, it is all over the place. It's hidden, but everyone uses nowadays social media and it's increase incredibly. You can see it on the flat fire in London, if you are now examining on social media, I think it is all over the globe. And in earlier times they were journalists taking, seeing and hearing and make a news and the paper were printed and sell.
- L: Yeah, so now it's faster?
- I: Yeah.
- L: And so it also helps you to solve cases faster?
- I: Yeah.
- L: Then also, is it easier with the help of social media to mobilize citizens to assist in solving problems or minor crimes?
- I: Yeah, you must use it a lot of more. There was an investigation on a Facebook murder. There was a very big group of investigators and they are going into the neighborhood to ask: "Did you have see something?" with a clipboard. And they solved the murder because of the

daughter of 13 years. She said: "Everything is already recorded, look!" And they looked with his daughter and everything was already on Facebook. But they were used to form a group of people and to examine in the neighborhood, but it already was completely recorded.

- L: And it's also easier to make citizens active through social media?
- I: Yeah, if they say...there was a group they were using a kind of language the policemen could not understand. But if you put a |...| on internet and you put this kind of letters in it, you will see everywhere people are communicating in this way. You will see this and you will be like, hey- it was him, messaging there. That is another thing than asking as an officer "May I examine this telephone and hearing?", you can find it everywhere. That is the new way of communication that is now occurring. It is bigger than we can understand at this time.
- L: Okay, and now my last question would be: Do you think that you as a police officer are more visible and approachable through social media? So, is it easier for citizens to get in touch with you or...?
- I: It is not a question, we are already ten years too late with it. We are reacting from a very old organization. You were saying in Germany it is not...You must be reconnected through what is now already connected.
- L: But through social media you think it is easier for citizens to...?
- I: Now we are speaking, new kinds of Facebook are occurring. It is going very fast at this moment.
- L: So, you think, social media actually helps that people talk to you and that you are closer?
- I: Yeah, but it will still be develop. There will be times when people say: "What a rubbish" or we are being stopped by advertising. But this all indicate it will be the new way of communication people all over the world. Now we are trying to talk in English to another, but the new device will put in your ear when I talk Dutch and you will understand German. This is the new world.
- L: And it makes communication easier.
- I: Yeah, you are now going to Hong Kong and you now have a translator who will point to buildings but then you will point your device to the building and you will here in German what building it is. But the way of how it will get is at the person, if the person says:" I want the old-fashioned way". So, walking through the neighborhood with somebody explaining it or if I use the device to learn about it.
- L: Okay, thank you. That was all.

Officer E4:

L: My first question would be: What are the main sources of information that are important for your work? Is it the police organization itself, colleagues, citizens, what is the main important?

- I: The main important is the police information itself. It's all the information we need is in there and its secured. Normally, it can't go out, it is intern.
- L: How important are social media as a source and also what kind of information do you get through social media from citizens?
- I: A lot. We have a missing person we have Facebook. We can reach a big group of people. We get a lot of information out of social media. But personally, I only get if from Signal or WhatsApp. Facebook I don't use that but I know the police has a site and we get a lot of information from that site.
- L: So, the police organization or other colleagues get it from social media and you communicate internally
- I: Yeah and I get informed by other social media like WhatsApp, Signal or face to face.
- L: And the information you get through social media from citizens could be any kind?
- I: Yeah.
- L: How frequently do citizens use social media to contact and inform the police? How often?
- I: With me it is not very often. Many people use it to have eyes and ears in Enschede. If they hear someone is looking at cars, I will get it on my WhatsApp and I talk to my colleagues and we get informed and we go and see what happens outside. But it's not often, but when they see and react immediately. Also with burglary... We have WhatsApp Neighborhood Watch...
- L: This is also connected with this. What other sources do exist to communicate with citizens? So, you have social media to communicate with, but what else?
- I: Social Media, phones, mail, personal, there is one hour a week you come see a building and you can talk face to face with me or colleagues.
- L: This is once a week?
- I: Yeah, once a week.
- L: And they have the possibility to come to talk to you?
- I: Yeah, it is one hour.
- L: Oh, so it is like a contact hour?
- I: Yeah, a contact hour where they can come. But also social media or I get from the www.politie.nl site mails that they want to talk to me personally. They can fill in a form and I will get it in my mailbox.
- L: Okay, and what do you share with citizens or the police in general via social media? So, what kind of information or content do you put on social media?

- I: Not too special... (short interruption) You can't get them any information by law, when we do it, I risk to lose my job. So, it is very tricky to do it with citizens. This has happened, there was a guy.
- L: So, is the content, the information you put on social media is it different compared to traditional exchange? For example, when you talk to them in person? Or is it basically the same like when you talk to them in person?
- I: Personally it is a little bit more. You can better explain why and I can name a street, not a person but a street. Personally it talks better than it is registerated...
- L: So, you actually prefer personal exchange over social media?

I: yeah

- L: And your activities you are responsible for in your neighborhood, things you have to doare they initiated or like influenced by messages from citizens on social media?
- I: Yeah, I thin. When you get info...It is influenced by what they tell you. If I know about it, I am a police man so I have to do it... something about it or so...It is influenced, it is more than when you talk someone on the street about there is something going on. I can also ignore it, when you think okay. But when it is on social media I always go to police systems and I log it. So, I think it is from influence...
- L: On your activities?
- I: Yeah, on my activities.
- L: And do you think that you discover things that you would not have discovered in the past by the information you get through social media?
- I: Yeah, some activities about drugs. For the police, it is very quiet there, no rumors no nothing. And the neighbors "Ey, there is a lot of going on there. Much people go in and out. What is going on there?" Through social media it is better, the eyes and ears are helpful. Social media, the people don't call the police officer but on social media you receive...
- L: So, it helps you to solve problems or even minor crimes?
- I: Yeah.
- L: And how do citizens respond messages that you or other police organization share on social media? Do they respond on that?
- I: Positive and not so positive, but they are active on social media and there is interaction between citizens and police.
- L: Okay, and now more concentrating on your workload. Do social media help to tackle your workload, to get done all your work? Or does it actually create more work or make it more difficult?

- I: It creates more work. Everything I get from social media I have to write it down in police systems. When I don't use social media it is probably a third of information I get...
- L: Closely connected with this, how do you judge if a message from citizens is important or not? Also, is the source important?
- I: No, the source is not important. The social media, when I get a message, I read it and I check it out by me, by colleagues. If this is correct, is it true, is it a crime? Do I know something about the crime? We analyze it and when it appears to be correct and there is something going on then I go to talk with the social media person. But I doesn't matter who it is.
- L: But is it different when somebody talks to you in person compared to when he messages you on social media?
- I: No, no.
- L: So, in general you check how valid the information is and then you decide on what to do?
- I: Yes, we have to do it. Because I fulfill with filth when I say here is something going on and it's not actually done. It stays in the computer and says: Hey, what's going on there? So I have to check every social media, every mail, every phone call if its correct and important.
- L: Do you have priorities, I mean obviously I think...
- I: Yeah, priorities are always there and when I get some information about when someone has a gun that up-up then I have to react immediately with my chef "What are we going to do? Are going in to his or her home and get the weapons back?" When it is drug or hand up related it can wait. So there is priority, there always is.
- L: So, the content is more important than the source to judge what you do first?
- I: Yeah
- L: And is it easier with the help of social media to mobilize citizens, to activate citizens? For example, assist in solving problems or minor crimes.
- I: Yeah, yeah. With the WhatsApp in the neighborhoods where the signs are. We see a lot of activities. Neighborhoods are becoming close, they are "hey neighbor, what's going on?" They are getting closer together. Social Media helps to prevent a lot of crime and I think it is good that you activate citizens to help and look. We are not always the eyes and ears and when we know something about, we can act but the citizen personally can do it also.
- L: Okay, this is also the last question now. Do you think that you as a police officer are more visible and approachable through social media? So, is it easier for citizens to approach you, to talk to you?
- I: No, not easier because only person who are in my WhatsApp group know my number and if

you want to join it is actually very difficult if you don't know the contact and you can't get my phone number from the internet, it's now visible. It is better for mail and phone the normal number to get in contact with me than social media.

- L: But concentrating on for example Facebook, Instagram, Snapchat...because you don't use it personally
- I: Yeah, I don't use it.
- L: But do you think the police Enschede in general is easier for citizens to contact through social media?
- I: Yeah, I think. When you look at the page or you type something on the page. There is some team of eight or nine persons who monitor it and get in contact with the persons.
- L: So, in general it is easier but not for you personally?
- I: In general yes, for me personally not.
- L: For you it would be either personal contact or WhatsApp and Signal.
- I: Yeah.
- L: Okay, so that was all. Thank you!

Enschede, 27.06.2017

Officer E5:

- L: Okay, so first I want to concentrate on communication in general, so social media but also other sources. So, my first question would be: What are the main sources that are important for you work? It could be the police organization itself or colleague, citizens, what is most important?
- I: Citizens itself, they are the ears and the eyes in the "Weg", in the area and when you have a good communication with your citizen in your area, they can told you many things and they trust you, so they come with problems to you and the told you what is wrong in the area. So, the information is most from the area.
- L: And the police organization itself is also important?
- I: Okay, yes.
- L: And how important are social media as a source of information from citizens? How important is social media itself?
- I: I have a Facebook account, Facebook and the citizens in the area they follow me and I put things on it. |...| Yesterday I had late shift and I told them I have a late shift, so the citizens react and it's easy to come in ah...

- L: Contact?
- I: Yeah, in contact with me. So, I see that citizens find it easy to come in contact with me.
- L: And what kind of information do you get from citizens through social media?
- I: If there are problems, they send me a private mail, private message or they call me. So, they know me from, also from Facebook and from the Twitter. So they find it easy to come in contact with me.
- L: Okay, and how frequently do citizens use social media to contact you, how regularly?
- I: I inform it, I inform the citizens the days that I work. So, when I am free, I don't ...when I have a free day off work I don't look so much on it but when I'm in, at work then I put: I had an interview with two students.
- L: Mh, and do they also contact you even if you don't post anything. So, for example you are not at work but they still try to contact you.
- I: Yeah.
- L: So, this is regularly, every day or...?
- I: Yeah, every day. It's not only from Facebook and Twitter. It is also with mail or telephone.
- L: So, besides social media, what other sources to exist to communicate with citizens? You already mentioned mail or telephone...
- I: WhatsApp, direct mail |...|, private message from Facebook, they telephone me or they come to the police station. (short interruption by a phone call)
- L: What do you share with citizens via social media, compared to other sources? So already mentioned you say what is going on through your shift. But do you communicate thing with citizens on social media that you wouldn't communicate when you talk to them on the phone?
- I: The social media...last week ago, there were youth and they jumped for the cars, Saturday night and there were old people around the road, on the road and "Schreck" and so I put in on social media: "Who can tell me more about these boys and what they did?". Lots of reactions from the people "Oh, it's a shame that they do that." So, I get much information from the people. "I know who do that" or they tell me the name of the boys, so I can work with it.
- L: Yeah, so would you say that you discover things, you can solve things easier than before, or easier than without...
- I: Yeah, yeah.
- L: Are the main activities that you do in your neighborhood, or your area are they stimulated by messages from citizens by social media or do you have your normal plan what you have to do anyways? Or do they actually that they message you then you directly...

- I: I can, I put on it when you want to speak to the "Wijkagent", the contact for the area, you have to call me or you have to mail me so I can take contact with you. If I put on social media |...| when I put a question on it, then I get answers. I try to talk to the people that they, that it's not a la minute. In a few seconds I cannot react, no. So, they have to search for contact on a regular way.
- L: So, your work routine is pretty much given by the organization and also by the calls? But social is adding to it and helps you to solve your tasks.
- I: Yes, it's adding.
- L: Okay. And how do citizens respond to messages that you share on social media? You already said that they respond a lot, but what kind of reactions?
- I: Yeah, the example I give, they were very angry on that boys who did that. Old people, and it's not nice to see that boys before your car in the evening. People called me, the old people they called me and I think I have to do something with that. So, I put it on the social media, but the next day the newspaper called me and |...| and few hours later they called me from the TV Enschede and I gave an interview on the radio. The television, the national television called me "I heard it, I watched it" but I said, okay now it is good. I don't want to make it too big. Because there were horror clowns, and there was so much "aandacht"...

L: Attention?

- I: Yeah attention, there was so much attention to it that more and more do that. That was very big and it was a hype and I don't want to have this so I want to make it small. But it was here in Enschede |...|
- L: So, citizens respond to your messages and like in the example you gave they try to solve it.
- I: Yeah, they told me the names of the boys who did it.
- L: Okay, so there is a high despondence and they try to engage with your work?
- I: Yeah.
- L: Now concentrating on the workload, your daily workload. Do you think that social media helps to tackle your workload or does it actually make it more difficult?
- I: It tackles things of my own work here. I get the information quick but otherwise it costs me much ...
- L: Probably also time to check all the messages?
- I: Yeah, it costs me time to do that. But I do that mostly at home. At home then I...
- L: So, you check your social media at work but also when you are off duty, in your freetime?
- I: Mostly off duty because when I am here at work I'm very busy, much people in the area, much problem. So, I don't have much time to do that, so I do it at home. I like that.

- L: So, you like to use social media in your freetime for your work?
- I: Yeah.
- L: But then it also kind of creates more work after all? Because even in your freetime you are engaging in your job? But that is okay for you?
- I: Yeah. That's why I put on it when you have to contact me, you have to contact me on the regular way. So, not via private mail cause I don't see that anytime. When I'm at home, I don't look always at the private mail on Facebook. I say, I'm sorry but yesterday you sent me a message, you have to call me, the regular way. But I don't want, I am no more free.
- L: Yeah, I think this is the risk of social media. It helps but then also you engage even though you are not at work. How do you judge if a message from a citizen is important? How do you decide, okay I have to get active now or okay, it is maybe not so important?
- I: Well, it's feeling. For example, last year I had a woman, she wrote me a letter on private mail: "So I wanted to commit suicide." It was a very strange mail, and I just go to the computer and see anything about that woman and that was alarm for me. Then I direct ...action. I wrote her back, I take contact with you.
- L: So, it strongly depends on the content. So, if it's an emergence you react directly, and if it's not so...
- I: Yeah, of course |...|
- L: And what role does the source play, so is it something you get through email more important than social media or is a call more important than social media?
- I: There is no difference. Once I get a mail and it is very important and otherwise they contact me with the phone and it is very important.
- L: So, the source does not have an influence? The content, what is going on is there depending. And, then do you think that it is easier with the help of social media to mobilize citizens, to get active and communicate with you, to help solving little problems or cases?
- I: Yeah, cause they have the feeling that I have the Facebook account and they see me and they see what I do and they give a reaction. I don't know how to say it English, but the feel (dutch word).
- L: So, they feel closer to you?
- I: Yeah closer to me, and they had the idea that they can help me more.
- L: Okay, so they have the impression that if they help you they can see a direct outcome of their action. So, they can be a part of your work.
- I: Yeah.
- L: This is also connected with my last question. Do you think that you as a police officer are more visible and more easy approachable through the use of social media? But this is already,

I think already touched.

- I: Yes, I think so.
- L: And you are closer to the citizens as you said.
- I: It is faster than they |...| I see other police officers in the area, they don't have Facebook that is...we had last, few weeks ago we had on TV Enschede, they made a program over the police officers and how to contact with the citizens and one colleague he is only on the WhatsApp, and mail and telephone and I told the example from the boys who jumped for the cars and with the Facebook accounts. And another they call me, soo...I think that is easy to come in contact with your citizens.
- L: And you think citizens would prefer sending you a message on social media than actually calling? Do you have the feeling it is easier for them?
- I: Yeah, it is easier. But I put it on things, when you want to contact me you have to follow the regular way because I don't look at any time at that direct mail, at private mail because when I'm busy I don't look at it and when I'm at home then I see I got a message. So this, when they do it it's no problem but I told them when you do that, I don't read it anytime and that can be a day before I read it.
- L: And is your phone number also on your Facebook page?
- I: No, because people call very often to the police. So, I say when you call to the central number they connect you with me. When I'm free, they don't connect then they look and say she has a day off.
- L: Okay, but all in all social media helps to get closer to the citizens and easier to contact and faster to get information?
- I: Yeah, and I like it, I'm interested in it. It is easy for me to do that and I see that people like that.
- L: Okay, then that is all for me. Thank you!

Appendix 5)

Transcription of Interviews in Gronau

Gronau, 28.06.2017

Officer G6

- L: Also der erste Teil richtet sich, also es geht um Kommunikation mit Bürgern und Kommunikationsquellen. Also erstmal ganz allgemein, was sind die Hauptinformationsquellen die wichtig für Ihre Arbeit sind, also die Polizeiorganisation selbst oder Informationen von Bürgern.
- I: Von der Polizeiorganisation selbst ist das Intranet sehr wichtig, also das interne Polizeinetz, quasi ein kleines Internet nur eben auf Polizeiebene wo die einzelnen Polizeibehörden miteinander vernetzt sind, wo Fahndungen ausgetauscht werden, Anfragen ausgetauscht werden, überörtliche Ermittlungsersuchen etc. Aber in Deutschland ist es dann immer noch so, es geht immer noch alles über den Papierweg. Es werden immer noch Akten hin und her geschickt. Es gibt keine rein elektronische Vorgangsbearbeitung. Es wird also immer noch jede Menge Papier verbraucht. Im Fall des Bürgers ist es so dass der Bürger gerne: "Ich kann euch die ganzen Sachen auch per WhatsApp schicken." Geht aber nicht, weil unsere Diensthandys nicht internetfähig sind, bzw. keine WhatsApp Nutzung. Wir dürfen es auch dienstlich nicht nutzen. Auf Grund mangelnder oder fehlender Datenschutzvoraussetzungen, da ist da schwierig.
- L: Okay, da schließt auch schon die zweite Frage an: Wie wichtig wären Social Media als Quelle von Informationen von Bürgern in ihrem Zuständigkeitsbereich zu erhalten? Und vor allem Social Media, ich konzentriere mich da hauptsächlich auf Facebook, Twitter, Snapchat, Instagram...
- I: Ich weiß das wenn man, um lapidare Sachen, also Fahrerermittlung geht oder welche Personen sind bei 'nem Ladendiebstal gefilmt worden. Wenn man da irgendein Ansatz hat, gibt man den Namen ein und dann kriegt man über die Freundeslisten die da verlinkt sind, da kriegt man gute Hinweise auf den möglichen Täter oder sonst wo was. Und das ist auch sehr hilfreich bei der Ermittlungsarbeit.
- L: Und warum nutzt die Polizei hier in Gronau kaum bzw. keine Sozialen Netzwerke?
- I: Weil es uns verboten ist vom Dienstherrn.
- L: Okay, schlichtweg verboten?
- I: Schlichtweg, weil gesagt wird ihr nutzt das dann auch privat oder die Vermischung zwischen privaten und dienstlichen Interessen ist dann nicht mehr gewährleistet und das wollen wir nicht. Es hat wie gesagt, ein einziger einen Zugang, freien Zugang dann auch zu Facebook, der dann auch im Internet dann ermitteln kann und wenn wir irgendwelche Nachfragen haben dann gehen wir zu ihm hin und sagen: "guck mal eben nach."

- L: Und welche Möglichkeiten gibt es um mit Bürgern zu kommunizieren und welche Inhalte werden dann ausgetauscht? Also, wie treten Sie an die Bürger heran, wenn Sie die einbeziehen wollen?
- I: Jetzt rein dann über Social Media?
- L: Nee allgemein.
- I: Allgemein ist es immer noch der persönliche Kontakt, also per Telefon oder wo ich viel mit arbeite ist mit Visitenkarte. Ich hab hier den Innenstadtbezirk und muss hallt irgendwo, dass der Bürger mich auch anruft oder Kontakt aufnimmt und das klappt am besten mit 'ner Visitenkarten in den Briefkasten dann rufen die 90% auch immer zurück. Also, ich hab auch 'nen guten Verbrauch an den Dingern. Also 100 in zwei Monaten gehen schon durch.
- L: Okay, jetzt kommen wir zum nächsten Teil. Reaktion oder Rückmeldung von Bürgern. Wie stark werden so die Hauptaktivitäten die sie innerhalb ihres Tätigkeitfelds ausüben von Bürgern beeinflusst und angeregt? Wie stark ist der Einfluss was Bürger Ihnen für Informationen zukommen lassen?
- I: Also ohne Bürger bin ich aufgeschmissen, wie ich eben halt auch Kontaktbereichsbeamter bin. In den Niederlanden, nur um mal den Vergleich zu kriegen, ist das der sogenannte "Wijkagent" und da bin ich natürlich darauf angewiesen, dass der Bürger mit mir in Kontakt geht. Wir sind also in der Innenstadt präsent, aber ist halt reiner persönlicher Kontakt, also nicht über Internet, oder Facebook oder WhatsApp. Also entweder die haben meine Handynummer, oder die kommen eben persönlich vorbei oder sagen ´ner Streife Bescheid "Ich muss den mal sprechen!" Und…
- L: Also fast nur persönlicher Austausch, oder wenn dann halt per Telefon.

I: Ja.

- L: Und glauben Sie denn das mit Hilfe von Social Media Inforationen erhalten werden könnten, die helfen Fälle zu lösen oder aufzudecken.
- I: Auf jeden Fall.
- L: Also er würde schon helfen?
- I: Ja, auf jeden Fall. Bestes Beispiel ist die Amok-Tat aus München, die dann auch von dem Social Media Team der Münchener Polizei begleitet wurde. Da ist ja dieser Gloria Martin sehr in den Fokus der Öffentlichkeit gekommen, der das sehr gut gemacht hat. Der A: die Polizei gut verkauft hat und B: auch viele Informationen die dann über Facebook sich verbreiten sofort entgegenwirken kann und sagen kann: "von unserer Seite aus ist es nicht so das mehrere Täter unterwegs sind, es ist überhaupt nicht so, dass mehrere Schießereien und mehrere Tote sind, sondern es ist so und so." Das ist für uns sehr wichtig, dass man die Tatsachen verbreitet.
- L: Okay, also wäre es insgesamt für Sie sehr hilfreich?
- I: Ja.

- L: Und dann daran anschließend, glauben Sie, dass durch die Nutzung von Social Media ihr Arbeitspensum besser zu bewältigen wäre oder ...?
- I: Es würde die ganze Sache erheblich vereinfachen.
- L: Und auf welcher Grundlage entscheiden Sie ob Informationen von Bürgern wichtig sind? Also alle Informationen die sie bekommen, auch durch den persönlichen Austausch. Spielt es 'ne Rolle inhaltlich, oder... Wie setzt man da Prioritäten?
- I: Inhaltlich, dann guckt man welche Organisationseinheit da Interesse dran hätte diese Information zu bekommen und dann geht es per Email oder sonstigen elektronischem Wege, wenn es sehr schnell gehen muss, dass der Sachbearbeiter direkt am anderen Morgen oder am gleichen Tag noch Nachricht bekommt. Oder eben halt wenn es 'ne andere Dienststelle ist, vorab per Email und dann aber auf dem Papierweg.
- L: Und sonst an sich ist es auch ein bisschen Erfahrung wahrscheinlich.
- I: Da muss ich eben differenzieren, das ist jetzt akut und da muss sofort was gemacht werden oder das kann ich dann eben in Ruhe auf Papier bringen und wegschicken.
- L: In Enschede habe ich noch gefragt, was für 'ne Rolle spielt die Informationsquelle? Aber wenn es hauptsächlich persönlicher Austausch ist, dann ist es ja eh gleich.

I: Ja.

- L: Okay, dann sind wir auch schon beim letzten Teil. Glauben Sie, dass es durch die Nutzung von Social Media einfacher wäre die Bürger zu mobilisieren sich einzubringen in die Polizeiarbeit, eben beim Lösen von Fällen oder gewissen Problemen von ´nem bestimmten Viertel?
- I: Ich glaube, dass man allein durch die Veröffentlichung auf Social Media, also Facebook, Twitter etc. pipapo nen erheblich größeren Personenkreis als mögliche Zeugen dann erreichen kann. Und die dann auch mobilisiere kann zu sagen: "Oh, das hab ich doch gesehen." Und die sich dann auch melden, als wenn man sagt so Zeitung oder allgemeinter Presseaufruf, weil eben gerade auch die jüngere Generation ihre Informationsquellen über Social Media beziehen. Erfahrungsgemäß, weil wir eben auch 'ne hohe Tätergruppe haben die im Alter von 15 und 25 ist und diese Social Media Geschichten von diesen 15- bis 25-Jährigen ausschließlich als Informationsquelle genutzt werden. Da wäre das natürlich auch mehr als hilfreich.
- L: Okay, dann kommen wir auch schon zur letzten Frage: Glauben Sie, dass sie selbst als Polizeibeamter durch die Nutzung von Social Media erreichbarer und ansprechbarer für den Bürger sind? Also glauben Sie, dass es einfacher für den Bürger ist per Social Media Sie zu kontaktieren, also sie anzurufen?
- I: Es ist für viele natürlich einfacher, aus der halbwegigen Anonymität einer Social Media Plattform. Ich sag mal mit der Polizei oder mit dem Polizeibeamten persönlich dann kommunizieren, als wenn ich dann Auge in Auge... Weil viele eben noch 'ne Hemmschwelle haben. Ich geh zur Polizei, zur Polizeiwache und erzähle da meine Feststellung, meine Anliegen oder sonst etwas.
- L: Okay, das war's auch schon von mir.

Officer G7

- L: Also die erste Frage ganz allgemein, was sind die Hauptinformationsquellen die wichtig für Ihre Arbeit sind? Also abgesehen von Bürgern, ganz allgemein wie erhalten sie Informationen die sie für Ihre tägliche Arbeit brauchen, auf welche Art und Weise?
- I: Von Bürgern her oder vom?
- L: Alles, also sind Bürger da sehr wichtig, oder von der Polizeiorganisation selbst, dass sie da...
- I: Ja, die Bürger sind natürlich sehr wichtig. Nur durch den Bürger kriegen wir die Information wo, was und wie passiert ist, ne. Das andere, wir erhalten Informationen, Lagebild heißt das bei uns, da werden alle Einsätze aus dem Bereich gespeichert und da kriegen wir zu Dienstbeginn in der Dienstbesprechung, da wird das vorgetragen alles Wichtige was passiert ist seit gestern oder vorgestern. Oder wenn man länger nicht da ist kann man sich selbst auch einlesen. Das ist so das, wo wir unsere Informationen für den polizeilichen Dienst so herkriegen.
- L: Okay, also die Hauptinformationsquelle ist eigentlich die Polizeiorganisation selbst, eben diese Besprechungen ...
- I: Genau und dann eben der Bürger, wenn er uns was mitteilt, was ihm wichtig vorkommt oder verdächtig. Das wird dann natürlich auch in Papierform niedergeschrieben und das bekommen wir dann auch wieder vorgetragen.
- L: Okay, und wie wichtig wären Social Media als Quelle um Informationen von Bürgern zu bekommen?
- I: Also es gibt ja hier schon sowas wie Social Media, also es gibt Internet. Es gibt Internet-Wache und über Internet kann der Bürger das auch preisgeben.
- L: Ich konzentriere mich hauptsächlich auf Social Media im Sinne von Facebook, Twitter, Snapchat, Instagram solchen Sachen. Glauben Sie, dass das wichtige wäre zu nutzen, also gerade auch Facebook oder Twitter?
- I: Facebook könnte ich mir vielleicht noch vorstellen, dass es da ne polizeiinterne Seite gibt, wo Bürger was draufschreiben können. Aber im Endeffekt gibt es das ja schon im Internet. Also, ich glaube nicht, dass da jetzt großartig mehr positiv für uns was ist. Ich glaube eher das wäre negativ, das der Bürger mehr Schwachsinn postet was die Polizei angeht. Gerade hier in unserer Stadt gibt es viele, ich weiß nicht wie ich es ausdrücken soll, Leute die darüber schimpfen über Polizei oder ähnliche. Das ist halt einfach, wenn man Facebook sieht, man stellt sich irgendwo zur Geschwindigkeitsmessung hin und dann liest man da "Da stehen die Idioten wieder uns messen." Also wenn du aus Gronau kommst oder ähnliches, da wirst du halt dann schon |...|
- L: Da kommen wir dann auch später nochmal bisschen drauf zurück. Warum nutzt die Polizei Gronau kaum bzw. keine Sozialen Netzwerke?
- I: Ich glaube das ist so, weil es keine Vorteile für uns bringt die Sozialen Netzwerke. Es gibt Telefon, wenn jemand was hat für die Polizei ist das im Grunde das beste Mittel, weil man

kann direkt nachfragen, hinterfragen was der meint der Bürger. Es gibt Leute die sagen: "Hier ist das und das ist verdächtig." und so kann man fragen "Warum?". Sonst müsste sich immer einer bei Facebook oder Twitter damit beschäftigen, immer da hinterhergehen und auf Kommunikation und dann ist der andere wieder nicht online. Und deshalb ist Telekommunikation das Beste, weil man es direkt alles hinterfragen kann.

- L: Aber gibt es auch rechtliche Einschränkungen? Sie meinten glaube auch, dienstlich ist es mehr oder weniger verboten Social Media zu nutzen?
- I: Ja, also intern das weiterzugeben über Social Media. Weil Social Media mittlerweile so transparent ist, wenn man das mal sieht was alles verbreitet wird auch durch die Betreiber von WhatsApp oder Facebook. Datenschutz wird halt ganz groß geschrieben in Deutschland, ne.
- L: Okay, welche Möglichkeiten gibt es denn dann um mit Bürgern zu kommunizieren? Also, sie meinten gerade schon telefonisch?
- I: Telefonisch, Online-Wache gibt's zum Beispiel, Internet, auf der Internetseite von der Behörde, da kann man auch online Anzeigen erstatten. Das ist zum Beispiel nicht mehr so, dass man auf die Wache kommen muss, sondern man kann auch online Anzeige, da gibt's so 'n Formblatt und das kann man ausfüllen und dann wird der Sachbearbeiter sich mit einem in Verbindung setzen, wenn er Fragen hat. Das ist schon so, das finde ich eigentlich soweit muss es kommen. Weiter muss es eigentlich nicht kommen.
- L: Insgesamt, wenn man mit Bürgern kommuniziert auf andere Art und Weise, also vielleicht telefonisch oder auch persönlich, was für Inhalte werden da ausgetauscht? Über was tauscht man sich mit Bürgern aus?
- I: Ja, also entweder ruft der Bürger an und sagt: "Mit ist ein Unfall passiert" oder "Bei mir ist eingebrochen worden" oder er teil halt per Telefon mit: "Da steht ein Auto, das ist mir nicht ganz koscher. Da sitzen drei Leute drin." Also alles was verdächtig ist, teilt der Bürger mit oder er sagt: "Bei mir in der Straße wird gerast. Können Sie da mal jemanden hinstellen, der die Geschwindigkeit misst?" Also eigentlich alles was polizeilich relevant ist, teilt der Bürger mit. Oder er erscheint hier persönlich. Es gibt auch viele die hier persönlich erscheinen.
- L: Okay, und das dann durch persönliches Gespräch oder telefonisch.

I: Ja.

- L: Und zu den Reaktionen von Bürgern. Wie stark werden so die Hauptaktivitäten innerhalb ihres Tätigkeitsfelds durch die Benachrichtigungen von Bürgern angeregt. Also, wenn die an Sie herantreten und irgendwelche Informationen weitergeben, zum Beispiel da ist ein verdächtiges Auto. Wie stark beeinflusst das dann Ihre Arbeit, wird da direkt gehandelt?
- I: Wenn's verdächtig ist und es wirklich auf eine Straftat hinweisen lässt, dann wird sofort gehandelt. Also das ist einfach so. Der Bürger ruft an, dafür sitzen wir hier vorne und dafür gibt's hier 'nen Wachdienstführer. |...| Und die Leitstelle ruft an und das und das liegt vor und dann schickt man da ein Auto hin, unmittelbar.
- L: Also die Informationen die von den Bürgern an Sie herangetragen werden, haben einen direkten Einfluss?

- I: Die werden direkt weiterverarbeitet.
- L: Glauben Sie, dass es mit Hilfe von Social Media Informationen gewonnen werden könnten, die helfen würden zum Beispiel Fälle zu lösen oder Probleme zu lösen, was jetzt nicht möglich ist. Weil man eben nicht Social Media nutzt?
- I: Also in unserem Bereich würde ich sagen, Wache und Streifendienst, würde ich sagen nein. Im Ermittlungsdienst würde ich das nicht ausschließen, dass da Social Media da weiterhelfen könnte. Aber für uns, für die Wache ist es eigentlich nicht so, dass es uns weiterhelfen würde.
- L: Okay, und in Bezug auf das tägliche Arbeitspensum. Glauben Sie da, das Social Media helfen würde das Pensum besser zu bewältigen? Oder glauben Sie das wäre eher negativ...
- I: Ich glaube Social Media würde es eher komplizierter machen.
- L: Okay, und warum glauben Sie das?
- I: Wie schon gesagt, Informationsgewinnung. Jemand meldet was über Facebook, WhatsApp oder Instagram oder wie auch immer und dann muss wieder nachgefragt werden, wenn der Kollege nicht versteht was er genau meint. Und hier am Telefon, er ruft an und sagt:" Das Auto kommt mir verdächtig vor." Und dann müssen wir fragen: "Wo steht das denn? Können Sie das genau beschreiben?" oder "Was genau kommt Ihnen denn genau verdächtig vor?" Wenn derjenige das nicht bei Facebook oder WhatsApp oder ähnliches so mitteilt, müssen immer wieder Rücksprachen stattfinden. Dann ist derjenige bei der Arbeit, ist nicht online oder ähnliches, dann verzögert sich das. Dadurch würde ich sagen, dass es eher verzögert als beschleunigt. Per Telefon, würde ich sagen, kann man alles hinterfragen, man hat seine Fakten, man hat direkt alles.
- L: Und auf welcher Grundlage entscheiden Sie ob Informationen von Bürgern wichtig sind? Auch was ich vorhin meinte, wie beeinflussen sie die Aktivitäten? Aber auch wenn jetzt jemand anruft oder persönlich vorbeikommt, wie entscheiden Sie dann, okay ja das ist jetzt wirklich verdächtig, da muss ich handeln oder okay, der will sich halt nur wichtig fühlen und wollte mal...
- I: Aus dem Gespräch heraus, oder ähnliches kann man schon herausfinden ob es wirklich was ist für die Polizei oder eher so "fahren wir mal vorbei, wenn wir Zeit haben."
- L: Also Inhalt ist dann ausschlaggebend?
- I: Ja auch wieder, ist da n Straftathintergrund da oder nicht? Dann ist das natürlich höher angesiedelt als wenn's nur 'ne Ordnungswidrigkeit ist oder ähnliches. Das ist halt nach Priorität sowieso auch die Einsatzvergabe gegliedert bei uns auch.
- L: Und, das hab ich vor allem auch immer in Enschede gefragt. Also die Informationsquelle, also da war's dann eben auch Facebook und anderes, spielt das 'ne Rolle? Also, ob jetzt jemand persönlich vorbeikommt oder anruft? Gibt's da 'nen Unterschied?
- I: Nee, da ist kein Unterschied. Es ist wirklich so Priorität und eigentlich, es heißt ja immer "Polizei- Dein Freund und Helfer". Wir kommen fast überall für raus, das ist einfach so. Ob sich jemand unsicher fühlt oder ähnliches. Das ist einfach so, dafür sind wir da.
- L: Ja, und der Inhalt ist dann eben entscheidend?

- I: Genau, der Inhalt ist halt eben entscheidend wo wir als erstes hinfahren. Wenn da, sagen wir mal, vier Sachen gleichzeitig kommen per Telefon, wird halt nach Priorität entschiedendas erscheint wichtiger von Straftat, vom ganzen her was mitgeteilt wurde und danach wird das dann...
- L: Okay, also wenn ich jetzt die 110 anrufe, dann komme ich ja eh bei der Zentrale raus und da werden verschiedene Sachen gefragt und danach wird dann die Priorität auch eingestuft und weitergegeben.
- I: Ja, genau.
- L: Okay, und dann zum letzten Teil auch schon. Glauben Sie, dass es durch die Nutzung von Social Media einfacher wäre Bürger zu mobilisieren und sich in die Polizeiarbeit einzubringen. Also, zu helfen Fälle zu lösen oder eben wenn ein Tatverdächtiger gesucht wird sich da einzubringen, wenn man Hinweise hat. Glauben Sie, es wäre einfacher?
- I: Einerseits schon vielleicht, andererseits ist es auch wieder die Datenschutzgeschichte. Man muss wieder was preisgeben, was hier in Deutschland unter Datenschutz fällt. Das ist ja hier ganz großgeschrieben. Man darf keine Namen veröffentlichen oder ähnliches, keine Bilder von Tatverdächtigen veröffentlichen. Das ist halt, was es schwer machen wird überhaupt Social Media für Polizeiarbeit zu nutzen. Weil die Schwelle von rechtmäßigen und unrechtmäßigen Verbreitungen von Sachen oder Daten oder Fotos, ist halt sehr gering. Da ist man ganz schnell in so 'ner Ermittlungsgeschichte, ganz schnell denkt man nicht mehr drüber nach und veröffentlicht dann was, womit man sich selber strafbar macht. Ich glaube, das ist schon sehr schwer da genau die richtige Linie zu finden. Wer verwaltet sowas? Wer macht das?
- L: Okay, also eher schwierig?
- I: Eher schwieriger.
- L: Wie findet das jetzt statt? Wenn Sie zum Beispiel Bürger dazu aufrufen wollen, sich einzubringen?
- I: |...| bei bestimmten Sachen, gibt es ja auch Presseaufrufe. Zum Beispiel in der Zeitung: "Am soundsovielten passierte Einbruch. Wer hat verdächtige Sachen? Bitte melden bei der Polizei Gronau." Oder wenn man Diebesgut aufgefunden hat, was man nicht zuordnen kann, dann wird ein Foto gemacht und in die Zeitung gesetzt und gefragt: "Wer weiß wo das hingehört oder wer kennt jemanden dem das gehört?"
- L: Okay, also eher traditionelle Medien und das finden Sie auch gut so?
- I: Ja, das finde ich gut so.
- L: Okay, die letzte Frage auch schon: Glauben Sie, dass Sie selbst als Polizeibeamter durch die Nutzung von Social Media erreichbarer oder auch ansprechbarer für Bürger erscheinen würden? Also, glauben Sie, dass Bürger tendenziell Sie eher kontaktieren würden durch Social Media, also 'ne Facebook Nachricht zum Beispiel, anstatt anzurufen?
- I: Ist jetzt die Frage: Facebook Nachricht als Polizei, oder Facebook Nachricht als jemand persönlich als Polizeibeamter?

L: Also Sie selbst, also im Dienst schon, aber dass sie halt als Polizeibeamter selbst, wenn sie halt Social Media nutzen...

I: Über meinen persönlichen Facebook Account oder über den polizeilichen? Das ist ja die Frage. Meinen persönlichen Facebook Account würde ich nie irgendwie an, für die Bürger freigeben. Das er weiß, dass ich Polizeibeamter bin und jederzeit erreichbar bin, weil dann erhalten Sie so viel Mist und alles. Das ist nicht nur Mist, es gibt ja auch nicht nur gute Bürger. Ich hab das selber gehabt, dass ich eine Freundschaftsanfrage von einem Verbrecher erhalten habe und so auch meine Lebensgefährtin und das ist dann schon so, wo man dann auch eingrenzt das ganze Social Media. Weil das so öffentlich ist, über Freunde und Freunde. Wer das so angegriffen werden kann. Wenn, dann müsste es überhaupt nur 'nen Polizei Gronau Account geben und nicht die einzelnen Beamten selber und dann bin ich persönlich wieder für den Dienstherrn nicht erreichbar, oder was mehr bringen würde, würde ich sagen.

L: Okay, also sehen Sie das eher schon fast als Risiko, persönlich auch?

I: Ja.

L: Weil zum Beispiel, gestern haben wir ein Interview in Enschede durchgeführt. Also Enschede hat ja selbst auch die Facebookseite, also Polizei Enschede und sie selbst hat eben auch nochmal ein polizeiliches, privates Facebook-Konto. Also, sie hat ihr privates wo sie nur ihre Freunde hat, aber dann hat sie eins wo sie über die Schicht postet, was da passiert, aber auch um Hinweise bittet und so weiter und sofort. Das fänden Sie jetzt aber nicht so positiv?

I: |...| Ich halte es schon für problematisch, weil ich glaube es ist echt schwer zu trennen. Wo ich schon so sagen würde: "Weiß ich nicht." Ich weiß, in den Niederlanden sind die da durchaus weiter, auch mit allem. Mit Abfragen im Auto, was die auch im Auto haben mit IPad und so und die können auch schon im Auto Zugriffe machen und alles. Das ist weitaus weiter und teilweise würde ich das auch begrüßen hier, aber teilweise auch echt schon wo man auch echt durchschaubarer wird.

L: Okay, also Sie sehen da auch Risiken verborgen. Prinzipiell ist es nicht komplett negativ...

I: Nein, nein.

L: Aber schon auch mit vielen Risiken verbunden?

I: Ja.

L: Okay, alles klar. Das war's dann auch schon.

I: Gut.

Officer G8

- L: Allgemein, was sind so die Hauptinformationsquellen die wichtig für Ihre Arbeit sind, also zum Beispiel die Polizeiorganisation selbst oder auch von Bürgern. Wo kommen die Hauptinformationen her, die sie für Ihre Arbeit brauchen?
- I: Hauptinformationen kommen von Zeugenaussagen. Zeugeninformationen |...| Wenn wir da nicht weiterkommen, dann natürlich Internet- keine Frage. Das sind so die Hauptquellen die wir haben. Spuren sind natürlich auch Quellen für uns, die wir ganz stark nutzen um zu überführen, oder die Täter zu überführen. Die drei Bereiche sind eigentlich so die Hauptpunkte.
- L: Wie wichtig sind oder wären Social Media als Quelle um Informationen von Bürgen zu bekommen, innerhalb Ihres Zuständigkeitsbereichs?
- I: Das hängt vom Delikt ab, was der Bürger anzeigt. Es gibt Delikte die im Bereich Soziale Medien stattfinden. Das sind die Stalking-Geschichten, Bedrohungsdelikte. Da ist natürlich das Internet ganz wichtig, weil es ja darüber geschieht. Das hat sich gründlich gewandelt in den letzten Jahren. Früher hatten wir das eigentlich nur im Bereich von persönlichen Kontakten oder in Form von Briefen, oder man hat was geschrieben oder über Dritte. Heute findet das eigentlich überwiegend statt im Bereich Facebook, WhatsApp und was es im Internet an Hochburgen gibt. Instagram eigentlich weniger, aber das sind so die Hauptsachen.
- L: Und die überprüfen Sie dann auch, diese Medien. Also Facebook und so weiter?
- I: Ja also, das ist nicht so einfach. Wir überprüfen das natürlich über Facebook, wir gehen diesen Sachen nach, aber das Problem ist Informationen von Facebook zu bekommen. Facebook ist ein Medium, das seinen Sitz in Irland hat und da sind die Rechtsvorschriften ganz andere als bei uns. |...| Und wenn ich Informationen bekommen möchte, dann kann ich die bekommen, allerdings ist Facebook sehr träge mit Informationen. Also, da bekommt man relativ wenig an Informationen. Und WhatsApp gehört ja auch mit dazu und auch da ist es sehr schwer an Informationen ran zu kommen. Also, allgemein muss man sagen sind da immer sehr hohe Hürden um Informationen zu bekommen. Auf Grund des sehr starken Datenschutzes.
- L: Das ist vielleicht auch ein bisschen mit der nächsten Frage verbunden. Warum nutzt die Polizei Gronau kaum/keine Sozialen Netzwerke?
- I: Wir nutzen die. Wir nutzen Facebook, wie ich gerade schon sagte, wir nutzen WhatsApp, wir nutzen all diese Medien die betroffen sind, natürlich, klar. Also, wir gehen da rein und schauen uns an was da angezeigt wird. Das hängt auch immer vom Anzeigefall ab, was für ein Sachverhalt vorliegt. Dann nutzen wir das wohl.
- L: Okay, also in Ihrem Tätigkeitsbereich nutzen Sie soziale Medien?

I: Ja.

- L: Und welche Möglichkeiten gibt es, um allgemein mit Bürgern zu kommunizieren, sich auszutauschen? Und was für Informationen werden dann an den Bürger herangetragen oder gewonnen? Wie läuft die Kommunikation mit Bürgern, die Einbeziehung mit Bürgern?
- I: Das läuft ja immer Eins-Zu-Eins. Also, da gibt es sogar Vorlagen. Das heißt, wir sprechen den Bürger, also im persönlichen Gespräch, Telefonat zähle ich mit zum persönlichen Gespräch. Alles andere ist eigentlich außen vor. Das sind ja objektive Wahrnehmungen, die uns da geschildert werden.
- L: Also ist da innerhalb Ihrer Arbeit persönlicher Kontakt schon das Wichtigste?
- I: Ja, also das ist das A und O, weil das ja auch bei uns alles gerichtsverwertbar sein muss. Und das ist es nur wenn ich 'ne Aussage, schwarz auf weiß habe, die vor Gericht auch nochmal wiederholt wird. Da haben wir das Rechtssystem in Deutschland wieder, das muss immer alles nochmal vor Gericht wiederholt werden. Aber, das ist entscheidend.
- L: Wie stark werden so die Hauptaktivitäten innerhalb Ihres Tätigkeitfelds durch Benachrichtigungen von Bürgern beeinflusst? Also Sie brauchen ja Hinweise und Indizien, also hat das schon 'nen starken Einfluss auf Ihrer Arbeit?
- I: Ja, also das meiste hat sogar direkten Einfluss. Also, wenn ich ne Anzeige mache als Geschädigter, machen wir auch über Dritte aber in der Regel zeigt der das schon selber an.
- L: Glauben Sie, dass sie mit Hilfe von Social Media einfacher Informationen erhalten, die sie jetzt nicht erhalten? Also, Sie nutzen ja Social Media, im Vergleich zu Ihren Kollegen. Glaube Sie, dass es einfacher ist Informationen zu gewinnen, die man auf anderen Wegen vielleicht nicht gewinnen kann?
- I: Also, es kommt auf das Delikt an. |...| Das kann ich so allgemein auch nicht sagen. Da gibt es ja auch verschiedene Deliktfelder. Zum Beispiel im Bereich Rechtsextremismus, Rechts, Links so diese ganzen Fälle. |...| Da leben wir eigentlich nur von Informationen, die wir aus dem Netz gewinnen. Weil da kommt kaum einer zu uns, also das passiert auch schon mal, aber und sagt zu uns: "Da ist einer, der könnte rechts/links angehaucht sein, der könnte da tätig werden." Die gibt's schon mal, aber in dem Bereich leben wir sehr viel von den Medien |...| Und in den Hauptkriminalämtern gibt es Beamte, die sich nur damit auseinandersetzen diese Medien zu durchforsten um festzustellen: Können wir da Straftaten feststellen? Oder sind da Personen, die Gesinnungen haben, die vielleicht Straftat zulassen.
- L: Und jetzt, sag ich mal, bei 'nem Kriminalfall jeglicher Art, hilft es da dann auch noch Infos zusätzlich...?
- I: Ja. Zum Beispiel auch im Fall Stalking, also Stalking ist dann jetzt ein spezieller Fall und Stalking läuft sehr viel über Facebook ab, Facebook, WhatsApp das ist da wo beleidigt wird, wo immer wieder Kontakt aufgenommen wird. SMS nicht mehr so stark, das ist nicht mehr so das Medium, weil es einfach nicht mehr so gefragt ist. Aber da nutze ich das ganz stark. Das geben die Bürger auch an, wo genau sie gestalkt werden und dann werten wir das auch aus. Das nehmen wir sehr wohl dazu.
- L: Und bei 'nem Fall, der jetzt nicht direkt mit Social Media zu tun hat, also was außerhalb von Social Media passiert. Wird das dann trotzdem genutzt, um Menschen zu kontaktieren oder Informationen zu gewinnen?

- I: Jetzt, um Kontakt zum Bürger herzustellen?
- L: Genau, oder einfach um Informationen zu 'nem bestimmten Fall zu bekommen. Also zum Beispiel bei einem Tatverdächtigen, wird dann Facebook genutzt um mehr über diese Person herauszufinden?
- I: Ja, doch auch. Aber ist halt nur so ein Randgebiet. In erster Linie ist halt wirklich entscheidend Fakten. Und die Fakten kann ich nur aus polizeilichen Dingen herausziehen. Das sind bei uns zum Beispiel Kriminalakten und sowas. Also am Rande schon, dass ich bei Facebook mal reinschaue: Was ist das für eine Person? Und ganz wichtig auch der Freundeskreis, klar das guck ich mir auch an. Und sind da vielleicht Parallelen, sind da vielleicht Hinweise zu finden, wenn ich 'nen bestimmten Täterkreis suche. Dann macht das schon Sinn da rein zu schauen.
- L: Okay. Glauben Sie, dass Sie durch die Nutzung von Social Media das Arbeitspensum besser zu bewältigen ist oder ist es eher noch mehr Arbeit kreiert, indem vielleicht noch mehr Informationen dazu kommen, die man so nicht hätte?
- I: Die Frag kann man ja so schlecht beantworten. Also natürlich ist das mehr Arbeit. Wir hatten frühe keine Sozialen Medien, also war die Arbeit einfacher. Früher hatte ich ganz einfache Foren, wo ich nachgucken konnte. Heute muss ich mich da durchwühlen, ich muss Zugänge haben, ich muss Zugangspasswörter haben. Ich komme nicht einfach so ran. Das hängt wiederum mit |...| Das hat man von früher so nicht nachgeführt. Man hatte ein Tätigkeitsfeld |...|
- L: Okay, auf welcher Grundlage entscheiden Sie prinzipiell ob Informationen von Bürgern wichtig sind? Egal ob Sie die jetzt auf Social Media bekommen oder in ´nem persönlichen Gespräch. Was ist für sie ausschlaggebend, dass Sie sagen, okay dem muss ich nachgehen oder okay die Person möchte sich gerade nur mal wichtig fühlen, aber das ist nichts, was ich ernst zu nehmen habe. Wie wird das entschieden?
- I: Das hängt einfach vom persönlichen Eindruck ab, den ich habe, wenn mir Leute was vortragen. Entscheidend ist natürlich prinzipiell immer die Straftat. Wenn eine Straftat vorliegt und ich den Verdacht einer Straftat habe, nutzte ich natürlich alle Quellen um diese Straftat aufzuklären und da gehe ich natürlich auch in die Sozialen Medien.
- L: Und im Bezug darauf, hat dann die Informationsquelle einen Einfluss wie wichtig für Sie eine Information erscheint, also wieviel Priorität Sie der beimessen? Ist da die Quelle entscheidend?
- I: Man muss ja sehen, das sind ja viele kleine Bausteine. Wenn ich ne Straftat habe und will aufklären, dann muss ich ja viele kleine Quellen um das Gesamtbild. Und so ist Social Media auch 'ne Quelle, die ich dafür nutze.
- L: Aber die sind quasi gleichrangig? Also alles was irgendwie für Sie wichtig erscheint, ist dann egal ob da von Facebook oder von persönlichem Kontakt kommt?
- I: Wenn es mich weiterbringt, wenn es für die Aufklärung der Tat wichtig ist, dann ist es egal wo es herkommt. Wenn es fundiert ist und wenn man das verwerten kann, ist das okay.

L: Also ist der Inhalt entscheidend? Was wird gesagt, und dann ist es egal von welcher Quelle es kommt?

I: Genau.

- L: Okay. Glauben Sie, dass es durch die Nutzung von Social Media es einfacher ist, Bürger zu mobilisieren sich einzubringen, Hinweise zu liefern, Fälle zu lösen? Ist es einfacher das zu erreichen?
- I: Ja. Es ist mit Sicherheit, wenn ich in den Bereich der Fahndung gehe, wenn ich Fahndungsbilder auf Facebook verbreite, das wird auch hin und wieder gemacht. Das man ne Öffentlichkeits-Fahndung macht. Facebook ist ja das Medium, da gucken ja alle tagtäglich rein und das bringt schon 'ne Menge. Da kommen viele Hinweise. Das lohnt sich alleine zeitlich schon. Oder, was gibt es sonst noch so? Ja, Pressemitteilungen sowieso. Aber ja, wenn ich es auf diesen Bereich beziehe, dann bringt das 'ne Menge, ja.
- L: Okay, aber die Polizei Gronau macht das nicht? Oder in Ihrem Tätigkeitsbereich schon? Weil die Polizei Gronau hat ja keine offizielle Facebook Seite.
- I: Nein, aber das macht auch nicht die Dienstelle, dass macht man über die Kreispolizeibehörde. Der Kopf der Polizei ist zum Beispiel Borken, Enschede ist Enschede, und die machen das. Man kann auch nicht einfach so alles in die Medien reinstellen. Da gehören richterliche Beschlüsse dazu in Deutschland, ich darf nicht einfach so alle verbreiten.
- L: Okay. Dann kommen wir auch schon zu der letzten Frage. Glauben Sie, dass Polizeibeamte selbst, also auch Sie selbst durch die Nutzung von Social Media erreichbarer oder leichter ansprechbar für Bürger erscheinen? Glauben Sie, es ist leichter für den Bürger Ihnen per Facebook was mitzuteilen als sei anzurufen oder persönlich in Kontakt zu treten?
- I: Ja, das wird eigentlich kaum gemacht. Erstmal, erzähle ich ja nicht auf Facebook, dass ich Polizeibeamter bin. Das möchte ich auch nicht, weil ich das strikt trenne, Berufliches von Privatem. Deshalb möchte ich bei Facebook nicht als Polizeibeamter auftreten, sondern als Privatperson. Wenn der Bürger mich kontaktieren möchte, dann kann er das tun. Dann hat er meine Telefonnummer, das ist gar keine Frage. Der kann der Polizei allgemein schreiben, dass kann der machen, aber nicht mir persönlich.
- L: Okay, und wenn es jetzt allgemein 'ne Facebook Seite gäbe oder einen Twitter Account: Polizei Gronau, zum Beispiel. Glauben Sie dann trotzdem, dass Bürger es einfacher finden würden oder dass sie die Polizei...Glauben Sie, das hätte 'nen positiven Einfluss, dass sich Bürger der Polizei näher fühlen oder einfacher den Schritt wagen...
- I: Das mag schon sein, das kann schon sein. Wenn man so Parallelen dazu sieht. Es gibt ja seit einigen Jahren zu online Anzeigen und da gibt es die Möglichkeit, da kann ich auch online 'ne Anzeige erstatten. Das nutzen immer mehr, weil es der einfachere Weg ist. Und das wäre mit Sicherheit vielleicht der einfachere Weg für den ein oder anderen, der dann sagt: wenn ich mich da jetzt nicht hinsetzen muss und schreiben muss... Das kann ich mir vorstellen.
- L: Okay, gut. Das war's auch schon.

Officer G9

Sehr geehrte Frau Krompholz,

nachfolgend beantworte ich Ihre Fragen zum Thema "Nutzung sozialer Medien durch die Polizei":

Vorbemerkung:

Die Polizei des Landes NRW ist organisatorisch unterteilt in 47 Kreispolizeibehörden, drei Landesoberbehörden (Landeskriminalamt, Landesamt für zentrale polizeiliche Dienste; Landesamt für Aus-, Fortbildung und Personalangelegenheiten) und das Ministerium für Inneres und Kommunales, in dem die grundlegenden landesweiten Entscheidungen getroffen und verantwortet werden.

Von den 47 Kreispolizeibehörden (KBP) sind 18 Polizeipräsidien und 29 Landratsbehörden. Die Präsidien sind zumeist für eine oder zwei Großstädte zuständig, die Landratsbehörden für Kreisgebiete (z.B. den Kreis Borken).

Sechs der Polizeipräsidien haben eine herausgehobene Stellung, durch die sie z.B. für besondere Einsatzlagen (z.B. Mordkommissionen, Terroranschläge ...) zuständig sind (auch in dem Gebiet anderer Polizeibehörden des Landes).

Diese sechs Polizeipräsidien (Bielefeld, Dortmund, Düsseldorf, Essen, Köln, Münster) sind derzeit verpflichtet, soziale Medien durch eigene Auftritte/Accounts zu nutzen. Für die übrigen 44 Polizeibehörden besteht die freiwillige Möglichkeit dazu.

Wie ich Ihnen bereits mitteilte, ist die Kreispolizeibehörde Borken derzeit nicht in sozialen Medien mit eigenen Accounts/Auftritten vertreten. Die Nutzung sozialer Medien ist aber mittelfristig geplant. Somit liegen mir keine eigenen Erfahrungen bzgl. der aktiven Nutzung sozialer Medien vor.

Da viele Polizeibeamte privat soziale Medien nutzen, werden auf diesem Wege polizeirelevante Informationen erlangt. Dies aber nicht strukturiert (also vom Zufall abhängig) und zudem ohne direkte Antwortmöglichkeit auf demselben Kanal.

Neben den bereits genannten Polizeipräsidien nutzen folgende Polizeibehörden soziale Medien:

Die Landesoberbehörden Landesamt für zentrale polizeiliche Dienste und das Landesamt für Aus-, Fortbildung und Personalangelegenheiten.

Die Polizeipräsidien Aachen, Bonn, Gelsenkirchen, Hagen, Hamm, Krefeld, Oberhausen, Recklinghausen, Mönchengladbach und Wuppertal

Die Landratsbehörden KPB Oberbergischer Kreis, KPB Paderborn, KPB Soest:

Die redaktionelle Zuständigkeit (Posten, Kommentieren) liegt grundsätzlich bei zentralen Dienststellen ("Öffentlichkeitsarbeit").

Wenn Ihren Fragen nicht eindeutig zu entnehmen ist, ob Sie mich, die Pressestelle oder die Organisation Polizei meinen (z.B. Frage 1 ... die wichtig für Ihre Arbeit sind), werde ich versuchen, die Antwort grundsätzlich auf die Polizei zu beziehen bzw. zu differenzieren.

Zu Frage 1:

Direkte Gespräche, Telefonate mit Bürgerinnen/Bürgern und mit Mitarbeiterinnen/ Mitarbeitern, Emails, Post, polizeiinterne Daten- und Kommunikationssysteme, allgemein zugängliche Quellen (klassische aber auch soziale Medien, wenngleich die KPB Borken noch keinen eigenen Facebook oder Twitter-Account betreibt).

Zu Frage 2:

Sofern die KPB Borken einen Facebook bzw. Twitter-Account betreiben würde, hätten Bürgerinnen und Bürger einen weiteren Kanal, um direkt Informationen an ihre Polizeibehörde weiterzugeben. Da die Nutzung von Social Media in der Gesellschaft immer mehr Bedeutung gewinnt, gilt dies auch für die Kommunikation zwischen der Öffentlichkeit und der Polizei.

Allerdings kann Social Media in Notfällen den Polizeiruf 110 nicht ersetzen, da nur hier eine zeitgerechte Reaktion sichergestellt ist.

Zu Frage 3:

Die "Polizei Gronau" gehört zur Kreispolizeibehörde Borken und kann somit nicht allein über die Nutzung von Social Media entscheiden.

Die KPB Borken (s. Vorbemerkungen) hat sich dafür entschieden, zukünftig Social Media Accounts zu betreiben. Der Zeitpunkt steht noch nicht fest.

Im Übrigen - s. Vorbemerkungen

Zu Frage 4:

Persönliche Gespräche, Telefonate, Internetauftritt, Email, Post, Presseberichte (s. Presseportal) und mittelbar über die Medien (klassische Medien und Social Media).

Die Kommunikation findet zu den unterschiedlichsten Anlässen statt (z.B. Tag der offenen Tür, Vernehmungen, zufällige Begegnungen, bei Polizeieinsätzen, Info-, Sicherheits- und Beratungsgesprächen etc.).

Dementsprechend sind die Inhalte breit gefächert und betreffen so gut wie alle denkbaren Lebenslagen.

Zu Frage 5:

In Teilen kommt es vor, dass solche Benachrichtigungen mittelbar an die Pressestelle (aber auch an andere Dienststellen, wie z.B. die Ein-satzleitstelle oder Kriminalkommissariate) herangetragen werden. Dies können z.B. Informationen über vermisste Personen, über Verkehrsunfälle, Brände, sonstige Einsatzlagen, verdächtige Personen, Sicherheitsprobleme, Verkehrsprobleme etc. sein.

Die eigentliche Frage "Wie stark ist die Beeinflussung …) kann nicht sicher beantwortet werden. Zum einen ist zu beachten, dass diese Informationen zu einem gewissen Teil auch bei der Polizei bekannt würden, wenn es den Kanal Social Media nicht gäbe.

Zum anderen gibt es keine Statistik darüber, über welchen Kanal Informationen bei der Polizei ankommen. Bei der Pressestelle der KPB Borken beeinflussen solche Informationen (erfahrungsgemäß) die Hauptaktivitäten insgesamt in geringem bis mittlerem Maße (aber zunehmend).

Es hängt zudem sicher von der zu Grunde liegenden Information ab, inwiefern die Hauptaktivität beeinflusst wird. Z.B. wäre bei einer ernstzunehmenden Suizidankündigung die Polizeiarbeit deutlich stärker beeinflusst, als bei einer Meinungsäußerung zu einer Polizeipressemeldung anlässlich einer Festnahme.

Zu Frage 6:

Die Frage kann natürlich nicht sicher beantwortet werden. Ich glaube, dass wirklich wichtige Informationen die Polizei auch ohne Social Media erreichen würden. Social Media wird die Informationsbreite und auch die Geschwindigkeit erhöhen. Denkbar ist aber auch, dass Bürgerinnen und Bürger über Social Media eher bereit sind, Hinweise zu geben und Fragen zu stellen, die für die Einsatzbewältigung von Bedeutung sein können.

Mittels Social Media können sicher wichtige Informationen herausgefunden werden, die auf bisherigem Wege nur schwer ermittelbar gewesen wären (z.B. Stimmungsbild, Gerüchteentwicklung, Verhalten der Öffentlichkeit bei Einsatzlagen, Ermittlungsansätze bei Vermisstensachen etc.)

Zu Frage 7:

Für die zuständigen Mitarbeiter der zuständigen Dienststelle (Presse- und Öffentlichkeitsarbeit und in Teilen auch der Einsatzleitstelle) wird sich das Arbeitspensum erhöhen, wenn für die Nutzung von Social Media kein zusätzliches Personal zur Verfügung gestellt würde. Sollte Personal zur Verfügung gestellt werden, würde dies in anderen Organisationseinheiten fehlen.

Die Polizeiorganisation wird ihr Arbeitspensum "Öffentlichkeitsarbeit und auch die Einsatzbewältigung" durch die Nutzung von Social Media qualitativ besser erfüllen können.

Zu Frage 8:

Jede bei der Polizei eingehende Information wird auf Grundlage der rechtlichen Aufgaben der Polizei (Gefahrenabwehr und Strafverfolgung) in Bezug auf ihre Priorität bewertet. Dabei spielen z.B. die gefährdeten Schutzgüter, der Gefahrengrad, die Glaubwürdigkeit, die Behörden- und Landesstrategie etc. eine Rolle.

Vermehrt eingehende Notrufe über 110 über einen sehr schweren Verkehrsunfall haben z.B. eine höhere Priorität als ein Dank einer Bürgerin/eines Bürgers für den Tag der offenen Tür oder eine negative Äußerung in sozialen Medien zum "Blitzmarathon". Die Meldung über den Verkehrsunfall würde einen sofortigen Polizeieinsatz auslösen und viel Personal binden (oft über einen längeren Zeitraum. Die beiden anderen Beispiele hätten lediglich eine Antwort bzw. gar keine Reaktion zur Folge.

Somit ist der Inhalt der Information natürlich ein besonders wichtiger Faktor bei der Priorisierung.

Die Informationsquelle spielt insofern eine Rolle, als dass z.B. viele Notrufe über einen Verkehrsunfall oder eigene Feststellungen von Polizeibeamten sicher glaubwürdiger sind als eine anonyme Meldung oder eine kaum verifizierbare Äußerung in sozialen Medien. Gerade in sozialen Medien (auch Messenger Diensten) verbreiten sich Falschmeldungen (Hoax) in rasanter Geschwindigkeit. Dies wird bei der Bewertung berücksichtigt.

Zu Frage 9:

Ja. Verbesserte, vereinfachte und moderne Kommunikationswege führen zu schnellen Informationen, mehr Transparenz und Akzeptanz.

Bei Großlagen kann z.B. entscheidend Einfluss auf das Verhalten von Bürgerinnen und Bürgern genommen werden (s. OEZ-Lage München; Terroranschlag in Berlin). Als weiteres Beispiel mag die Öffentlichkeitsfahndung (z.B. vermisste Personen) dienen. Die schnelle Verbreitung in sozialen Medien führt zu einer starken und erfolgreichen Einbindung der Öffentlichkeit.

Zu Frage 10:

Ja. Kommunikation über soziale Medien gewinnt (s.o.) immer mehr an Bedeutung. Die Polizei ist durch die Nutzung dieser Kommunikationskanäle sicher "näher am Bürger".

Frank Rentmeister Pressesprecher KPB Borken