Community Police Officers and WhatsApp

Exploring and explaining the impact of WhatsApp neighborhood prevention groups on policing in a neighborhood

Master thesis

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November 1st 2017

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science, program Public Administration, University of Twente

Study year 2016/2017

Preface

This thesis is the final step in accomplishing my Master of Science degree in Public Administration at the University of Twente. My master thesis is titled: 'Community police officers and WhatsApp'. Already in my childhood years, I had a fascination for the safety in society, motives for crime and the functioning of the police. When deciding the subject of my Master thesis, I already knew that the subject needed to have a relation to these topics. When discussing my plans with dr. Meershoek, a decision was made to investigate the impact of WhatsApp neighborhood prevention groups on the policework of community police officers in a neighborhood. Since this topic has a connection to crime prevention and the work of the police, it quickly made it interesting to me. Also, WhatsApp neighborhood prevention groups are fairly new. Therefore, not much is known yet about the effects of these groups on the work of community police officers and the neighborhoods. Enough reason to investigate this topic thoroughly and add knowledge to the existing literature.

In this preface, I use the opportunity to thank the people that helped me research this topic. At first, I would like to thank dr. Meershoek and dr. Svensson for being my supervisors. Their supervision and guidance helped me bring this thesis to a good end. I would like to thank mr. Beuvink, operational expert neighborhoods at the police in Enschede, The Netherlands. Mr. Beuvink helped me get in touch with the first community police officer that I have interviewed for this research. He also gave me an introduction in the world of WhatsApp groups and offered me help when needed.

The contribution of community police officers and residents was of course very important. Four community police officers and eight residents were approached and asked to participate in an interview. Without these interviews, researching this topic would not have been possible. I would like to thank all respondents for their collaboration, trust and sincerity.

Sincerely,

Rick Verkade
Enschede, November 1st , 2017

Abstract

Citizens in neighborhoods in the Netherlands unite themselves in WhatsApp groups, called 'WhatsApp Neighborhood prevention groups'. Within the WhatsApp group, citizens of a neighborhood have the possibility to report suspicious situations to other members in the neighborhood and their community police officer (CPO). The goal of these groups is to increase the objective safety and subjective safety in the neighborhood. These WhatsApp groups could have an effect on the information that is received by CPO´s. WhatsApp groups could also have an effect on the amount of contact between CPO´s and the residents. Increased contact between residents and the police is known to cause some tensions in policework. Therefore, it would be interesting to find out what impact these WhatsApp groups really have on policing in a neighborhood. To investigate this effect, a research question was asked and divided into sub questions: *What impact does a WhatsApp neighborhood prevention group have on neighborhood policing and how can this be explained?*

1. *Do WhatsApp neighborhood prevention groups lead to Community police officers receiving more information or different information?*
2. *Do changes in information flows affect the way the Community police officer performs his job?*
3. *Can changes be observed in the contact between the residents and the Community police officer, regarding*
   a. *Autonomy*
   b. *24/7 availability*
   c. *Self-reliance of residents*
   d. *Trust*
4. *What do residents think of their Community police officer and WhatsApp neighborhood prevention group?*
5. *What are the consequences of WhatsApp neighborhood prevention groups on the neighborhood?*
6. *How can the changes be explained?*

To answer these questions, four CPO's and eight residents of the corresponding neighborhoods were interviewed. Respondents were selected through snowball sampling. To answer the sub questions, CPO's were divided into two categories: One consisting of two CPO's who participate directly in their WhatsApp groups, and one category with two CPO's who used an intermediary in the contact with their WhatsApp group. In comparing information from WhatsApp neighborhood prevention groups and traditional sources, no differences in the amount and sort of information are found. However, WhatsApp groups do influence the police work of CPO's in a positive way. This influence is bigger on the CPO's who directly participate in their WhatsApp group. Although policework was influenced by WhatsApp groups, CPO's do not see WhatsApp as a cause for an increased amount of pressure from citizens on policework, or as a phenomenon that puts more pressure on the balance between their work and private life. Based on the results, CPO's who directly participate in their WhatsApp group have a more positive outlook on what WhatsApp neighborhood prevention groups can bring to their police work, compared to the CPO's that have an intermediary. Therefore, if a CPO choses to establish a WhatsApp group or is asked to be involved in one, it is recommended for the CPO to join the group directly.

Abstract in Dutch – Nederlandse samenvatting

Bewoners van veel wijken in Nederland verenigen zich tegenwoordig in WhatsApp buurtpreventie groepen. In deze WhatsApp groepen hebben wijkbewoners de mogelijkheid om verdachte situaties te melden aan andere wijkbewoners en de wijkagent. De WhatsApp groepen hebben het verhogen van de objectieve veiligheid en subjectieve veiligheid als doel. Het is voor te stellen dat deze WhatsApp buurtpreventie groepen het soort en de hoeveelheid informatie die de wijkagent bereikt kunnen veranderen. WhatsApp groepen kunnen ook een effect hebben op de hoeveelheid contact tussen de wijkagent en de wijkbewoners. Het is al bekend dat een toename van het contact tussen de politie en burgers spanningen in politiewerk kan veroorzaken. Vanwege deze redenen is het interessant om te onderzoeken welke impact deze WhatsApp groepen hebben op het politiewerk in de wijken. Om dit effect te kunnen onderzoeken, is er een onderzoeksvraag gesteld die vervolgens is opgedeeld in sub vragen: *Welke impact heeft een WhatsApp buurtpreventie groep op het politiewerk in een wijk, en hoe kan dit effect worden verklaard?*

1. *Zorgen WhatsApp buurtpreventie groepen ervoor dat de wijkagent meer en andere informatie bezit?*
2. *Beïnvloeden veranderingen in de informatiestroom de manier waarop de wijkagent zijn werk doet?*
3. *Kunnen er veranderingen worden waargenomen in het contact tussen de wijkagent en de wijkbewoners, op basis van*
   a. *Autonomie*
   b. *24/7 beschikbaarheid*
   c. *Zelfredzaamheid van burgers*
   d. *Vertrouwen*
4. *Wat vinden wijkbewoners van hun wijkagent en WhatsApp buurtpreventie groep?*
5. *Wat zijn de gevolgen van de WhatsApp buurpreventie groep voor de wijk?*
6. *Hoe kunnen de waargenomen veranderingen worden verklaard?*

Om antwoord te kunnen geven op deze vragen zijn vier wijkagenten en acht wijkbewoners geïnterviewd. Uit de WhatsApp groep van elke wijkagent zijn twee wijkbewoners geïnterviewd. De respondenten zijn geselecteerd door middel van sneeuwbalselectie. Bij het beantwoorden van de vragen zijn de wijkagenten in twee categorieën verdeeld. Eén categorie bestaat uit twee wijkagenten die een direct lid zijn van hun WhatsApp groep, en één categorie met twee wijkagenten die contact hebben met hun WhatsApp groep via een tussenpersoon. In een vergelijking tussen informatie vanuit WhatsApp groepen en traditionele informatiebronnen, is er geen verschil gevonden tussen de hoeveelheid en het soort informatie die de wijkagent bereikt. Het politiewerk van de wijkagenten werd echter wel op positieve wijze beïnvloed door de WhatsApp groepen. Deze positieve invloed is het grootst op de wijkagenten die direct lid zijn van hun WhatsApp groep. Hoewel WhatsApp groepen het politiewerk beïnvloeden, veroorzaakt WhatsApp geen extra druk van burgers op het politiewerk van de wijkagent. WhatsApp veroorzaakt ook geen extra druk op de werk-privé balans van de wijkagenten. Op basis van de resultaten kan worden geconcludeerd dat wijkagenten die direct plaatsnemen in hun WhatsApp groep, en geen gebruik maken van een tussenpersoon, een positievere blik hebben op wat WhatsApp kan betekenen voor hun politiewerk. Als er een WhatsApp groep wordt opricht, wordt dus aangeraden dat de wijkagent hier zelf ook in plaats neemt.

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1.Introduction

In this chapter, this master thesis will be introduced. Attention is given to the topic, the problem and the scientific relevance of the topic.

1.1 Topic and problem

Nowadays, residents within a community unite themselves in WhatsApp groups. These groups are called 'WhatsApp Neighborhood prevention groups'. The goal of having these groups is to increase the objective safety (how much crime is reported) and subjective safety (the feeling of being safe) in the neighborhood (Samenwerkende gemeenten, 2016). In a WhatsApp group, citizens of a neighborhood have the possibility to report unusual or suspicious situations to other members in the neighborhood. The citizens within such a group must work according to the SAAR-principle, explained as (1) Signal a suspicious situation, (2) Alarm the police, (3) App the members of the group about the suspicious situation and (4) Respond to the situation by going outside. This response might for instance consist of having a friendly and non-threatening chat with the suspicious person, or making sure to let the person know that he or she has been seen. This way the, possibly criminal, plans of the suspicious person can be prevented (WADP, 2016). It is possible for a community police officer (wijkagent) of the neighborhood to be part of the WhatsApp group (De Vries, 2016). It is also possible for a community police officer to only have contact with the administrator of the WhatsApp group and act as a contact person and a provider of information. The presence of the community police officer makes it is easier for residents to report problems in the neighborhood to the police (Marsdijk-Alert, 2016). WhatsApp neighborhood prevention groups could cause an effect on the (kind and amount of) information that is received by a community police officer (CPO). WhatsApp groups could also have an impact on the contact between CPO's and 'their' residents, since WhatsApp makes it easier for residents to contact their CPO and report problems. Therefore, within this thesis, the impact of WhatsApp groups on neighborhood policing will be investigated.

1.2 Scientific relevance

This research paper is expected to cover new ground and give insights in the consequences that the use of WhatsApp neighborhood prevention groups could have. Research is already conducted on the coproduction of safety by police and citizens (Percy, 1987). The role that Facebook, Twitter and YouTube can play within police investigations has also been investigated. Meijer, Grimmelikhuijsen, Fictorie and Bos (2011) explain that some Dutch police districts already have a Twitter account. They found that the directness of Twitter can be seen as a big advantage. However, new social media like WhatsApp have not been researched thoroughly yet. Especially not in combination with neighborhood safety and the collaboration with the police. The amount of research that has been conducted on WhatsApp groups is limited because WhatsApp can be seen as a relatively new medium of contact. Therefore, the results of this research might be useful to the police and municipalities. When this research shows that the use of WhatsApp neighborhood prevention groups improves the way crimefighting is performed in the neighborhood, the authorities might find it useful to stimulate and help citizens in establishing these groups.

2.Theory and research question

In this chapter, the shift that the police made towards the citizens will be described. This chapter starts with an image of the traditional model of policing and the rise of community policing. It also describes the role of citizens in policework, a phenomenon called co-production of safety. Co-production between the police and citizens is nowadays executed through, for instance, WhatsApp neighborhood prevention groups. With the increasing importance of citizens in policework and the shift of the police towards the citizens, some challenges and tensions can be distinguished. These will be discussed in this chapter.

2.1 Community policing – Police making a shift towards citizens

In the nineties of the last century, the police in the Netherlands made a shift towards citizens. At first, the police worked with a traditional model. However, satisfaction of citizens in police practice gradually decreased and the traditional model of policing lost legitimacy. The police had to find a new policing strategy that answered better to the demands of citizens. This gave rise to its successor called 'community policing'. The shift of police towards the citizens will be discussed extensively below.

2.1.1 The traditional model of policing

The traditional model of policing has its origin in the 1920s. This way of policing was developed as an answer to the high amounts of corruption and ineffective ways of policing (Dobrin, 2006). Policing in a traditional manner is done in a reactive way. It was characterized by a rather rigid and bureaucratic way of working (Terpstra, 2008). In the nineties of the last century, the methods, strategies and whole organization of the traditional model of policing were not regarded as effective anymore. Performing surveillance and having routine investigations were not seen as the solution to crime problems. Arguments were raised that police were over-professionalized and were overlooking concerns in the community, because those laid outside their narrowly defined mandate (Skogan, 1995). Because of these phenomena, police lost legitimacy and credibility (Terpstra, 2008). Citizens developed higher demands regarding their safety and expressed the need for symbols of safety and trust in their direct environment (Terpstra, 2008). Citizens became more assertive in expressing these demands. To get closer to the citizens, police had to become more decentralized and more horizontal in its organization (Terpstra, 2008)

At the same time, mobility of citizens increased. Residents experienced a change in neighbors. The stability of always having the same neighbors ceased to exist. With it, informal ways of social control and supervision disappeared (Terpstra, 2008). A new demand for a local safety that was close to the citizens arose. Thus, a new policing strategy had to be developed to meet the demands of citizens.

2.1.2 Community policing

Community policing was the answer to this demand. It was meant to improve the relationship between the police and citizens. It was used to increase the legitimacy of police practice (Terpstra, 2008). Community policing can be seen as a decentralized form of policing. It makes the police more accessible for citizens and increases interaction between both. Community policing recognizes the

unique character of neighborhood problems (Scott, 2002). Preventive and proactive actions characterize community policing, compared to the more reactive functioning of the traditional way of policing (Cordner, 2017).

Another factor that characterizes community policing is the broad way of policing. The police has gotten a bigger range of activities. Compared to the traditional model of policing, where crime fighting was the main priority, community policing focusses more on smaller neighborhood problems (Cordner, 2014). Protecting citizens, keeping order and providing general assistance to those in need are important characteristics of community policing (Cordner, 2014). The traditional model on the other hand, was based on the assumption that people were most worried about the serious crimes like murder, rape, and robbery (Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux, 1998). Of course, people understood the seriousness of these crimes, but recognized the fact that they had a very limited chance to become victims of these crimes. A chance that is much smaller than becoming a victim of low-level crimes and disturbance, like noise-pollution or disputes in the neighborhood (Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux, 1998).

Community policing is more local and more personal (Cordner, 2014). The fact that the police is more local makes it easier for citizens to reach the police (Terpsta, 2008). Thus, the police have the ability to get the information they need from the citizens in a quicker way, compared to the traditional model of policing. The amount of social distance between the police and the citizens matters. It has already been found that an "increased social distance between police and the poor results in a more aggressive or punitive police posture in lower-class areas" (Smith, 1986, p. 316). Also, when there is little social distance between the police and the citizens, the police tend to be more helpful when encountering citizens (Smith, 1986). This personal way of taking action increases the amount of trust and legitimacy in the police by the citizens. The increased legitimacy is important because satisfied 'clients', can become the eyes and ears of the police in a neighborhood (Frank, Smith & Novak, 2005). Trust is very important in policing since "public trust in police can enhance police effectiveness and the legitimacy of police actions" (Goldsmith, 2005, p. 444). Not acting responsively to the concerns of the community is one of the reasons for citizens to take away trust in the way police works (Goldsmith, 2005). That is why the local and personal aspect of community policing can be regarded as important.

This personal aspect is embodied by the establishment of community police officers (CPO's). CPO´s are the frontline workers that represent the police to the citizens. Usually, CPO's are the first police officers that are contacted when citizens are trying to reach the police (Terpstra, 2008). CPO's are also the first to recognize problems or tensions in the neighborhood. Summing up all tasks of CPO´s is not easy, since these can be regarded as very diverse and are different for every CPO (Terpsta, 2008). The tasks of a CPO are for a great part dependent on the requests of citizens (Terpsta, 2008). Thus, CPO´s really try to meet the citizens expectations and priorities. This personal way of policing by officers on the street is encouraged by the police supervisors, since citizens prefer contact with officers they know and trust (Cordner, 2014). Or according to Cordner (2014, p. 435): "Of course, not every police-citizen encounter can be amicable and friendly. But officers who generally deal with citizens in a friendly, open and personal manner may be more likely to generate trust and confidence than officers who operate in a narrow, aloof and/or bureaucratic manner." This quote is important, because it describes the work of a CPO in an adequate way (Terpsta, 2008). CPO's are the personification of the concept of community policing and provide police services in a way that is close to the citizens, personal and in accordance with the needs and wants of citizens. To conclude, community policing and the introduction of CPO's started the shift from the police as a bureaucratic organization that had a substantial distance to citizens, to an organization that was closer to citizens and answered their needs and wants.

2.2 Coproduction of safety – Police getting closer to citizens

Community policing is characterized by increased citizen input (Cordner, 2014) and the coproduction of safety together with citizens. Coproduction of safety can be defined as the collective creation of safety through increasing the interactions between citizens and the police (Meijer, 2013). Participation by citizens can take different forms. First, police and citizens can work together on crime prevention. For instance, by letting residents watch their own neighborhood and report suspicious situations. Second, coproduction can take the form of participating in problem defining and giving input through neighborhood councils (Cordner, 2017). But participation can also exist in a reactive manner. Police can ask for help to look out for escaped criminals or wanted fugitives through, for instance, Burgernet (Burgernet, 2007). The way citizens participate differs in different situations (Cordner, 2017).

Citizens can be of great help when fighting crime. In investigating crimes, citizens can help with the information obtaining process. As a consequence, citizens help increase the chance of detaining a criminal (Meijer, 2013). Thus, coproducing safety with citizens is a way of improving crime prevention and crime solving. But it is important to understand that the police do not only cooperate with citizens, but also actively ask for input and participation (Cordner, 2017). It is important to know that voluntary citizen action will not always come forward automatically, not even when the community is threatened by community crime problems (Skogan, 1989). Individuals coming together to defend their community is mainly caused by the possibility and opportunity that is available to them. There must be "an opportunity structure for collective action" (Skogan, 1989, p. 438). So, active support from the police is necessary for community action (Skogan, 1989). It is useful to have a 'working together' ethos between citizens and police, so that residents feel supported to take action.

It is important to understand that the police are not always looking forward to coproducing with citizens. In some cases, citizens might have to be trained, citizens might make mistakes or make problems even bigger. This might in turn have a negative impact on the relations between police and community (Percy, 1987). Some police officers think that police work is meant to be done by professionals and that there is no possibility for citizens to help, other than reporting crime (Percy, 1987). Thus, in order to make coproduction between police and citizens work, coordination and agreements are needed. There has to be a focus on the shared goal, that is important for both citizens and the police: making the community safer (Percy, 1987).

2.3 Community policing and WhatsApp neighborhood prevention groups

WhatsApp neighborhood prevention groups follow the idea of community policing and co-production of safety between the police and citizens. WhatsApp groups can even be seen as a form of coproduction between citizens and police. Citizens and police have a shared goal, since "the police are cooperating with citizens to exchange information and prevent burglaries" (MEDIA4SEC, 2016, p. 19). So, the use of WhatsApp groups brings the police even closer to the citizens.

WhatsApp groups are already used in an effective and successful manner. Research in Tilburg shows that burglaries in neighborhoods that use WhatsApp decreased by 40 percent. In this case, there was no evidence of burglaries shifting to neighborhoods without WhatsApp groups (MEDIA4SEC, 2016). The use of WhatsApp groups might not be the only reason for this decrease, but can probably be seen as one of them (Akkermans & Vollaard, 2015). The reason for this decrease might be that WhatsApp groups have a repellent effect on burglars. Citizens are also more alert on suspicious

situations and persons, and more willing to report these to the police. As a last result of the WhatsApp groups, residents decided to take more and better preventive measures against burglaries (Akkermans & Vollaard, 2015).

Direct information from citizens to the police raises the number of arrests and gives residents a safer feeling (MEDIA4SEC, 2016). WhatsApp groups can also increase social cohesion in a neighborhood (Akkermans & Vollaard, 2015) (Van der Land, van Stokkom & Boutellier, 2014). With neighborhood prevention groups, self-reliance and social control can even increase (Lub, 2016). Thus, it is understandable that more and more people start WhatsApp groups, since everybody wants to live in a save neighborhood (De Vries, 2016).

WhatsApp groups have their problematic aspects. There might be some challenges regarding privacy of the members, the roles of the members and especially the responsibilities of the members. It can be possible that members of a WhatsApp group have the ambition to take over some police tasks that cannot really be outsourced to the public. (MEDIA4SEC, 2016). This can be seen as cowboy-behavior that is not sensible in these situations (Lub, 2016). Ethnic profiling might play a role in reporting suspicious activities in a neighborhood (Lub, 2016). In this case, people from Polish origin that happened to be in the neighborhood were immediately seen as suspicious (De Vries, 2016) (Boluijt, 2015). Situations where the WhatsApp group was used for other purposes than crime prevention are known (De Vries, 2016). To prevent these problems from happening, a strong administrator of the WhatsApp group is essential. Somebody who keeps the rules of the WhatsApp group in focus, and keeps an eye on all communications in the WhatsApp group. Someone who can correct people's behavior and, if necessary, throw people out of the WhatsApp group (De Vries, 2016).

In some cases, CPO's are present in the WhatsApp group. Some groups want this and request the presence of a CPO in the WhatsApp group. Other groups do not want a CPO to be a member of the group. It is advised to not let CPO's be a member of the WhatsApp group (De Vries, 2016). Letting a CPO be a member of the group can create too much expectations and demands from citizens. This is problematic, since CPO's are not available 24/7 (De Vries, 2016). Because all phone numbers are visible in a WhatsApp group, CPO's have access to these phone numbers when they join the group. This might have negative consequences for the privacy of the members of the WhatsApp group (De Vries, 2016).

2.4 Increased contact between police and citizens – consequences and tensions

Regardless of whether a CPO is part of the WhatsApp group, WhatsApp groups are an example of both community policing and coproduction of safety. WhatsApp groups might even be seen as the example of both concepts, since WhatsApp groups are:

- Decentralized
- Dependent on the collaboration between police and citizens
- A way of preventive crime fighting
- An example of being close to the citizens and being very local.

Thus, the use of WhatsApp groups brings the police even closer to the citizens and answers citizens' needs for a safer feeling in their neighborhood. The shift the police made towards citizens might have some consequences. Some consequences of this shift are distinguished in the literature. First, it is important to understand that the police are, for a great part, dependent on the citizens for getting information (Terpstra, 2008). Citizens have to report crimes to the police, or give eye witness statements to the police when they saw a crime occurring. Also, citizens seem to know very well what

happens in their community (Terpsta, 2008). Since the police does not have the possibility to be everywhere at the same time and see and hear everything, they have to deal with citizens for getting their information on what goes on in neighborhoods.

To get better access to this information, being closer to citizens can be of great help (Terpsta, 2008). Two definitions of 'being close' play a role. Being close in proximity is important. Having conversations with citizens on the street gives CPO´s a lot of information. It lets citizens know that CPO´s are close to them in proximity. Being close to the citizens, as in being trusted and known by them, is also of great importance. Gathering information from citizens can only be done effectively if there is a great amount of trust in police. So, personal familiarity plays a big role in gathering information (Terpstra, 2008). WhatsApp can be a good help in getting information from citizens because it makes the police come closer to the citizens. Citizens do not have to wait for the police officer to enter their neighborhood and then address the problems to him. They do not have to go to the police station themselves or call the CPO. Two things people might be reluctant to do. With WhatsApp, citizens can address problems to their own trusted CPO. Instead of talking to another officer every time they call the police. Thus, WhatsApp groups might remove the distance between the citizens and the police, making it easier to contact the CPO, and therefore causing more contact between the CPO and the citizens. This way, a CPO might have the possession over more information and different information then he used to have. So, the shift towards citizens has positive effects for the police.

Terpstra (2008) also distinguishes challenges that the shift of the police towards citizens can bring to police work. Some of these challenges seem applicable to police work in combination with WhatsApp groups, because of the further increased contact between citizens and the police. Here, the reader can find an enumeration of four tensions that are distinguished by Terpstra (2008). These tensions are elucidated here, since they play an important role in this research. For each of these four tensions will be observed if they appear, or even increase, as a consequence of the use of WhatsApp groups.

2.4.1 Area of tension 1: Autonomy

Citizens have a high amount of requests and information for their CPO's, but their CPO does not have the time to solve everything and visit everybody (Terpstra, 2008). CPO's have to make a well-considered choice on which info to follow up on and which info to ignore. This is where the autonomy and discretion of CPO's comes in useful. But, ignoring information from residents might cause incomprehension among residents. As a consequence, tensions are developed. Residents might get the feeling that CPO's do not listen to them and do not solve their problems. Thus, to CPO's the task to ignore or refuse demands of the complaining citizens, without offending the citizens (Terpstra, 2008). That second part of the sentence is especially important, because CPO's might need the citizens again for information collecting purposes. Thus, trust of citizens is essential. Groups of people that receive few services or less than other citizens, tend to distrust institutions of government (Goldsmith, 2005). That is why it is so important for CPO´s to make a well-considered choice on which information to follow and which information to ignore.

This problem might become more serious when WhatsApp groups are used in a neighborhood. Because the use of WhatsApp brings the police and citizens even closer together and makes it even easier for the citizens to contact the CPO with all their problems. Thus, it is interesting to find out if the amount of information that reaches CPO´s increases, and how CPO´s handle this. Is it possible for CPO´s

to choose which info to respond to (autonomy) and can the CPO then still comply to the needs and wants of all citizens?

2.4.2 Area of tension 2: 24/7 availability

CPO's are the police officers who are closest to residents. This causes some residents to think that CPO's are always available to their request. However, CPO's cannot be a police officer 24 hours every day. It would cause problems in the balance between work and private life of the CPO's. This makes it necessary for some CPO's to create a distance between work, thus citizens, and private life (Terpstra, 2008). CPO´s sometimes have to say ´no´ to residents to make sure that CPO´s private life is not in danger. But again, one can imagine that there are consequences of this 'saying no' on the level of trust of citizens in their CPO.

This tension might exist when WhatsApp groups are used in a neighborhood. WhatsApp groups are a way of getting closer to citizens and cause the CPO to be always reachable by citizens. But with this increased accessibility, problems in the balance between work and private life of CPO might occur. It is interesting to find out how CPO´s deal with the fact that they are always reachable by citizens.

2.4.3 Area of tension 3: Self-reliance of residents

With community policing and WhatsApp neighborhood prevention groups, the police come closer to the residents in a neighborhood. This does not mean that every problem in the neighborhood becomes a problem that has to be handled by the police (Terpsta, 2008). Residents still have their own responsibility in preventing and solving annoyance, disagreements or nuisance. Thus, an important factor in community policing is 'self-reliance' (zelfredzaamheid) (Terpsta, 2008) (Moor, 2011) (Van der Land, van Stokkom & Boutellier, 2014). One could think that the use of WhatsApp reduces the level of self-reliance of the residents, because WhatsApp makes it easier to contact CPO's for every problem. WhatsApp groups could also increase the self-reliance of residents, since residents know each other better, and contact each other easier regarding problems in the neighborhood. It is interesting to find out what effect WhatsApp groups have on self-reliance.

2.4.4 Area of tension 4: Trust

CPO's have to maintain a good relationship with residents to gather information about what goes on in the neighborhood. On the other hand, CPO's need to enforce rules and laws in the neighborhood. Thus, CPO's have to walk a fine line between not damaging the relationship with residents, and still maintaining order in the neighborhood. Damaging the relationship can for instance be done by writing parking tickets or by acting upon citizens that use drugs. Trust from citizens is an insecure asset, a CPO can lose it quicker than he can get it (Goldsmith, 2005) (Terpstra, 2008). The spreading of lost trust can be seen as problematic. When one individual loses his trust in the police because he has got a ticket or has been arrested, his friends, family and neighbors might also lose trust based on just one single contact (Goldsmith, 2005). Thus, as a CPO, in order to be close to the residents, one might not intervene too quickly. What consequences does WhatsApp have on this tension? Can WhatsApp solve this tension because the CPO is contacted through smartphone instead of via face-to-face contact?

2.5 Street-level bureaucrats by Lipsky

The first tension, residents having a high amount of requests for their CPO's while CPO´s are not able to satisfy all residents' needs, corresponds to the Lipsky's theory on street-level bureaucrats (2010). CPO's can be seen as street-level bureaucrats (SLB's), thus the terms are used both in this paragraph. SLB´s are "public service workers who interact directly with citizens in the course of their jobs, and who have substantial discretion in the execution of their work" (Lipsky, 2010, p. 3). Their daily work mostly consists of providing services to the community (Lipsky, 2010). SLB´s are the actors that have direct contact with the general public in order to supply services. They also have direct contact with the higher-ranking members of their own organization. However, SLB´s possess autonomy, discretion and are relatively free from the oversight of their organization. In the case of policing, discretion is important, since policing usually is undetermined and reactive. Reports come in when residents call them in. The police then has to respond to them without preparation, making decisions on the spot.

In theory, the public can demand services from SLB´s without a limit. This has a connection to Lipsky's cycle of mediocrity (Lipsky, 2010). This means that the better a government service seems to suit the needs of citizens, the greater the demand will be. However, SLB´s chronically experience resource shortages (Lipsky, 2010). This brings us by the street-level bureaucrats problem. Or as Lipsky (2010, p. 82) explains: "Street-level bureaucrats attempt to do a good job in some way. The job, however, is in a sense impossible to do in ideal terms. How is the job to be accomplished with inadequate resources, few controls, indeterminate objectives, and discouraging circumstances?" This may even lead to withdrawing from the workforce, or "withdraw psychologically without actually quitting, rejecting personal responsibility for agency performance" (Lipsky, 2010, p. 143). To keep their work doable, SLB´s develop routines or coping mechanisms to structure their environments and to make tasks more familiar. This is done to manage complexity and make their job easier. Again, autonomy of SLB's/CPO's plays a role in developing coping mechanisms.

First of all, services can be rationed. This can be done by "varying the total amount available, or by varying the distribution of a fixed amount" (Lipsky, 2010, p. 87). Street-level bureaucracies might also ration services by just refusing to take some cases (Lipsky, 2010). A second coping mechanisms is the differentiation among recipients. In this case, SLB's choose clients "who seem most likely to succeed in terms of bureaucratic success criteria" (Lipsky, 2010, p. 107). Or choosing clients because of the preferences of a SLB for one client. A third mechanism is obtaining control over the work situation and clients, to let citizens co-operate with procedures. This enables SLB´s "to process work with minimal risk of disruption to routine practice" (Lipsky, 2010, p. 117). The fourth and last coping mechanism is SLB´s modifying the conception of their job and clients, in order to reduce job stress that is caused by the strain between their capabilities and their goals. For instance, by lowering their goals in their work or not prioritize certain tasks. This makes their jobs easier to perform (Lipsky, 2010). It is interesting to find out if these coping mechanisms are recognized in the work of CPO's, and if WhatsApp plays a role in changing these mechanisms.

2.6 Research questions

As a result of the described theory, some questions can be asked regarding WhatsApp neighborhood prevention groups in a community. As the main research question, the following question is asked:

What impact does a WhatsApp neighborhood prevention group have on neighborhood policing and how can this be explained?

To answer the main research question, the question is divided into six sub questions:

1. Do WhatsApp neighborhood prevention groups lead to Community police officers receiving more information or different information?

2. Do changes in information flows affect the way the Community police officer performs his job?

3. Can changes be observed in the contact between the residents and the Community police officer, regarding

        a. Autonomy

        b. 24/7 availability

        c. Self-reliance of residents

        d. Trust

4. What do residents think of their Community police officer and WhatsApp neighborhood prevention group?

5. What are the consequences of WhatsApp neighborhood prevention groups on the neighborhood?

6. How can the changes be explained?

3. Research design

In this chapter, attention will be paid to the strategy, data collection, respondent selection, data analysis and the validity and reliability.

3.1 Strategy

This master thesis uses a qualitative form of research. Qualitative research can be seen as an activity that puts the researcher in the real world. The interpretation of this world plays an important role in qualitative research (Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls & Ormston, 2013). The researcher studies phenomena in their natural setting, attempting to make sense of them. Understanding and explaining are two words that describe qualitative research at best. The research design of qualitative research can be seen as flexible, and data collection methods that are used frequently in qualitative research are observational methods, in-depth interviewing, and group discussions (Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls & Ormston, 2013). Qualitative research "seeks to understand a given problem or topic from the perspectives of the local population it involves" (Blanke, 2016).

This thesis can also be characterized by its explanatory nature and by the fact that it is non-numerical. It tries to understand and explain the way WhatsApp groups influence policing by CPOs in neighborhoods. Not by numbers, but by theory and interviews. That makes this research qualitative. Since this research analyzes data from a population at one point in time, it can be seen as research with a cross-sectional design. This research design is chosen because it provides some freedom. One cannot expect on forehand what kind of information will be obtained, since WhatsApp is considered as a relatively new medium of contact. Because WhatsApp is so new, it is important to know more about the functioning of WhatsApp. Interviews are a very suitable way of reaching this goal.

3.2 Data collection

To find out if and in what way, neighborhood policing is influenced by WhatsApp groups, CPO's and residents are interviewed. Two separate questionnaires were designed, one for CPO's and one for residents. The questionnaire that was used while interviewing CPO's can be found in Appendix A. The questionnaire used to interview residents can be found in Appendix B.

The interviews can be seen as structured or standardized. In every interview with CPO's, the same questionnaire will be used. For every resident, the same questionnaire will be used, that will differ from the one used for CPO´s. This makes sure that every respondent will be presented with the same questions as the other respondents from their category (CPO's and residents). With this method, comparison between the experiences of CPO's and residents will be more convenient. Also, respondents will not be influenced by a different order of the questions in the interviews. A semi-structured element will be included in the interviews. After the fixed questions that are asked to every respondent, some space will be given for respondents to talk about situations that were not covered by the questions in the questionnaire.

The following topics will be covered by the questionnaire. CPO's are asked if WhatsApp groups deliver more and different information, compared to the traditional ways of receiving information. Next to this, CPO's are asked if WhatsApp groups changed their work and private-life. CPO's are also

questioned about the effects that WhatsApp has on their contact with residents, and on the neighborhood. It is important that the interviewed CPO's are familiar with the 'old-fashion' way of policing, before WhatsApp groups were formed. This way, CPO's have the possibility to compare policing over neighborhoods with WhatsApp, to policing over neighborhoods without WhatsApp. This possibility to compare is important, since this research is based on investigating the impact of the use of WhatsApp on the way CPO´s perform their job.
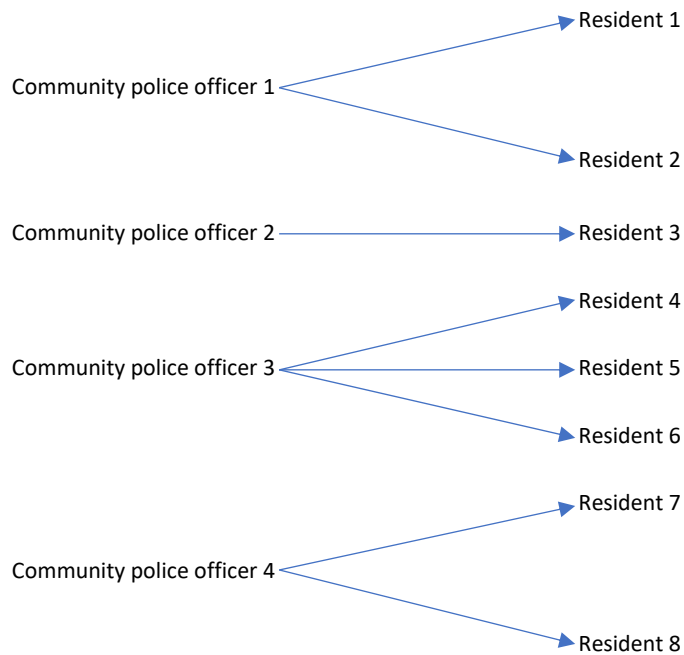
Residents are questioned about their experiences with WhatsApp groups, and the effects that these groups might have on their neighborhood and (contact with) their CPO. Residents are also asked about their opinions on the policework of their CPO and trust in their CPO. Questions are asked on experiences regarding self-reliance, perceived changes in the neighborhood and their feeling of being safe. Again, it is important that the interviewed residents are familiar with the situation before WhatsApp groups were formed, otherwise comparison would not be possible.

3.3 Respondent selection

To answer every sub question, the qualitative method of interviewing is used. Four CPO´s and eight residents are interviewed. The methods that are used to select the CPO's and residents will be elucidated below. A list with the moments and places of the interviews can be found in Appendix C.

Four CPO´s in different cities of the province of Overijssel, The Netherlands, are interviewed. These CPO´s work in Enschede, Hengelo and Almelo. The CPO´s have WhatsApp groups in their neighborhood. The name of the first interviewed CPO is provided by the operational expert on neighborhoods from the police in Enschede. After the first CPO is approached and interviewed, the other three CPO's are selected through snowball sampling. With this approach, existing study subjects recommend future subjects from among their acquaintances. Thus, every CPO recommends another CPO that might be willing to cooperate.

There is a connection between the CPO's and residents. For every CPO, it is planned to interview two residents of his WhatsApp group. Thus, giving a total of eight residents to be interviewed. Residents are selected by snowball sampling. In the interviews with CPO's, the CPO is asked for contact details of a respondent from his WhatsApp group. With these details, the first resident is approached and interviewed. This 'first resident' will then be asked for the contact details of the 'second resident'. This method is used for every CPO. Thus ending up with two residents for every CPO. Because one of the respondents of a neighborhood did not want to participate and no replacement was found, it is decided to interview one resident extra from another neighborhood. Figure 1 elucidates this approach.

Community police officer 1 → Resident 1
Community police officer 1 → Resident 2
Community police officer 2 → Resident 3
Community police officer 3 → Resident 4
Community police officer 3 → Resident 5
Community police officer 3 → Resident 6
Community police officer 4 → Resident 7
Community police officer 4 → Resident 8

Figure 1. Respondent selection

3.4 Data analysis

The collected data consists of answers from interviews with CPO´s and citizens. First of all, the collected data will be described. A detailed account will be given of what every respondent has answered on certain questions. An important aspect of this research is the comparison of the answers from the respondents. Since it is interesting to find out if differences can be observed between the experiences of different CPO's and residents, the contrasts between them will be elucidated. By describing the findings, an answer can be found on all the sub questions in this research. Doing this automatically answers the main research question, because with all the answers, it is possible to find out what impact the use of WhatsApp groups has on policing in a neighborhood. Instead of only describing the findings, a more interpretative analysis will be offered. Responses of respondents will be clarified by the researcher and an explanation of the findings will be provided with the help of theory.

3.5 Validity and reliability

The chosen approach for this research has consequences for the validity and reliability of the outcomes. As explained, snowball sampling is used for the selection of the respondents. An approach where existing subjects recommend future subjects from among their acquaintances. This approach might lead to a bias in the respondent selection, since the first interviewed subject has an influence on the selection of the rest of the interviewed population. Respondents already know each other, otherwise it would not be possible to recommend the next subject. Thus, the existing subject could refer the researcher to 'friends' that have the same opinion or the same way of looking at the topic. This might lead to problems regarding validity. The researcher is actually not measuring what he or she

wants to measure and could get a very one-dimensional view of the topic. A positive aspect of the used approach in this thesis is that all respondents are from different cities and neighborhoods. This limits the chance that respondents have exactly the same approach and opinions.

In this study design, residents and CPO´s know each other. Therefore, residents might come up with answers to please their CPO. They might hide their negative experiences with WhatsApp or their CPO from the researcher. Although all respondents were guaranteed anonymity, CPO's know which of their residents participated in the research, since they were the ones that provided the contact information of the first resident.

The chosen approach also leads to problems regarding reliability. When this research is repeated by other researchers, they might come up with a completely different sample of the population. A sample that might have completely different opinions on the topic. As a consequence, the researcher has no idea whether the interviewed sample is representative for the whole population. It is important to understand that the representativeness of this study is already limited, since only twelve respondents are interviewed.

4 Introducing the community police officers

In this chapter, the CPO´s, their neighborhoods and their way of organizing their WhatsApp neighborhood prevention group(s) will be introduced. In this research, questions were asked to four different CPO´s. All of the CPO´s are men. Two of them are working in Enschede, one of them is stationed in Hengelo and one of them used to work in Almelo. Every CPO will be labeled with a number. No exact details about situations or scenarios will be described to guarantee anonymity of respondents.

4.1 Community police officer 1

CPO 1 is stationed in Enschede. CPO 1 is working in a neighborhood that consists of approximately 7500 residents. At the moment, three WhatsApp groups are present in his area. The neighborhood of CPO 1 has different characteristics. One part can be seen as a more luxurious area with detached houses, while another part can be seen as a family neighborhood, where families live together. Some parts of the neighborhood of CPO 1 are well-covered with WhatsApp groups, while others are less well-covered. Numbers are ranging from 30 percent coverage to 80 percent coverage. Two of the three areas in the neighborhood are well-covered. When the WhatsApp group of CPO 1 started, the following goals were set:

- Having no more burglaries.
- To increase the amount of times a criminal is caught in the act.

To follow up on these goals, CPO 1 is dependent on reports from citizens: "*I cannot see if somebody thinks, 'I am going to break in there'. Then we have to follow people around all day and that is not possible, there is no room for that, no capacity for that.*" Through WhatsApp groups, it is possible for neighborhoods to let burglars know that they have an eye on them. CPO 1 sees this as a form of preventive action, and thinks that WhatsApp groups are very suitable for this purpose. Also, when there is a report of a burglary, this is called in to the police and reported in the WhatsApp group. If the perpetrator is arrested, WhatsApp can be of help in determining the walkway of the perpetrator. This helps to determine the hiding place of stolen items. So next to prevention and increasing the amount of times a criminal is caught in the act, WhatsApp groups are used for investigative purposes.

CPO 1 is not a member of these WhatsApp groups himself. He chooses to work with a steer group. In this case, the coordinators coordinate the WhatsApp groups in the neighborhood. Above the WhatsApp groups, a coordinating WhatsApp group (steer group) is established. The coordinators of the different WhatsApp groups are present in this steer group. In this steer group, CPO 1 is also present. When a resident sends a message or report to the WhatsApp group, the coordinator of that group interprets the message/report. He or she decides if this message is important enough to copy into the steer group. When the coordinator of one of the WhatsApp groups thinks that the message is important or useful, or when he needs advise in how to handle the message, he copies the message into the steer group. Or "*when a message comes in that has to be forwarded to group 2 or 3, the steer groups forwards this message as soon as possible to group 2 or 3. Or 2 or 3 or 5. How many as there are.*" Then, CPO 1 and the coordinators of the other WhatsApp groups, can take a look at the message/report. CPO 1 has chosen this approach, because "*it is impractical to be in all those groups as a CPO*".

Another reason for CPO 1 not being in the WhatsApp neighborhood prevention group, is the fact that his mobile number is then known to all residents. CPO 1 thinks it is important that the police helps with the startup, and that the citizens participate and eventually take over. "*In the beginning we used to steer a lot, at a given moment we said, first we have to see if it works, then we have to let the citizens do it*". According to CPO 1, that is the art of having a WhatsApp neighborhood prevention group: "*The citizens come to us, we have the tips and tricks. This is what you have to do and if you follow these steps you have a WhatsApp group founded in no-time*". "*The citizen also has an important role in this story. They know their neighborhood best*". With this approach, CPO 1 is always informed about what goes on in his neighborhood, without having to take up the coordinating role of the WhatsApp groups. Also, CPO 1 does not have the problem of having to read through messages that are not to the highest importance to him. When asked about how many times he has contact with his steer group in one week, CPO 1 answers that sometimes, they do not have contact at all. "*But when I also do not have any burglaries then, it is fine with me.*"

The use of the SAAR-principle (explained in the introduction of this thesis) plays a big part in his neighborhood: "*Through WhatsApp, you do not alarm the police.*" According to CPO 1, you first call 112, then you use the WhatsApp neighborhood prevention group to alert the residents around you. "*Because no police car starts driving, when you WhatsApp. And that is very important, that people know that. If they do, then it works fine.*"

4.2 Community police officer 2

CPO 2 is stationed in Enschede. CPO 2 is working in a neighborhood that consists of approximately 8500 residents. At the moment, two WhatsApp groups are present in his area. One of them existed for about six months, while the other one just started. Because of the fact that not much is known about the functioning of the newest group, questions and analysis will be directed towards the WhatsApp group that existed for the longer period.

CPO 2 is not a member of these WhatsApp neighborhood prevention groups himself. He does have contact with the coordinator/founder of the WhatsApp group. This contact is organized on a weekly basis. This weekly meeting between CPO 2 and the coordinator of the WhatsApp group does not only concern WhatsApp but has mainly other goals that cannot be revealed because of privacy reasons. But according to CPO 2, this meeting is also suited to discuss the WhatsApp group. During this meeting, situations regarding WhatsApp are discussed when needed. Urgent cases or reports during the week will be forwarded directly to CPO 2 by the coordinator of the WhatsApp group. CPO 2 has chosen this approach to make sure that he will not get an overload of information: "*There is already so much coming in through this equipment* (while pointing to his phone – RV)." CPO 2 tells about the amount of mails that he is already receiving during the day and the personal messages that he is receiving through Twitter: "*I am not saying that I don't want it, but it is the amount of information that I am already receiving.*"

4.3 Community police officer 3

CPO 3 is stationed in Hengelo. CPO 3 is working in a neighborhood that consists of approximately 16000 residents. At the moment, twelve WhatsApp neighborhood prevention groups are present in his area.

The neighborhood of CPO 3 has different characteristics. Some parts can be seen as a more luxurious neighborhood with detached and semi-detached houses, while other parts can be seen as a family neighborhood. The WhatsApp groups in the neighborhood of CPO 3 are usually connected to street names. The name of the street is usually also the name of the WhatsApp group. Smaller streets that are connected to the 'main street' can be involved in the WhatsApp group. CPO 3 thinks that the average amount of people that are present in the WhatsApp groups is approximately hundred persons per group.

CPO 3 is one of the CPO's that is actively present in every group. According to CPO 3, because "*I think that as a community police officer, you can take a lot of information from it, it paints a good picture of what goes on in the neighborhood, and then I can respond to it*". CPO 3 says that he does not write a lot of messages in the WhatsApp groups himself. He chooses primarily to monitor the WhatsApp groups, and to correct or adjust when this is needed. When asked if CPO 3 does not have a problem that his participation in the WhatsApp groups implies that his telephone number is known by all other participants, he answers that this is not the case. "*No, this telephone is from the boss, so the number, I think, is owned by the neighborhood*". When residents decide to call CPO 3, he has the possibility to answer the phone or not, and to react on the given information or not. Also, when a group is established, CPO 3 always explains some ground rules for the use of WhatsApp groups to the residents. That takes some effort in the beginning, but when the rules are clear, being a member of all his WhatsApp groups is not very demanding to CPO 3. According the experiences of CPO 3, the used approach only has positive effects. When asked about the frequency of messages in the WhatsApp groups, CPO 3 says that "*it continues throughout the whole day*".

4.4 Community police officer 4

CPO 4 was stationed in Almelo. At the moment of the interview, he was just promoted to another function with the police in another city. Before, he was CPO of a neighborhood with approximately 2300 residents. The founding of WhatsApp groups in this neighborhood started in different stages. At first, residents were feeling unsafe because of the amount of burglaries in the neighborhood. A group of 5 residents decided to start with a WhatsApp group. After that, the group started to expand. With an amount of approximately 300 members, the neighborhood is well covered with WhatsApp groups. Because of the maximum amount of users that can be in a WhatsApp group (50 at that time), it was decided that the WhatsApp group had to be divided over a total of 6 groups.

CPO 4 knows about the discussion that goes on about being in the WhatsApp group as a CPO. CPO 4 chooses to be part of every WhatsApp neighborhood prevention group. CPO 4 adds: "*As the police, or as community police officer, you do like to know what happens there. It is a piece of information that you can take or bring as police organization, that lets you be active in your approach to livability and safety*". According to him, it is even important to be a direct participant of the WhatsApp group. "*Just for some recognizability of the community police officer. I think it is strange if you are not in because then it becomes something that is far away*". According to CPO 4, people from the WhatsApp group become your network. "*If you are physically present in your network or digitally, it makes no difference to me*".

The approach of CPO 4 is different, compared to the approach of the other three CPO´s. CPO 1, 2 and 3 installed WhatsApp on their police servicephone. They take their servicephone home and are capable of reading WhatsApp messages from their home. CPO 4 does not choose this approach.

CPO 4 has a separate WhatsApp phone, next to his servicephone. After his shift, the WhatsApp phone goes into the locker of CPO 4 at the police station. Sometimes, the WhatsApp phone circulates among other police personnel but this is not always the case. Outside the shift of CPO 4, messages that need answering are not always seen. These messages are answered when his next shift starts, or sometimes answered by other police personnel. As a consequence, residents might need to wait longer on a response from their CPO. CPO 4 has made agreements with the residents of his neighborhood. He made clear that no expectations should emerge among the residents, now that WhatsApp groups are present. CPO 4 sees WhatsApp groups as property of citizens, not as property of the police. As long as this is clear by the citizens, this approach works well for CPO 4.

According to CPO 4, sometimes there is a situation where someone is caught in the act of a crime. In those situations, WhatsApp can be seen as a perfect method for finding and arresting the criminal, together with the residents. But according to CPO 4, having WhatsApp groups is bound to some rules. Residents cannot take the law in their own hands. This might have negative consequences for the image and the case of the police. When expectations and roles of people are clear for everybody, it is no problem for CPO 4 to be a member of the WhatsApp groups.

It is interesting to see that all CPO's use their WhatsApp group not only for receiving information, but also for providing information. For instance, they use their WhatsApp groups for preventive measures. When the winter is coming and the days become shorter, they place messages regarding burglary prevention. The same action is performed before the Dutch summer holidays. A few tips are given to secure the houses of the residents, and residents are asked to watch the houses of other residents when they are on holiday. CPO 3 and 4 take this reciprocal approach a step further. They use the WhatsApp group for handing out neighborhood surveys. When an incident occurred in the neighborhood, police officers usually go door to door to ask if somebody has seen something. With the help of the WhatsApp groups, this labor intensive approach can be replaced with a digital form through WhatsApp. Table 1 gives a clear overview of the characteristics of all CPO´s that were mentioned in this chapter.

Table 1. Characteristics of Community police officers and use of WhatsApp Neighborhood prevention groups

	CPO 1	CPO 2	CPO 3	CPO 4
Stationed	Enschede	Enschede	Hengelo	Almelo
Member of WhatsApp group	No	No	Yes	Yes
Coordinator	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Frequency of contact with Wnpg	Not specific. Only when needed	Contact at least once a week	Throughout the whole day. Always seen, not always answered	Not specific. Not always seen, not always answered.
Use of WhatsApp group				
Message of (potential) crime to police	X	x	x	x
Contact between neighbors regarding (potential) crime	X	x	x	x
Crime prevention by CPO	X	x	x	x
Approaching residents by police regarding witness statement/neighborhood survey			x	x
CPO taking phone home	Yes	Yes	Yes	No

4.5 Dividing the community police officers in two categories

Following from the provided data in this chapter, one big distinction can be made. CPO´s 1 and 2 use a contact person (in case of CPO 1, a steer group) and are themselves not part of their WhatsApp group. This contact person stands between the CPO and their WhatsApp groups. CPO 3 and 4 directly participate in their WhatsApp groups. This difference in approach might cause differences in the experiences of CPO´s. In case of CPO 1 and 2, there is an extra link in the information supply in the form of a (group of) resident(s). As a consequence, CPO 1 and 2 only read what this/these resident(s) think(s) is important. CPO 1 and 2 do not get firsthand information. This way, the police officer might not get to know what he wants to know, because every bit of information in the WhatsApp groups goes through a filter and is interpreted by this filter. When the goal is 'to know what goes on' in the neighborhood, the approach of CPO 3 and 4 might be best. They both have unlimited access to their WhatsApp groups and can read everything that is posted in an exact way. For efficiency reasons, the approach of CPO 1 and 2 might have some advantages.

As a result of this distinction, CPO´s can be divided into two categories. CPO 1 and CPO 2 respectively have a steergroup and a coordinator between them and their WhatsApp group. They both are placed in 'category intermediary'. CPO 3 and CPO 4 do participate directly in their WhatsApp groups. Together, they form a category called 'category direct'. In the following chapters, the distinction in both categories will be maintained. The distinction will be elucidated in figure 2 below.

Community police officer 1 ⟶ Category intermediary
Community police officer 2 ⟶

Community police officer 3 ⟶ Category direct
Community police officer 4 ⟶
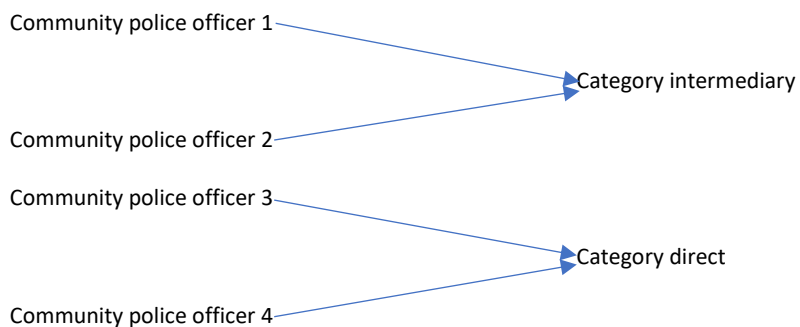
Figure 2. Dividing community police officers into two categories

4.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, four CPO's were introduced. Every CPO has his own approach in founding and establishing their WhatsApp groups. From the four CPO´s, CPO 4 is the one with an approach that is most different to the other CPO´s. CPO´s 1 and 2 get the important messages through their contact person. CPO 3 directly reads the messages in the WhatsApp neighborhood prevention group. All three of them take their phone home and answer messages from their home. So, in case there are reports that need answering, they are going to be answered relatively quick. CPO 4 chooses another approach. He does not take his WhatsApp phone home. As a consequence, messages from citizens are not always answered directly. It is interesting to find out that, although WhatsApp groups are invented for approximately the same use, minor differences in each category of CPO's can be observed.

Consequences from the differences in approach will be further elucidated in the next chapters. In the next chapters, the four CPO's are divided into two categories. CPO 1 and 2 participate in 'category intermediary', while CPO 3 and 4 participate in 'category direct'.

5. Results sub question 1 – Effect of WhatsApp on information flows

This chapter discusses the results of the first sub question: D*o WhatsApp neighborhood prevention groups lead to Community police officers receiving more information or different information?* For every category of CPO's will be described if they feel that, since they use WhatsApp groups, they possess more and different information than they are used to.

5.1 Category Intermediary

Both CPO's of 'category intermediary' start their day in approximately the same way. CPO 1 explains that traditional information sources still play an important role in police work. In the morning, he starts his day with attending a briefing. During the day, CPO 1 uses the information that is provided by the emergency room. Another way of gathering information is the use of the computer systems that are issued by the police. Sometimes even the use of regular internet is needed to get information. According to CPO 1, the positive side is that all of these information sources can be consulted while being on the street. CPO 2 also starts his day with a briefing. CPO 2 adds a program called 'Bluespot monitor' to the list of information sources. This program scans the neighborhood and reports everything crime related that has happened in the past 7 days. This way, it is easier for CPO 2 to direct his attention to certain aspects of the neighborhood. CPO 2 also uses regular e-mail and direct messages through Twitter.

Both CPO's from 'category intermediary' have the same idea's about the information from their WhatsApp groups. According to CPO 1, information from WhatsApp groups can be of additional use, next to information that is derived from traditional sources. Information from WhatsApp groups is not necessarily new or very different. The quantity of the information also does not differ. Info from WhatsApp does help the police with a few aspects of their work. CPO 1 sees it as an extra device to catch criminals and a new device to catch criminals: "*You know, in my opinion perpetrators are innovative, they try something new every time. Then you also have to be innovative as police. Because if you are not, you lag behind.*" CPO 2 has the same ideas as CPO 1 when it comes to comparing information from WhatsApp to information from traditional sources. Compared to these traditional sources of information, CPO 2 thinks that info from WhatsApp groups is not necessarily completely new, different or different in amount. Info derived from WhatsApp can be seen as directed specifically on neighborhoods and neighborhood details. CPO 2 explains that WhatsApp groups are only a small addition. He elucidates that he gets a whole lot of information, and that WhatsApp is integrated in this stream of information: "*It is only supportive.*" According to CPO 2, what can be seen as new, is the fact that photos can be provided through WhatsApp groups. Not much other communication devices have the possibility to directly and easily attach a photo to a report.

CPO 2 rides his bike through his neighborhood to have direct face-to-face contact with the residents. He has office hours where citizens can seek contact with him. CPO 2 calls this maintaining his warm contacts. The use of WhatsApp groups can be seen as an addition to these warm contacts: "*Something gets shared in there* (pointing at his phone – RV)*, so you have a pretty nice view on what goes in the neighborhood.*"

When asked about what topics the WhatsApp group is used for, CPO 2 says the topics can be very diverse: "*There is a moped standing here for three days, a lot of times you get a picture with it. That makes it easy for me to look up from my home if there is something wrong with that moped. A lot of times, it is about the suspicious situations.*" CPO 2 explains that WhatsApp makes it easy to read back a little, to connect information better. CPO 2 also experiences that people can be characterized as very curious. They like to think along and contribute to police work. But to get this help from the citizens, the police has to be easy to reach. CPO 2 admits that police officers are sometimes hard to reach through the 0900-number from the police. Means like WhatsApp can be a solution for these problems, because: "*Within a few seconds, you have a result.*"

Both CPO's from 'category intermediary' explain that they would miss information if they would not have their WhatsApp group. CPO 1 adds: "*With the national police, it sometimes can be difficult to reach the police, or to get called back, we all make irregular hours.*" He emphasizes that he likes to be in direct contact with his citizens. CPO 1 sees it as his job to be available to the neighborhood and to make sure that information gets to him. WhatsApp helps him with that. CPO 2 adds that WhatsApp helps him get closer to the residents: "*You are much closer on it. It is much more detailed. I like that.*"

5.2 Category Direct

The CPO's of 'category direct' both have the same way of starting their day. CPO 3 explains that his day starts with attending a briefing. During the briefing, points of interests are discussed. Points of interest can relate to the community, suspicious situations or persons that the police is looking for. The emergency room is a second source of information that CPO 3 is using. He elucidates that this info is coming from the citizens: "*Those are the people that are calling.*" People also e-mail him directly. CPO 3 has office hours. This way, citizens know where and when to reach him and hand him the information he needs to do his job. Residents approach him when he walks through the streets: "*It is important for your information position that you are visible in the neighborhood.*" The information people come up with is very diverse: "*From an anonymous tip regarding a marihuana plantation, annoyance from neighbors to neighborly disputes.*" CPO 3 also discusses topics like a confused person, a resident who has a fight with his ex and a resident who is accused of assaulting her father.

Just like the other CPO´s, CPO 4 starts his workday with a briefing. CPO uses information from the emergency room, internet and e-mail. CPO 4 adds a program called Agora to the list. Agora is an internal system within the police, where police officers have the possibility to see information for a longer period. Agora is more extensive than a briefing, and contains neighborhood information that is provided by CPO´s. Every day, CPO´s hand in a daily report with information about their neighborhood.

CPO 3 does not see differences in the sort or amount of provided information, when comparing WhatsApp information to info from traditional sources. He does see some differences in the way the information is delivered. First of all, WhatsApp information is often combined with a picture. That is different from information that comes in through traditional sources. CPO 3 talks about the example of youngsters that were walking through his neighborhood. A neighbor did not trust the group, made a picture of them, and forwarded it into the WhatsApp group. CPO 3 recognized the group of the photo, and had the opportunity to have a talk with the members of the group. Second, WhatsApp neighborhood protection groups are more direct and quicker. The information is in real time. Something that can be seen as an advantage for the police. This direct and quick form of information

delivery is something that the police had to get used to in the beginning: "*You notice that people nowadays expect that WhatsApp has the same status as when they directly go to the police*". According to CPO 3, social media is a complete new way of providing information to the police. Until recently, social media was not used in policing. But the police start to understand what social media could do for them: "*It is something that happens in the whole society so we have to respond to that or at least go along with it.*" Of course, it has to fit you as a police officer: "*I also have police officers that do not have anything with WhatsApp, they say: 'Leave that with people that have something with WhatsApp'.*" CPO 3 feels that WhatsApp groups have to exist next to other (traditional) sources of information. WhatsApp has to be regarded as an addition.

CPO 4 does not see differences in the amount and sort of information, comparing information from traditional sources to information from WhatsApp. He does have the opinion that information coming from WhatsApp groups is more extensive. CPO 4 explains that WhatsApp groups are an addition to the other information sources: "*You obtain more information, on top of the existing information.*" According to CPO 4, the more information that is obtained, the bigger the possibility to success might be: "*If you want to increase safety and livability in your neighborhood, then it depends on all information that you get. No matter how small that information may be. It comes to the skills of the police, to filter the right things out of that information. Some things are not usable, but that tiny key, might lead to a success.*"

When asked about what percentage of the total amount of information is coming from WhatsApp, both CPO's explain that that is hard to tell. CPO 3 explains: "*Nowadays you see that it is often a first push to get into contact with people.*" So, after the initial WhatsApp contact, CPO 3 and residents engage in other forms of contact. CPO 4 also experiences that putting a percentage on WhatsApp information is hard. Citizens can deliver their information through a high amount of channels. People can deliver their information to the CPO and to the desk employee at the police station. They can use the contact form on the internet site of the police and deliver information through phone calls. Nowadays, it is also possible to use social media to report information. "*These are all sources where you can deliver, so it is hard for me to say: well, that is ten percent*" (talking about WhatsApp – RV).

Both CPO's have the opinion that they would miss information if they would not have the possession over WhatsApp groups. CPO 4 explains this with an example. In this case, a suspicious situation was reported in the WhatsApp group. A man driving a scooter was seen around some schoolyards, something that residents thought was suspicious. CPO 4: "*I wonder if anybody would have taken the trouble to call the police and say: 'This has happened and I am worried about it.' Or that I would meet that person a week later and he would have told me then. I do not think so.*" According to CPO 4, the incident would then not be one of the current events anymore, or he would possibly not have met the person who had seen the incident. As a result, he would not know what happened.

5.3 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the results regarding the first sub question: *Do WhatsApp neighborhood prevention groups lead to Community police officers receiving more information or different information?* All CPO´s possess approximately the same traditional information sources. For instance, all CPO's start their day with a briefing and use info from the emergency room. Sources like 'Bluespot monitor' and 'Agora' are not discussed by all CPO´s. Of course, the fact that these are not discussed by

every CPO does not mean that they are not used by every CPO. With regard to sub question 1, no differences between the two categories of CPO's can be observed. Both categories of CPO's have the opinion that WhatsApp groups do not deliver more information, compared to the amount of information from traditional sources. Also, both categories of CPO's do not think that information from WhatsApp groups is new or different, compared to information that is coming from traditional information sources. CPO's see WhatsApp as a new device to get the needed information. It is an addition and extension to the current information sources. The information itself does not change, but the way information is provided to CPO's is different. WhatsApp is more direct, quicker, and messages often come with a photo attached. Both categories of CPO's do have the opinion that they would miss out on information if they did not have the possession over a WhatsApp neighborhood prevention group.

6 Results sub question 2 – Effect of WhatsApp on policework

This chapter discusses the results of the second sub question of this master thesis: *Do changes in information flows affect the way the Community police officer performs his job?* For every CPO will be described if he feels that he performs his job differently since WhatsApp groups are used in his neighborhood. It is interesting to see that in a few areas, consensus is reached among the CPO´s. In that case, they use the same approach and have the same ideas about the way their WhatsApp group influences their job. Regarding other issues, they do not agree. In this chapter, the four CPO´s are again divided into two categories and treated as such.

6.1 Response to WhatsApp neighborhood prevention group

All CPO's were asked if they respond differently to information from WhatsApp, compared to information from traditional sources. CPO´s were also asked if they feel obligated to always respond immediately to information from WhatsApp groups. In this case, the views of the CPO´s were different. CPO´s tend to respond to information from colleagues, for instance through the emergency control room. In case of information that is provided by citizens through WhatsApp groups, every CPO makes his own consideration.

CPO's in 'category intermediary' differ in their response to info from WhatsApp groups. CPO 1 explains that his response to WhatsApp depends on the situation and the provided information. He explains that he has to take into account the information itself. Also the way the information is provided through WhatsApp matters: "*Some people see ghosts everywhere. You have to be able to filter that.*" That causes his idea that he is not always obligated to respond (immediately). As explained before (see paragraph 4.1), CPO 1 chose to work with a steer group. During the interview, he chooses to provide some extra information on his contact with his steer group. According to CPO 1, it is important to actively consult the group and keep discussing the content of the group. CPO 1 talks about the situation where the steer group approached him with information from another group, that they wanted to forward to the WhatsApp group in CPO 1´s neighborhood. CPO 1 chose to not give his consent: "*You know, very clear and decisive. It is based on nothing and you will get a witch hunt if you do that. And that is not the intention, you have to watch out for that.*"

CPO 2 explains that it is not always possible to immediately respond to information from WhatsApp: "*Information coming from WhatsApp can never be as detailed as what I can get from within the company*" (meaning information from within the police – RV). He has to complete the picture himself: "*Those two combined can solve the puzzle.*" Despite the fact that CPO 2 elucidated that it is not always possible for him to respond immediately, this does not mean that he does not feel obligated to respond. It is important for CPO 2 to always respond to messages in his WhatsApp group: "*If I would not do that, that would be completely unreliable, then it will be over soon.*"

Both CPO's from 'category direct' do not feel obligated to respond to information from their WhatsApp groups when they do not think the information is useful. It is interesting to find out that CPO 3 first explains that he has the opinion that information that is provided through WhatsApp needs to get the same status and priority as information from other sources. On the other hand, CPO 3 chooses to sometimes ignore certain reports and does not always feel obligated to respond to the provided information. Every half year, the police receives reports regarding child luring, with every time another description of the man who performs this act. This information is reported in the

WhatsApp group: "*I do not respond to that. I believe they now saw him in a yellow coat in the neighborhood, next week it is a black man who gets into a white car.*" CPO 3 also does not respond to the phone numbers that are reported in the WhatsApp group that are allegedly from Microsoft scammers. "*But information like that can be accepted by certain groups, and otherwise people will be reproved*".

CPO 4 explains that info through WhatsApp and info from traditional sources are not comparable. Traditional information often is internal, it comes from within the police. Information from WhatsApp neighborhood prevention groups can be seen as more external. This makes his response different. When asked more thoroughly about his response to WhatsApp info, CPO 4 answers: "*Yeah, sometimes I do not respond to it.*" Thus, CPO 4 does not feel obligated to respond (immediately) to information that comes in through the WhatsApp neighborhood prevention group.

6.2 Making policework easier

When asked if the use of WhatsApp groups makes their police work easier to perform, the CPO´s might have different ideas and views. The opinions of CPO´s will be discussed in the two groups that were formed before.

Again, the CPO's from 'category intermediary' do not agree on the usefulness of WhatsApp groups in their work. CPO 1 does not think that WhatsApp groups make his police work easier to execute: "*I only see it as an extra device to catch criminals and a new device to catch criminals*". According to CPO 2, WhatsApp groups do make his job easier, because his contact with the neighborhood is good: "*It is a nice and limited and bordered group with the residents of one neighborhood.*" According to CPO 2, WhatsApp is really neighborhood and community directed.

The CPO's from 'category direct' both have the opinion that WhatsApp groups make their job easier to perform. CPO 3 explains that with WhatsApp messages are often accompanied with pictures. This makes it easier to recognize suspicious persons or youngsters that cause trouble. When the reported persons are recognized by CPO 3, it is easier for him to respond to the report by approaching these persons directly. Because of WhatsApp, it is not necessary to perform a search for the identity of the persons that caused trouble. CPO 4 agrees completely with the statement that his job has been made easier with the establishment of WhatsApp groups. He explains that with WhatsApp, he gets information that he would not get otherwise because he is more transparent, and easier to reach.

6.3 Improving the quality of policework

Every CPO was asked if the quality of his policework increased since their WhatsApp groups were established. Both CPO's from 'category intermediary' think that their policework is not necessarily better since they use WhatsApp groups. Again 'new' is the codeword for CPO 1. CPO 1 does not know if his work got better, he just describes it as new. But he finds it important that the WhatsApp groups are present in his policework because it increases citizen participation: "*I think that is very important. And if they see us do something, they also like to do something*." CPO 2 describes WhatsApp just as an addition. He does not think that his policework is necessarily better: "*Look, it is of course not sanctifying, but I think it is a very nice addition.*"

Both CPO's of 'category direct' agree on the fact that WhatsApp groups improve their policework. According to CPO 3, his work improved since WhatsApp groups are used in his

neighborhood. He explains that CPO´s do not get much time in their neighborhood: "*It is a very busy existence.*" CPO 3 only gets 2,5 days per week for his neighborhood. WhatsApp is then a very useful addition that he uses often: "*It is essential for me, considering the way I use it now in my work*." CPO 4 also explains the usefulness of WhatsApp groups in improving the quality of his policework. With WhatsApp groups he moves towards the citizens, something he calls 'police participation': "*That means that you are more visible, your maneuverability increases, you are more transparent, easily accessible and that is an advantage.*" This increases the willingness of citizens to report problems. The increase in the willingness to report makes it easier for the police to catch criminals in the act. More criminals are arrested as a consequence.

Something interesting is happening here. It is interesting to find out that the opinions are equally divided between the two categories of CPO's. The CPO's from 'category intermediary' do not see WhatsApp as a device that improves their policework, while the CPO's from 'category direct' do consider WhatsApp as improving their policework.

6.4 WhatsApp as an integrated part of policework.

The CPO´s were asked if their WhatsApp groups were really a part of their policework, or if it was just seen as a separate device that exists outside their work. Both CPO's from 'category intermediary´ share the same opinion. They both do not see WhatsApp as an integrated part of their policework. They use it and find it easy to have, but do not see WhatsApp as something that is completely integrated in the functioning of the police. According to CPO 1, once he has helped to start the group, he does not have trouble with it. Sometimes he has some contact with the steer group and talks about things that happened: "*I see that as a moment of contact in the neighborhood*." CPO 2 just sees it as an addition, not really as a part of his daily police routine.

The CPO's from 'category direct' have a completely other opinion. They cannot do without WhatsApp anymore. Both CPO´s see WhatsApp as something that is fixed in their daily routine. According to CPO 4, it is not about WhatsApp only. WhatsApp is part of a new digital wave in policing: "*What I see often, it is not about WhatsApp per se. It is about digital provision of services.*" CPO 4 explains that services can be provided through messages, YouTube, through WhatsApp and Nextdoor. It is all part of digital policing: "*And if that is through WhatsApp or not, next year it might be something else again*."

It is interesting to see that the opinions are again equally divided, just as in paragraph 6.3. The same CPO´s that did not see WhatsApp as a device for improving their job, also do not see WhatsApp groups as a part of their policework. The CPO´s that did see WhatsApp groups as increasing the quality of their work, also see it as an integrated part of their policework.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the results of the second sub question: *Do changes in information flows affect the way the Community police officer performs his job?* It can be concluded that CPO´s respond differently to info from WhatsApp, compared to info from traditional sources. Differences in response to WhatsApp are also observed between the CPO's from 'category intermediary' and 'category direct'. First of all, CPO's tend to respond to information from within the police. An example of information that CPO´s always respond to, is information from the emergency control room. The CPO's in 'category

direct' explain that they do not feel obligated to respond (immediately) to info from WhatsApp groups. From the CPO's in 'category intermediary', only one of the CPO's explains that he always feels the obligation to respond. Otherwise he would risk his credibility.

The reasons for the fact that three of the four CPO's do not feel obligated to respond (immediately) to info from WhatsApp groups, might be diverse. One reason might be that info that reaches the CPO´s through traditional sources, is often already interpreted and found important and usable by colleagues. For instance the colleagues from the emergency control room or the officers that prepare the briefing. This interpretation might increase the credibility of information to CPO´s.

WhatsApp information is more direct and comes directly from citizens. CPO´s have to consider the value, truth and usefulness of the information themselves. This can result in another consideration, and another response. Considering the explanation of the CPO´s, WhatsApp itself does not cause the difference in responding. Except for CPO 2, all other CPO´s chose to respond to one report, but not to the other. Their response is really dependent on what information (the credibility and usefulness) is given by whom. And not so much on the fact that it is delivered through WhatsApp groups or not.

The second conclusion is that every CPO from 'category direct' has the experience that WhatsApp groups made their policework easier to perform. One of the CPO's in 'category intermediary' does not think that WhatsApp made his work easier. The other CPO does. A third conclusion is that CPO's of 'category direct' see WhatsApp as a device for improving their policework. The CPO's in 'category intermediary' just see it as an addition that is new and useful, but does not make their work better. As a fourth conclusion, it was observed that CPO's in 'category direct' also see WhatsApp neighborhood prevention groups as a part of their policework. The CPO's of 'category intermediary' also do not see WhatsApp groups as an integrated part of their policework. From this data can be concluded that CPO's from 'category direct' have a more positive way of looking at what WhatsApp groups can add to their policework.

7 Results sub question 3 – Effect of WhatsApp on contact between police and residents

This chapter discusses the results of the third sub question of this master thesis: *Can changes be observed in the contact between the residents and the Community police officer, regarding*

      a. *Autonomy*
      b. *24/7 availability*
      c. *Self-reliance of residents*
      d. *Trust*

Next to changes in the work of CPO´s, there might also be changes in the contact between CPO´s and residents. WhatsApp groups might even cause changes within the community. The contact between CPO´s and residents will be discussed based on the four areas of tension, as discussed in paragraph 2.4 and described above.

7.1 Autonomy

This paragraph will focus on the pressures and demands residents put on the work of CPO´s. It is interesting to find out if pressures and increased demands are really present, and if so, how CPO´s deal with them. Again, the CPO´s will be divided into the two categories.

7.1.1 Feeling pressure and extra demands from citizens

CPO´s were asked if they experience extra pressure or extra demands from citizens, now that CPO's can be reached easily through WhatsApp. CPO´s from ´category intermediary´ both explain that they experience no extra pressures or demands from citizens since WhatsApp. CPO's feel they have the same amount of discretion since the establishment of WhatsApp groups. CPO 1 explains that his telephone number is not known by the residents in the neighborhood group. Only the members of the steer group have his number and can send him direct messages.

      CPO 2 explains that the threshold for citizens to contact him is very low, now that WhatsApp groups are used in his neighborhood. But when questioned more about pressures, he puts it in perspective a little more. CPO 2 explains that every residents wants his problems to be solved. He has to explain to residents how policework is done and that he cannot take care of everything. As a CPO, he is above everything, trying to drive other agencies to do certain jobs. Sometimes that is a hard job, but when he explains his limits properly to residents, they accept it. The pressures CPO 2 describes relate to being a CPO in general. CPO 2 does not experience WhatsApp itself as something that increases pressure by citizens. This also shows from the fact that, when he is asked if he still feels as free to do the things in his policework that he wants to do, he gives an affirmative answer.

      CPO´s from ´category direct´ also do not experience extra pressures or demands from citizens on their work, since WhatsApp groups were established. CPO 3 did have to get used to the idea that reports through WhatsApp deserve the same treatment as reports through warm communication: "*For me, that was a learning process.*" To CPO 3, this does not increase the amount of pressure or demands from citizens: "*Lucky for me, I do not get a lot of criticism from the neighborhood about things I did or did not do. People see that you are busy and try to be busy. And I can always explain it if a callback request takes a week longer. People do not mind.*"

CPO 4 never experienced an increase of pressures of citizens because of WhatsApp groups. Some of his colleagues do. When they get WhatsApp on their plate without gently rolling into it, they might experience it as an extra pressure on their job. They do not understand why they have to use WhatsApp next to the information sources that they already use. CPO 4 does not feel that way, because he was involved in the founding of the WhatsApp group. Because of this, starting with WhatsApp went more gradual and step by step for CPO 4.

Concluding, all CPO´s that were interviewed in this research explain that they do not experience WhatsApp groups to increase pressure from residents on their work. This is also shown by the fact that CPO´s still feel as free to do the things they want to do in their policework. CPO´s do not feel that they have to reschedule their day because of WhatsApp groups. No differences are found between the CPO´s from ´category intermediary´ and ´category direct´. Only CPO 2 explains more about pressures he experiences. But the experiences that are described by CPO 2, can be seen as a general description of his job. These experiences are not necessarily an effect of the use of WhatsApp groups. Considering the explanation of CPO 4, WhatsApp groups might cause extra pressures on the work of some CPO´s. However, since these CPO´s are not part of this research, results will not be included here.

7.1.2 Refusing WhatsApp messages versus refusing traditional messages from citizens

Questions were asked about the refusal of demands through WhatsApp messages. Are WhatsApp messages or demands just as easily refused as demands that come in through traditional sources of contact with citizens?

The CPO´s from ´category intermediary' experience the following: CPO 1 explains that there is no difference to him. First of all, he explains that his phone number is not known by residents. Only the steer group has his telephone number. Hence, CPO 1 does not have experience with direct requests from citizens through WhatsApp. He states that WhatsApp is not used as a direct contact medium with the CPO: "*I have always said, through a WhatsApp message, you do not acquaint me. I expect to receive that message in another way.*" CPO 2 also experiences no difference in the refusal of demands from citizens through WhatsApp or traditional sources, but does not provide further explanation.

The two CPO's from 'category direct' have similar experiences: CPO 3 also experiences no difference in the refusal of demands from citizens through WhatsApp or traditional sources of contact. He adds: "*I treat them as having the same status.*" CPO 4 explains that he has made rules with the members of the WhatsApp groups. On rule consists of the idea that no direct messages are sent to the CPO. Because of this, he does not have any experience with direct demands from citizens through WhatsApp that he had to refuse. No differences are present between the two categories of CPO's. In each category of CPO's, one of the CPO's does not have experience with direct requests from citizens. The other CPO refuses them just as easily as requests through traditional sources of contact with citizens.

7.2 24/7 availability

WhatsApp groups are a way of the police to get closer to citizens. WhatsApp also causes CPO´s to be easily reachable by citizens. But with this increased accessibility, problems in the balance between work and private life of CPO´s might occur. It is interesting to find out if, and in what way, CPO´s keep their distance to residents. The CPO's are again divided and treated in the two categories.

The CPO's from 'category intermediary' have the same experiences with the effects of WhatsApp groups on their private-life. Both CPO's get messages outside working hours, but feel that this is part of their work. They do not think that it is a problem. According to CPO 1, the threshold to contact him is lower, compared to the situation before WhatsApp groups. When asked if the balance between his work and private life is influenced because of WhatsApp, he answers affirmative: "*But my whole servicephone does that. Or you would have to shut it down completely, but then you cannot read anything at all.*" CPO 1 has the opinion that he should be involved in his neighborhood. But he cannot be involved 24/7. At night, he does not read messages and does not answer his phone. Messages in the evening are no problem for CPO 1. CPO 2 has the experience that people contact him quicker. When CPO 2 is home in the evening, sometimes a small message comes in. In some cases, a response can wait: "*There are also messages that I need to respond to immediately, because if I do not do that, everything might explode*." But according to CPO 2, WhatsApp groups do not put pressure on his private life. Sometimes he looks at his servicephone in the evening, but not the whole evening. CPO 2 chooses to shut of the ringtone of his servicephone.

The CPO's from 'category direct' both have different experiences with the effects of WhatsApp groups on their private-life. The difference is caused by the fact that both CPO's use their WhatsApp groups differently. This will be further elucidated here. CPO 3 notices that citizens contact him more easily since WhatsApp: "*You notice that when you respond to them in a more considerate way through WhatsApp, that people appreciate that, and then they chose to report situations quicker.*" CPO 3 thinks that his work-private balance is influenced by WhatsApp groups. Although he does not experience it as negative aspect of WhatsApp, his work does continue when he is home. CPO 3 explains that this is not assigned 'by the boss', but he made the choice to be reachable at home himself. CPO 3 thinks that this is part of his job. His choice is influenced by his feelings of loyalty towards the neighborhood: "*It cannot happen to me that something happens in the neighborhood and I will not notice it.*" According to CPO 3, it would be dramatic to him to hear from a colleague about what happened in his neighborhood. Therefore, CPO 3 always has his telephone on him. Answering messages does not take long and messages do not come in the whole day: "*And when something is reported, then there is really something going on.*" CPO 3 explains that, although citizens contact him more easily, he does not initiate contact with citizens easier. He contacts citizens just as easy as before WhatsApp groups. He did however come in contact with citizens through WhatsApp, who he had not met before.

CPO 4 choses another approach to WhatsApp groups. Just like other CPO´s, CPO 4 has the experience that residents contact him easier. CPO 4 explains that, with WhatsApp, he is more easily accessible for citizens and contact between them is established quicker. No call-back requests, but quick contact and quick solutions. In contrast to other CPO´s, CPO 4 has a special WhatsApp phone to keep in touch with his WhatsApp groups. This is an extra phone, next to his service phone. CPO 4 does not take this WhatsApp-phone home, but this phone stays at the police station outside CPO 4´s working hours. Problems regarding his work-private life balance are prevented by this approach. This is the reason why CPO 4 chose for this approach. But because of this approach, there is also less monitoring of the WhatsApp groups, compared to the groups of the other CPO´s. When CPO 4 starts his shift, he takes the WhatsApp phone out of his locker to see what reports came in. Outside the working hours of CPO 4, the WhatsApp phone can be taken by a colleague of CPO 4, but this was not guaranteed. As a consequence, the WhatsApp phone sometimes was not monitored for a whole night. CPO 4 indicates that, to make this approach work, it was important to not let the residents have any expectations on getting a quick answer. When a quick reaction was needed from the police, emergency number 112 should be called. This approach has some advantages, like no work-private life

interference. On the other hand, there is the disadvantage regarding the response time. Or as CPO 4 explains: "*When a message was more than three days old, I had the feeling that there should have been a quicker response.*" CPO 4 explains that, although citizens contact him more easily, he does not initiate contact with citizens easier. He contacts citizens just as easy as before WhatsApp neighborhood prevention groups. He did however come in contact with citizens through WhatsApp, who he had not met before.

7.3 Self-reliance of residents

WhatsApp groups might have different effects on the self-reliance of residents. It could make residents less self-reliant, because the police is easily reachable. WhatsApp groups could also increase the self-reliance of residents, since residents know each other better, and contact each other easier regarding annoying behavior. It is interesting to find out what effects can be observed in practice.

The CPO's in 'category intermediary' have similar experiences with self-reliance, when it comes to solving minor annoyances in the neighborhood. Both CPO's think that minor annoyances between residents, for instance a radio on high volume, can be solved by residents themselves. CPO 1 always asks a complaining resident: "*Do you immediately want a police officer at the door, because that can have an opposite effect.*" When this is explained by CPO 1, the complaining resident usually first tries to handle the problem himself. CPO 1 does not explain if this form of self-reliance is stimulated by the use of WhatsApp groups.

CPO 2 stimulates self-reliance by residents as much as possible. He likes to make sure that residents first try to solve the problem themselves. When this does not work out, they can return to him: "*Most times, they solve the problems themselves.*" According to CPO 2, WhatsApp groups stimulate the self-reliance in a neighborhood. He feels that he collaborates with residents on keeping the neighborhood save, and that with WhatsApp, communication has become easier. This way, it is easier for CPO 2 to get people on the right track to solve problems themselves.

CPO 1 also connects self-reliance to crime-related problems, while CPO 2 does not. CPO 1 believes in the self-reliance of residents in crime related problems, but with a limitation. According to CPO 1, you should not get yourself in difficult positions. What you should do is keep an eye on suspicious persons and call the police: "*Do not do anything stupid, do not get yourself in difficult positions.*" Also: "*Do not get a knife out of your kitchen drawer and go look for him.*" Just follow him, call the police and tell them about his position. The most important aspect, according to CPO 1, is to keep an eye on the neighborhood and any suspicious persons. WhatsApp groups do stimulate this kind of self-reliance among residents.

The CPO's from 'category direct' have experiences with self-reliance, when it comes to solving minor annoyances in the neighborhood. CPO 3 believes in the concept of self-reliance, but with a reservation. He thinks that being self-reliant is harder when you are not very defensible yourself. In that scenario, it could be hard to speak up to other residents regarding their behavior. Residents still have to live in the neighborhood after talking to their neighbor. This could make it difficult to make contact: "*When you talk to the neighbor about his behavior that you think is very annoying, for instance letting his dog defecate everywhere, then you first have to talk to your neighbor, that often causes a dysfunctional relationship. Then you get the fear of what the neighbor might do, and then it is easier to just go to somebody else* (meaning the police – RV) *and say that some behavior annoys you, 'so can you talk to him and not say that it comes from me'.*" To CPO 3, this behavior is understandable.

Although, CPO 3 is not sure if these minor problems really are a task for the police, he thinks he should solve them anyway. CPO 3 thinks that the amount of self-reliance has increased since the establishment of the WhatsApp groups. Since WhatsApp, Residents know each other better and have bonded. Residents approach and address each other more easily. According to CPO 3, this has been a big advantage of the WhatsApp groups.

According to CPO 4, not every neighborhood is suited to be self-reliant in fixing small disputes like nuisances and annoyances: "*When you have different cultures, or you do not know your upstairs neighbor, you deal with them differently compared to when it is your own neighbor who you also drink beer with.*" When the well-known neighbor and the unknown neighbor from another culture both have their radio on high volume, both are treated differently. "*And that while we are talking about the same problem.*" For CPO 4, social cohesion is the keyword in this. Social cohesion causes residents of the same neighborhood to know each other, help each other when needed and prevent crime. Social cohesion makes it easier for residents to address other residents regarding nuisances: "*When you have a burglary in your neighborhood, you have a bad neighborhood, and you should barbecue more frequently with each other.*" CPO 4 sees this in the small community he lives in. People know each other well and regulate themselves. While in, for instance Enschede, the rate of circulation and cultural diversity is high, causing people to not know each other. In those communities, the police is called more quickly over small irritations between residents. According to CPO 4, WhatsApp can be a part of this increase in social cohesion. Residents of a neighborhood know each other better and that gives a neighborhood the possibility to correct people that should be corrected. Hence, increasing the self-reliance of residents in the neighborhood.

CPO 4 also explains self-reliance in crime-related problems in a neighborhood. According to him, not everybody is suited to be self-reliant regarding crime-related problems: "*When you tell people that they are responsible themselves for the safety and livability in the street, some people can take that very literally.*" For instance, they can establish a network of strong men that take justice in their own hands: "*We know networks like that in the Netherlands, and they are even so well organized, that they cause problems to other people.*" According to CPO 4, in our democratic society, these networks should not be allowed: "*We have a judge that decides and passes judgement*." But, when people are self-reliant in accordance with the law, CPO 4 does not mind. For instance, when there is a burglary in the neighborhood and residents witness it, they should call the police and use the WhatsApp group. According to CPO 4 other residents should see this message and get out of their house. They should observe the burglar, record the license plate of the car and wait for the police. "*Not more. And when you, as a neighborhood, understand that well, then you are the lucky one.*" According to CPO 4, self-reliance has increased significantly since WhatsApp groups have emerged. CPO 4 thinks that that is a good thing, as long as people just watch and do not take sticks or bats with them.

7.4 Trust

In this paragraph, the amount of trust CPO´s experience from residents is measured. Also, questions were asked about repressive action of CPO´s in neighborhoods. It will be interesting to see if both have changed since WhatsApp groups are established. In this case, no differences are found between the two categories of CPO's. Also, no differences are found within the two categories of CPO's. CPO's did not experience an increase in the amount of trust they felt from residents. They generally do feel more involvement from residents and feel that they communicate on the same level as residents. CPO's feel more easily reachable and more transparent compared to the situation before WhatsApp. None of the

CPO´s use their WhatsApp groups for repressive action or direct contact with residents. CPO 1 adds that he thinks that contact through WhatsApp would be not personal enough. CPO 2 explains that he rather uses Twitter for personal contact.

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the results of the third sub question: *Can changes be observed in the contact between the residents and the Community police officer, regarding*

    a. *Autonomy*
    b. *24/7 availability*
    c. *Self-reliance of residents*
    d. *Trust*

Conclusions will be drawn corresponding to the tensions that were described in paragraph 2.4.

      WhatsApp groups do not cause an increase of pressures and demands from residents on the work of CPO's. There are no differences in how easy demands from residents are refused by CPO's, trough WhatsApp or through other forms of communication. CPO's indicate that they still feel as free to perform the tasks they want to perform during their workday. No differences between the two categories of CPO's are observed.

      WhatsApp does not put more pressure on the balance between work and private life of CPO's. CPO's feel that the WhatsApp groups have an influence on their private life, but they do not see this effect as negative. They see it as part of their job and a consequence of being committed to the neighborhood. Differences can be observed between the two categories of CPO's, since one of the police officers from 'category direct' does not take his WhatsApp phone home. Hence, avoiding messages outside working hours.

      Two forms of self-reliance are observed by CPO's. The first form is the one where minor problems between residents are solved without police intervention. All CPO's have the opinion that small disturbances in neighborhoods, for instance a radio on high volume, can be handled by residents. However, only three of the CPO's think that this form of self-reliance increased since the WhatsApp groups. One of the CPO's of 'category intermediary' did not give a proper answer on a possible effect of WhatsApp on this form of self-reliance. The second form of self-reliance is of the crime-observing and crime-preventing kind. In this case, a resident calls in a crime through the police emergency number and places a message in the WhatsApp group. The other residents of the neighborhood only observe the criminal, try to remember what he looks like and wait for the police to arrive. With regard to this point, no differences can be observed between the two categories of CPO's. In both categories, only one of the CPO's talks about this form of self-reliance. These CPO's do think this form of self-reliance has increased since the establishment of WhatsApp groups.

      Both categories of CPO's do not experience an increase in trust from residents since WhatsApp. They do feel more involvement from residents. CPO's also feel that they communicate on the same level as residents. CPO´s feel more easily reachable and more transparent, compared to the situation before WhatsApp groups. None of the CPO's use WhatsApp for private messages to residents or repressive action. Hence, no connection between repressive action and trust can be made.

8 Results sub question 4 – Opinions of residents

This chapter discusses the results regarding the fourth sub question: *What do residents think of their Community police officer and WhatsApp neighborhood prevention group?* Residents were asked for their opinion about their WhatsApp group, opinions about their CPO and trust in their CPO. Residents were also asked how their self-reliance is influenced by the WhatsApp groups.

8.1 Opinions of residents

In the interviews, residents were asked how they feel about their WhatsApp neighborhood prevention groups. Remarkably, very little negative feedback was provided. All residents were positive about the effects of WhatsApp groups on the subjective safety, the amount of cohesion in the neighborhood and the cooperation with the police. Unnecessary messages were the only reported disadvantage. A phenomenon where messages were sent in the WhatsApp group that did not have any relationship with the safety of the neighborhood. For instance, smileys, happy new year's wishes or other irrelevant messages were sent. Unnecessary messages are reported in almost every interview with residents. This concept will be elucidated further in the next chapter.

Residents were also asked about how they feel about the quality of the policework of their CPO. All interviewed residents feel heard and have not felt ignored by the CPO´s. CPO´s solve the reported problems by the residents and the general satisfaction of the residents is high. This is remarkable, since three of the four officers explain that they sometimes ignore reports or refuse requests from residents. There are small signs that indicate that positive feelings of residents have increased since the WhatsApp groups. Four of the eight residents actually had contact with their CPO before WhatsApp. From these four residents, two were more satisfied about the way their CPO performs his work. The other two residents did not see any significant changes and were not more satisfied than before.

Most of the residents explain that their amount of contact with the CPO´s has increased since the WhatsApp groups. When asked, none of the residents of the community know the working hours of their CPO. Residents have the opinion that they should be able to use their WhatsApp group whenever they want, without having to take into account the working hours of their CPO. Most residents do have the opinion that it is understandable if their CPO does not respond to messages in the WhatsApp group in the evening and night. In those moments of the day, they know they have the possibility to contact the police through the emergency number. In direct personal contact (through for instance phonecalls) the working hours of the CPO are considered. Residents indicate that they rather wait to contact their CPO personally during the day. Except for one respondent who explains that he thinks that a police officer is a police officer 24/7, thus can be contacted at any moment.

Five of the eight respondents elucidate that they recognize themselves in the idea of being self-reliant. These residents have brought the idea of self-reliance into practice. For example by turning to their neighbors when they have loud music on or going to a house where an alarm starts to sound. These residents also have the idea that self-reliance has increased since WhatsApp groups were established in the neighborhood. A reason for this is that WhatsApp causes 'people know each other and turn to each other easier'. The other three respondents do not have experience with any problems in the neighborhood. As a consequence, they did not have the choice of dealing with these problems themselves or turning to the police.

From the data that was provided by the residents, it can be observed that all residents trust their CPO. Half of the respondents found that their amount of trust in their CPO increased since WhatsApp groups were established in their neighborhood. This might have a relationship with the increased contact between CPO´s and residents of the community. The increased trust might also relate to the more local and more personal contact that is established by the police through WhatsApp. As already explained in the theory section of this thesis, a personal way of taking action by the police increases the amount of trust in the police by the citizens. This public trust in police can again enhance the effectiveness and legitimacy of police actions (Goldsmith, 2005). Causing a further increase in public trust in police. Thus WhatsApp, through its personal approach, might be of help in closing a circle. The circle of increasing resident's trust in police, then enhancing the effectiveness and legitimacy of police actions, and again increasing resident's trust. It is interesting to find out that the CPO's do not experience an increase of the amount of trust from residents since WhatsApp. However, this increase is present.

8.2 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the results regarding the fourth sub question of this master thesis: *What do residents think of their Community police officer and WhatsApp neighborhood prevention group?* All residents are satisfied about the way their WhatsApp groups function. Although reports by residents through WhatsApp are sometimes ignored by CPO's, all residents are satisfied about the work of their CPO. Half of the residents did not have contact with their CPO before WhatsApp groups were established. From the four who did, two were more satisfied about the CPO's work compared to the situation before WhatsApp groups. Although all respondents explain that they trust their CPO, half of the residents explain that they trust their CPO more since the WhatsApp groups. Residents understand it when their CPO's do not respond to their WhatsApp message outside working hours. But residents also do not feel limited in using their WhatsApp group whenever they want. When their CPO does not respond, he does not respond. Five of the eight respondents elucidate that they recognize themselves in the idea of being self-reliant in solving small neighborhood problems or disagreements. These residents brought the idea of self-reliance into practice and have the idea that self-reliance has increased since WhatsApp groups are used in their neighborhood.

9. Results sub question 5 – Consequences of WhatsApp on neighborhoods

This chapter presents the results of sub question 5: *What are the consequences of WhatsApp neighborhood prevention groups on the neighborhood?* Just like WhatsApp groups have an effect on police work and the contact between CPO´s and his residents, WhatsApp groups also have an effect on the neighborhoods. In this chapter, the effects of these groups on the neighborhood level will be discussed.

9.1 Decrease of burglaries

One of the first effects of WhatsApp groups can be best regarded as a possible effect. It is interesting to see that in the neighborhoods that started with a WhatsApp group, burglaries decreased drastically. Some residents declared that burglaries were completely absent since WhatsApp groups were established in the neighborhood. This was later contradicted by other residents, meaning that no clear results were found. Thus, only a decrease of burglaries can be found with certainty. Of course, there might be third variables in play here. This decrease might be caused by simple coincidence, or might be caused by the preventive signs that are hanging in the neighborhoods. Other causes are also possible.

9.2 Increase of ties between residents

A second effect of WhatsApp groups that can be seen in the neighborhoods, is an increase of the tightness of relationships between residents. Also, the willingness of residents to participate in the neighborhood increased. Something that CPO´s 3 and 4 describe as an increase of social cohesion in the neighborhood. Residents seem to be bonding with each other and address each other more easily regarding certain behavior. According to CPO 4: "*When you do this* (talking about establishing a WhatsApp group – RV)*, people start connecting with each other, causing commitment in the neighborhoods. That means that people in an individualistic society, start looking for each other: 'Alright, I will watch this for you.' And when you do that, that means you keep your own street clean.*" CPO 3 adds that WhatsApp groups help the community in the interaction between residents: "*It works in 2 ways. It also works very well for the cohesion in a neighborhood, it has a social function. Neighbors that without WhatsApp, would possibly not be in contact with each other. Now they establish it, what is nice is that now they also have the WhatsApp signs, so you see that people are getting something out of it. They establish something, and they are getting something, it is a reward. Second, you see that people address each other easier. Saying 'hello', but also solve small annoyances with each other.*" CPO 3 likes that about WhatsApp.

Because of WhatsApp groups, residents feel connected to their neighborhood and feel responsible for the safety and livability. And according to CPO 4, residents have the key in protecting these aspects: "*They are capable of more than we* (the police – RV) *think.*" And: "*Ok, you now come into our neighborhood, in our street, close to our children, I want you to stop here. We do not accept this, I get my phone. So we all get out of our houses and watch you and say: This is not going to happen.*

I am not going to harm you, but when you drive out of the neighborhood, everybody will wave you goodbye."

According to the literature, social cohesion "is a state of affairs concerning both the vertical and the horizontal interactions among members of society as characterized by a set of attitudes and norms that includes trust, a sense of belonging and the willingness to participate and help, as well as their behavioral manifestations" (Chan, To & Chan, 2006, p. 290). Hence, connecting the term 'increase of social cohesion' to the observed phenomenon can be seen as justified. Of course, the fact that CPO´s 3 and 4 explain that social cohesion in 'their' neighborhood has increased because of WhatsApp groups, is not based on extensive research. The statement is only based on their own observation. What can be considered as interesting, is that this effect is also recognized by three of the eight residents.

In the neighborhood of CPO 3, the initiative has come up to combine a WhatsApp neighborhood prevention group with a Facebook page. On this page, reports that are not urgent safety messages can be posted. So, when a party is hosted in the neighborhood, this is reported to the other residents in the neighborhood. Besides an increase in social ties, this causes understanding, decreases annoyance and decreases reports to the police regarding noise pollution.

9.3 Increase or decrease of subjective safety?

CPO 3 explains that he has the idea that the amount of subjective safety (the feeling of being safe) has increased since the establishment of WhatsApp groups. Or as CPO 3 hears from residents: "*We can sleep well again.*" There might also be an opposite effect: before WhatsApp groups, residents did not know that a suspicious car was parked there on the corner. With the WhatsApp groups, residents know about every suspicious situation that is present in the neighborhood. That might make people nervous and restless again. CPO 3 does not know exactly what exact effect the WhatsApp groups produce. Of course, it does not have to be just one of the two effects. One can imagine that some residents feel safer because of the WhatsApp groups, while others just encounter the opposite effect. After the interview with CPO 3, it was decided to ask the residents if their feeling of safety had increased or decreased. From the 5 residents that were interviewed since, 4 felt safer now they knew that the neighborhood was watched by other residents through the WhatsApp groups. One did not feel safer or less safe.

One can ask if the positive consequences of WhatsApp groups also apply to residents who live in the same neighborhood, but are not part of the WhatsApp group. It can be assumed that these non-members partly benefit of the existence of WhatsApp neighborhood prevention groups. Of course, they do not get an image of what goes on in the neighborhood, because they are not part of the WhatsApp group. This means that they do not have the possibility to take preventive measures when, for instance, the number of burglaries increases. But these non-members can benefit of the increase of subjective safety. They might sleep better, knowing that the neighborhood is watched, and suspicious situations are reported in the WhatsApp group by WhatsApp-members. The non-members also do not experience the effect of becoming nervous and restless by having knowledge about crimes and suspicious situations the neighborhood. Since they are not part of the WhatsApp group, possible unpleasant information like that does not reach them. Following this argumentation, it looks like one might choose wisely when not-becoming a member of a WhatsApp group. Other people watch the neighborhood for you, report suspicious situations for you and keep the neighborhood safe. It sounds perfect. But it does not work like that. An approach like that only works when enough other residents

do choose to become a member of the WhatsApp group. When everybody chooses the approach of being a non-member, no one watches the neighborhood and no advantages are created. Also, most residents find it pleasant to be a member of the WhatsApp neighborhood prevention groups, since it

- Gives a good overview of what goes on in the neighborhood
- Gives residents the idea that they work together with residents on keeping the neighborhood safe.
- Gives you the possibility to take preventive measures and react to developments in the neighborhood
- Gives you the possibility to enjoy the increased social cohesion in the neighborhood.

So, non-members might enjoy some of the benefits of the WhatsApp neighborhood prevention group, but never get the full package of what WhatsApp groups can provide. Becoming a member still is the best idea to benefit from everything a WhatsApp group can bring.

9.4 WhatsApp neighborhood prevention group as a community itself?

It is interesting to find out that every CPO, except for CPO 2, has experience with unnecessary messages. And what is even more interesting, is that CPO's start talking about this phenomenon without any encouragement from the interviewer. Unnecessary messages can be very annoying and interfering. The idea is that when a message comes in through the WhatsApp neighborhood prevention group, there is really something urgent going on. Or as CPO 1 explains: "*Make sure you have a separate ringtone on the WhatsApp group, put a siren on it, but when the siren goes, something really has to be going on. It should not be a 'haha', a smiley or a thumbs up.*" What often happens when a WhatsApp group is established, is that residents send irrelevant pictures. These pictures are mostly meant to be funny. Sometimes a simple ´thumbs-up´ is given when some problem is handled successfully, or when people understand a message in the WhatsApp group. During New Year's eve, one of the groups of CPO 3 started to wish other participants a happy new year. CPO 1 elucidates: "*Some people want to put a message on when the cat of the neighbor is missing. You really have to watch out for that*." According to CPO 1, 3 and 4 and the residents, these messages can be seen as unnecessary, distracting and even damaging. Because of messages like these, people leave the WhatsApp group.

The solution for this problem is to set up a list of rules, and follow up on these rules. What can be seen in the neighborhood prevention groups, is that the CPO decides on the rules, and that the rules are enforced by the administrator of the WhatsApp group. This is confirmed in the interviews with the citizens. In every group, except the one from CPO 2, there was a 'violator' of these rules. Somebody who sent messages that were not suitable in the WhatsApp group. The administrators had to correct these violators. At first, through a personal message with the regulations and a warning attached. When the violator does not correct his behavior, he will be removed from the group. Or as one resident mentions: "*Stop this, or we will throw you out.*" This might seem drastic, but groups prefer to lose one member that violates the rules, compared to losing multiple members who are annoyed by the unnecessary messages. Only one of the administrators of the WhatsApp groups does not see it as her task to correct people's behavior. According to her: "*I do not think that is my job because people in the group correct each other's behavior.*" "*People correct each other.*" All other administrators that have come across these messages do think it is their job to talk to the 'violators' of the group rules. What is interesting, is that through this correcting mechanism, the WhatsApp group becomes a self-correcting community, where the majority corrects the rule-breaking minority. When one compares

this to real life, the WhatsApp neighborhood prevention group might be seen a miniature society itself, where perpetrators are corrected by others and everybody has conform to the norms.

9.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the results regarding the fifth sub question of this master thesis: *What are the consequences of WhatsApp neighborhood prevention groups on the neighborhood?* A decrease of burglaries has been experienced in the neighborhoods. Of course, third variables might be responsible for this effect. Without extra research, the decrease of burglaries cannot be attributed to WhatsApp alone. A second effect of WhatsApp groups is an increase of the tightness of relationships between residents and the willingness of residents to participate in the neighborhood. Something that CPO's 3 and 4 describe as an increase of social cohesion in the neighborhood. This effect is only noticed and elucidated by CPO's from 'category direct'. Thus, a difference between the two categories of CPO's can be observed regarding this point. As a third effect, the subjective safety (the feeling of being safe) has increased. One of the CPO's from 'category direct' imagines a possible opposite effect: before WhatsApp groups, people did not know that a suspicious car was parked there on the corner. With the WhatsApp group, they know about every suspicious situation that is present in the neighborhood. That might make people nervous and restless again. This opposite effect has not been observed in this study, neither has it been reported by other CPO's. WhatsApp groups have developed a self-correcting mechanism, where violators of the group rules are corrected by the administrator or other members of the group. This is done without the help of the CPO. Rule-breaking usually consists of sending unnecessary messages that have no connection to neighborhood safety.

10. Results sub question 6 – Explaining the results

This chapter aims to present the results of the sixth sub question: *How can the results be explained?* The phenomena that have been encountered in this research will be clarified with the help of Lipsky's theory on street-level bureaucrats. This theory has already been presented in paragraph 2.5 of this master thesis.

Some elements of Lipsky's street-level bureaucracy theory were recognized in the interviews with CPO's. First of all, the CPO's in this study really are the embodiment of the concept street-level bureaucrats. CPO's have contact with citizens, and autonomy. What can be learned from the interviews with CPO's is the fact that 'time' is a resource that is scarce in community police work. CPO 3 describes for instance that he only has 2,5 days per week for his neighborhood. The other days are filled with other tasks that are not neighborhood related. Although CPO's experience high workloads and a shortage of time, Lipsky's ideas regarding worker alienation and psychological withdrawal were not observed. All CPO's were involved, committed and concerned regarding their neighborhoods. The development of routines and coping mechanisms to make their jobs less demanding did present itself. From the explanations of the CPO's follows that WhatsApp groups are one of the mechanisms that make their job less demanding, since it increases the resource 'time in the neighborhood'. Although CPO's are still not able to meet all demands from citizens, the increase of the resource 'time' might give CPO's the possibility to extend services to the public and increase the response to demands of citizens. However, services were still rationed in some cases. Reasons for this were not so much time-related but, for instance, had to do with stimulating self-reliance among citizens. Examples of differentiation among recipients were also found: Take for example the explanation of CPO 3, who receives reports regarding child molesters every half year, with another description regarding appearance and driven vehicle every time. Or residents of CPO 1, who see ghosts everywhere. These are examples of reports that are ignored in both categories of CPO's. In this case, CPO's prefer other reports that have a higher chance of being solved or are closer to the truth.

It is interesting to find out that both CPO's and residents have positive experiences with their WhatsApp groups. Since the contact between police and residents through WhatsApp is fairly new, some challenges and problems were expected. Instead, WhatsApp groups can be seen as 'policing with a distance to the neighborhood', while it also brings police and citizens closer together at the same time. In the opinion of the researcher, this interesting contrast is the strength of WhatsApp groups. As mentioned before, CPO's get less time to spend in their neighborhood. WhatsApp groups give CPO's the possibility to still have an image of what goes on in the neighborhood, even when they are not physically present in the neighborhood. There still is a physical distance between the CPO and the resident. However, because of WhatsApp, residents and CPO's do not experience this distance since CPO's are always reachable and informed. With WhatsApp, CPO's and residents are always close, without always being close in proximity.

Although not reported by the CPO's in this research, WhatsApp groups might be responsible for increasing the distance between CPO's and their superiors in the organization. WhatsApp groups stimulate the for mentioned shift towards the citizens, giving CPO's a better picture of what happens in their neighborhood. CPO's receive this information from the citizens, information that is not possessed by their direct superior. 'Category direct' already elucidates that WhatsApp is already part of their policework and increases the quality of their policework. It might also make them less dependent on information that comes down from the hierarchical ladder, and their direct supervisor.

In this study, it is observed that none of the CPO's seem to experience their WhatsApp group to cause an increased workload. Following Lipsky's cycle of mediocrity, the better a program suits the needs of citizens, the greater the demand will be. Since residents are very positive about their WhatsApp groups, and since it suits citizens' needs for increased safety in their neighborhood, one would expect a high demand. Thus, causing a higher workload for CPO's. However, this effect was not present. Some explanations might be given here. Neighborhoods might be safe to such a degree, that not much reports in WhatsApp groups are needed. Another explanation might be that the workload of CPO's has increased, but they might not experience it themselves. As Lipsky already explained, people who enter public employment often are committed to serve the community. What can be seen from the interviews is that this commitment of CPO's goes a long way. CPO do not mind to get WhatsApp messages in the evening, outside their working hours. Thus, their workload might have increased, but it is not experienced by CPO's. A third explanation might be that face-to-face contact and calls through the emergency control room are more urgent and demanding to CPO's. This was seen in the interviews: CPO's respond to information that reaches them through their colleagues, but three of the four CPO's tend to sometimes ignore messages that come in through WhatsApp groups. The fourth, and best fitting explanation is already explained above. WhatsApp can simply be seen as a very good coping device that helps CPO's cope with the challenges of their jobs. WhatsApp helps CPO's to cope with their limited amount of time in the neighborhood and helps them to be informed about the neighborhood, even when they are not physically present. The physical distance between CPO's and residents is not experienced anymore, since WhatsApp brings both closer together. Thus, WhatsApp makes the policework of CPO's less demanding.

11. Conclusion

This thesis aims to answer the following research question: *What impact does a WhatsApp neighborhood prevention group have on neighborhood policing and how can this be explained?* In order to do so, four CPO´s and eight residents were interviewed about their experiences with their WhatsApp neighborhood prevention groups. CPO's were divided into two categories. 'Category intermediary' consists of CPO 1 and 2, using an intermediary between them and their WhatsApp group. CPO 3 and 4 together form 'category direct', since they directly participate in their WhatsApp neighborhood prevention group. This distinction between the two categories will be maintained below. To make answering the main research question easier, the question was divided into six sub question. Each sub question and the corresponding answer will be discussed below.

As sub question 1, the following question was asked: *Do WhatsApp neighborhood prevention groups lead to Community police officers receiving more information or different information?* In comparing information from WhatsApp groups and traditional sources, no differences in the amount and sort of information are found. Information that comes from WhatsApp groups is not necessarily new of different, but the way the information is provided is different.

As sub question 2, the following questions was posed: *Do changes in information flows affect the way the Community police officer performs his job?* Although information from WhatsApp is not different from information from traditional sources, WhatsApp groups do affect the police work of CPO's in a positive way. WhatsApp groups have more influence on CPO's of 'category direct'. CPO's that participate directly in their WhatsApp groups see WhatsApp as a device for improving their job. In this category, WhatsApp is also regarded as an integrated part of policework. The CPO's from 'category intermediary' do not have these experiences. With regard to the following two points, no differences between the two categories of CPO's were observed: the majority of CPO's think that WhatsApp groups made their work easier to perform. In contrast to their response to info from traditional sources, the majority CPO's indicate that they do not always respond to information from WhatsApp groups.

CPO's were asked about four tensions that might be present in their contact with the residents. This was done with the help of sub question 3: *Can changes be observed in the contact between the residents and the Community police officer, regarding autonomy, 24/7 availability, self-reliance of residents and trust.* WhatsApp groups do not cause an increased amount of pressure and demands from residents on the work of CPO's. CPO's still feel as free to perform the tasks they want to do during their day of work. Messages from residents through WhatsApp are just as easily refused as messages from residents that come in through other ways. WhatsApp groups do not put more pressure on the balance between the work and private life of the CPO. WhatsApp groups do have an influence on the private life of CPO's, but CPO's see it as a part of their job, not as a negative aspect.

CPO's observe two forms of self-reliance among residents. The first form of self-reliance is about residents solving minor problems in a neighborhood without the police. The second form of self-reliance is of the crime-observing and crime-preventing kind. In this case, residents call in crimes through the emergency number and the WhatsApp neighborhood prevention group. After that, they get out of their house to observe the perpetrator. There are indications that both forms of self-reliance increased under the influence of WhatsApp groups. WhatsApp groups do not cause CPO's to experience an increase in the amount of trust from residents. Since none of the CPO's use private messages for repressive action, no connection between trust and repressive action can be made.

With sub question 4, residents were asked about their experiences with their CPO's and their WhatsApp groups: *What do residents think of their Community police officer and WhatsApp neighborhood prevention group?* All residents feel satisfied about their WhatsApp groups. All residents are satisfied about the work of their CPO and trust their CPO. A small increase of satisfaction and trust was observed since the establishment of WhatsApp groups. Residents understand it when their CPO does not respond to their WhatsApp message outside his working hours. Residents do not experience this as a problem, and do not feel limited in using their WhatsApp group whenever they want. The majority of residents recognize themselves in the idea of being self-reliant and also have brought the idea of self-reliance into practice. These residents have the idea that self-reliance has increased since WhatsApp groups are used in their neighborhood.

The fifth sub question is about the effects of WhatsApp groups on the neighborhoods: *What are the consequences of WhatsApp neighborhood prevention groups on the neighborhood?* There are indications that WhatsApp groups played a role in the decrease of burglaries in neighborhoods. As a second effect, WhatsApp groups caused an increase of the social cohesion in the neighborhood. Since this second effect is only noticed by CPO's from 'category direct', a difference between the two categories of CPO's can be observed. As a third effect, there are indications that the subjective safety (the feeling of being safe) has increased since WhatsApp groups are used.

With the help of sub question 6, an explanation for the effects of WhatsApp neighborhood prevention groups is offered: *How can the results be explained?* WhatsApp groups can be used as a mechanism that makes the jobs of CPO´s less demanding. WhatsApp can increase the amount of time CPO's can spend on their neighborhood and on solving residents' problems. However, rationing of services and differentiation among recipients were still observed. WhatsApp groups might decrease dependence of CPO's on their direct supervisors because WhatsApp information comes directly from residents and is only possessed by CPO's.

What can be taken from the results is that WhatsApp groups do not have a big impact on policework on neighborhood level. The impact of WhatsApp on policework that was observed is characterized as a positive impact. The positive impact is strongest on the CPO's that directly participate in their WhatsApp group. CPO's from 'category direct' read all messages that are provided by residents. Because the information is not filtered by an intermediary, they have the best image of what goes on in their neighborhood. For instance, they manage to observe an increase in social cohesion in their neighborhood. CPO´s from ´category direct´ have a more positive outlook on what WhatsApp groups can bring to their police work, compared to the CPO's that have an intermediary. CPO's from 'category direct' see WhatsApp as an integrated part of their policework. They also see it as a device that improves their policework.

The positive consequences of WhatsApp on policework are explained by the idea that WhatsApp causes an increase in the resource ´time in the neighborhood´. Therefore, WhatsApp neighborhood prevention groups can be seen as a mechanism that makes policing in a neighborhood less demanding for CPO´s. Both CPO's and residents are satisfied with their WhatsApp groups. This is caused by the idea that WhatsApp helps CPO's and residents to overcome the physical distance between them. With WhatsApp, CPO's and residents are close without always being close in proximity.

12. Discussion

In this chapter, the results of this research will be discussed. Limitations of this research and recommendations for future research will also be provided.

12.1 Discussing the results

In this master thesis, four CPO's and eight residents of the corresponding neighborhoods were interviewed. The interviews were guided by two separate questionnaires, one for CPO´s and one for residents. What can be taken from these interviews is that WhatsApp groups do not have a big impact on neighborhood policing. The effects that were found are smaller than expected. Because WhatsApp can be seen as a new device in the daily routine of the police, and some problems in communication with residents might need to be solved, a lot of problems for CPO's were anticipated. It was expected that residents would place a big claim on CPO's, now that CPO's are more easily reachable through WhatsApp and residents become more assertive. However, big problems during the start-up were not encountered. With the exception of unnecessary messages in the WhatsApp groups, no problems in communication between CPO's and residents were experienced. Also, no excessive pressures on CPO's were observed, making WhatsApp groups a device that is very much appreciated by both CPO´s and residents.

As explained in the concluding part of this thesis, the consequences of WhatsApp on policework that were observed, are characterized as 'positive'. The positive differences are strongest on the CPO's that directly participate in their WhatsApp group. Following these results, some important recommendations can be made. As a first recommendation: If a CPO choses to establish a WhatsApp group, or asked to be involved in one, it is recommended for the CPO to join the group directly. This approach gives CPO´s an idea of what goes on in the neighborhood exactly. It also gives CPO´s the possibility to read everything that is posted in a WhatsApp group, without the information going through the filter of an intermediary. Working with an intermediary has the positive effect of not having to scroll through a high amount of messages. But this approach has more disadvantages, compared to directly joining a WhatsApp group as CPO.

On neighborhood level, some effects are observed. WhatsApp groups have a positive effect on the amount of self-reliance, social cohesion, number of burglaries and subjective safety in a neighborhood. The reported unnecessary messages might only be seen as a small disadvantage. Following these results, the effects of WhatsApp groups on neighborhoods can be characterized as positive. Therefore as a second recommendation, it is recommended for neighborhoods to start a WhatsApp neighborhood prevention group. It is not guaranteed that the positive effects will be present in every neighborhood that will start with a WhatsApp group from now on. But since negative effects are nearly absent, it does not hurt to try. It is important to understand that one reservation has to be made regarding this recommendation. When conducting this research, it was observed that a good relationship and working-together ethos between the police and residents are important. It can be imagined that these positive results cannot be reached in every neighborhood. In neighborhoods where the relationship between the police and residents is in a very bad shape, or where the police is not trusted by residents, it is not known if WhatsApp can restore the relations between both.

While interviewing CPO´s, some interesting information was given by CPO´s. Information that has to be discussed more thoroughly and cannot go unmentioned. CPO´s explain that they sometimes

do not respond to messages in their WhatsApp group. Take for instance CPO 3 who receives information about child luring, with every time another description of the man who performs this act. Or CPO 1 who explains that some residents see ghosts everywhere. In WhatsApp groups, information is kept for months, if not longer. Members of the group can read back to the reported information for this period. CPO´s have the possibility to ignore messages, since the discretion in their daily work allows them to make choices on what info to respond to. However, having discretion might cause problems in for mentioned cases. When a CPO chooses not to respond to reported information, and the incident escalates, problems for the CPO arise. Consider the following hypothetical situation: A child is taken from a playground nearby, and the description of the suspect matches the description that was reported in the WhatsApp group. In this case, the incident could have been prevented when the CPO had a better response to the information on the child molester that was provided in the WhatsApp group. As a result, dissatisfaction might arise within the community. Since the information in the WhatsApp group can be consulted for a long time, every resident can point their CPO on his mistakes. It is important to understand that the researcher does not doubt the experience and skills of CPO's. They know what on information to respond and what information to ignore. But the for mentioned scenario shows that it is very important to consider the provided information through WhatsApp groups very carefully. Mistakes can be made and situations can escalate quickly.

12.2 Limitations of this research

The researcher notes that, when he would perform this research again, some changes in the research design will be made. First of all, the selection of respondents cannot be seen as random. Snowball sampling is used as a way of selecting respondents. As already explained in paragraph 3.5, snowball sampling has some implications for this research, since it leads to a bias in respondent selection. This bias leads to the fact that the results of this research are not representative for all other CPO´s and WhatsApp neighborhood prevention groups. What the reader has to take into account, is that the generalizability of this research is low, caused by the low amount of respondents. The researcher would take measures to increase representativeness of the results. For instance, by increasing sample size and by selecting respondents randomly.

Following the qualitative nature of this research, the researcher would limit the amount of questions of the questionnaire. This way, it is possible to let respondents talk more freely, instead of the respondents being guided by the questions. Looking back, the standardized or structured way of interviewing that was meant to be used, was not completely structured after all. During the interview, some questions were not asked anymore if a respondent already provided that answer in the answer to another question. Some questions also turned out to function as memory cues. When a question was answered by a respondent, the respondent would sometimes mention info that did not relate to the question, but might be useful anyway. Some CPO´s did not answer questions directly but started describing specific situations they encountered in their daily jobs. This way, asking a question led to receiving other information than only the information that was asked for. Since this research is characterized as exploring and explaining, all information about WhatsApp groups was useful in this research. Concluding, it is interesting to see how a structured or standardized questionnaire turned out to be semi-structured after all.

A third change that could be made the next time this research is performed, is not getting the contact details of the residents from CPO's. Then, CPO´s do not know which residents participate in

the research, causing the residents to speak more freely. This way, they do not have to hide negative experiences with their CPO from the researcher, because it might damage the relationship with their CPO. Since residents might have hid negative experiences from the researcher because of this reason, one might consider the possibility that the reality of WhatsApp groups is less positive than described in this thesis.

Despite the limitations, this research can be seen as an extension of the existing knowledge on WhatsApp, and WhatsApp neighborhood prevention groups. This research paper might therefor be useful to municipalities and the police organizations, who might like to know the consequences of establishing WhatsApp groups in a neighborhood.

12.3 Recommendations for future research

Following the outcomes of this master thesis, some recommendations for future research can be provided. This research consists mostly of experiences and opinions of people. It would be interesting to see a new research proposal with a more quantitative approach. For instance a study that focuses more on the impact of WhatsApp groups on variables like the number of burglaries. Another recommendation might be to repeat the current study design on a bigger scale. This way, conclusions can be drawn in a more representative manner. Also, better conclusions can be drawn on the subjective safety that residents experience and the self-reliance of residents.

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Appendix A

Interview with community police officer

The following questions will be asked in the interviews with CPO´s. Of course, they will be asked in the Dutch language, since the interviewed CPO´s are Dutch residents. The questions will be arranged on the basis of the sub questions.

Wat does the WhatsApp group in your neighborhood look like?
- How many citizens are a member of the group?
- Are you a member of the group?

Questions belonging to sub question 1:
- What sources of information do you use during your work? (bijv. briefing, info uit meldkamer)
- What kind of information do these sources provide to you?
- Do you get the same information or different information through WhatsApp?
    o What makes WhatsApp info different from info from traditional sources?
    o Do you get the same amount of information through WhatsApp as through traditional sources?
    o Would you miss some information if you did not have the possession over WhatsApp neighborhood prevention groups?
- Does WhatsApp provide you with nice-to-know or need-to-know information?

Questions belonging to sub question 2:
- Do you respond differently to WhatsApp info, compared to info from traditional sources? (for instance through a briefing)
- Compared to info from traditional sources, is WhatsApp info just as useful/valuable?
- Compared to info from traditional sources, is WhatsApp info just as concrete and easy to use?
- Would you rather use WhatsApp or would you rather use info from traditional sources? Or do they complete each other?
- Do you feel just as obligated to take action on WhatsApp info, compared to info from traditional sources?
- Does WhatsApp makes it easier to do your job?
    o In what way?
- Has WhatsApp become a mode of policing?
    o For what kind of tasks do you use WhatsApp?
    o Does WhatsApp improve your way of policing? If yes, in what way?

Questions belonging to sub question 3A/3B → Autonomy :
- Compared to a situation before WhatsApp, do citizens demand (eisen) more from you?
    o How do you respond to this?
- Compared to a situation before WhatsApp, do you feel more pressure from citizens on your policework?
- Do you sometimes feel that you cannot satisfy everybody?
    o Has this become more, because of WhatsApp?

- Compared to a situation before WhatsApp, do you still feel as free to do the jobs you want to do?
- Compared to a situation before WhatsApp, do you experience difficulties spending time on other things than following up on WhatsApp reports?
- Is it just as easy to refuse requests through WhatsApp, compared to regular requests from citizens?
  - How do citizens respond to your refusal?

Questions belonging to sub question 3C → 24/7 availability
- Is the contact through WhatsApp single-directional or bi-directional? (so do citizens only contact you or do you also contact them back?)
  - Is this different from contact through traditional ways?
- Compared to a situation before WhatsApp, do citizens contact you easier, now that WhatsApp is used in your neighborhood?
- Compared to a situation before WhatsApp, do citizens contact you more, now that WhatsApp is used in your neighborhood?
- Compared to a situation before WhatsApp, does the use of WhatsApp influence you work/private life balance?
- Do you get messages from WhatsApp neighborhood prevention groups outside your normal working hours?
  - If you get those messages outside working hours, how do you deal with it?
  - If you dealt with it, how do citizens respond to it?
- Does WhatsApp makes it easier for you to contact citizens in your neighborhood?
  - Can you name some situations where you used WhatsApp as communication- or feedback mechanism?
- Did WhatsApp make you come in contact with citizens you did not meet before?

Questions belonging to sub question 3A and 3D → Self-reliance of residents/autonomy
- Do you believe in self-reliance of residents, a situation where citizens solve their problems themselves, instead of calling the police?
  - What kind of neighborhood problems should be solved by the citizens, instead of the police?
- Has self-reliance increased or decreased since WhatsApp is used in your neighborhood?
- Do you think that self-reliance in a neighborhood is stimulated/not stimulated by WhatsApp?

- Do you feel like you are working together with the citizens in your neighborhood?
  - Has this collaboration increased or decreased since WhatsApp is used in your neighborhood?
- Do you always follow up on WhatsApp reports of citizens or do you sometimes tell citizens to solve problems themselves?
  - How do you make it clear to citizens that they should solve their problem themselves?
  - How do citizens respond to the fact that you won't respond to their report?

Questions belonging to sub question 3E → trust
- Compared to the situation before WhatsApp, do citizens treat you differently?

- o   Was this because of the use of WhatsApp?
- Compared to the situation before WhatsApp, do you feel more/less/same amount of trust by citizens?
  - o   What differences in trust do you experience?
  - o   Why do you think this difference came into existence?

Questions belonging to sub question 3F → repressive action
- Do you use WhatsApp for the use of repressive action?
  - o   Does WhatsApp makes it easier to perform repressive action?
  - o   In what way is repressive action easier through the use of WhatsApp?
- Compared to the situation before WhatsApp, do you feel different about using repressive action?
- Compared to the situation before WhatsApp, do citizens behave differently towards you if you perform repressive action?

General questions
- What else changed since WhatsApp neighborhood prevention groups are used in your neighborhoods?
- What did I miss, or what did I not ask?

Appendix B

Interview with residents

The following questions will be asked in the interviews with citizens. Of course, they will be asked in the Dutch language, since the interviewed citizens are Dutch residents. The questions will be arranged on the basis of the sub questions.

Wat does the WhatsApp group in your neighborhood look like?
- How many citizens are a member of the group?
- Is the community police officer a member of the group?

Questions belonging to sub question 3B and 3E→ Complying to citizens demands and being trusted
- Did you ever report any problems or situations THROUGH WHATSAPP to your community police officer?
  - o How did he respond?
  - o If yes, did your community police ever officer told you to handle the problem yourself?
  - o How did you react?
- If you contact your community police officer, does he always answer?
- If you contact your community police officer, does he solve your reported problems?
- Do you sometimes feel ignored by your community police officer?
  - o How do you respond to him when this happens?
- Is there a change regarding these points since WhatsApp neighborhood prevention groups are used in your neighborhood?

- Do your trust your community police officer?
  - o Has your trust become more/less/same amount since WhatsApp is used in your neighborhood?
- Compared to the situation before WhatsApp, do you have more contact with your community police officer?
  - o Is this because of WhatsApp?
- Do you have face-to-face contact with your community police officer?
  - o Has this become more/less/same amount since WhatsApp is used in your neighborhood?
- Do you think that your community police officer does his work well?
  - o Has this become more/less/same amount since WhatsApp is used in your neighborhood?
- Did you observe changes in his policework, since WhatsApp is used in your neighborhood?
- Do you feel like you are working together with the police in your neighborhood?
  - o Has this collaboration increased or decreased since WhatsApp is used in your neighborhood?

Questions belonging to sub question 3C → keeping sufficient distance to residents
- Do you know what the working hours of your community police officer are?

- Do you think it is alright to contact your community police officer THROUGH WHATSAPP outside working hours?
- Since WhatsApp is used in your neighborhood, do you think you can contact the community police officer AT ANY TIME?
    o Has this changed since WhatsApp is used in your neighborhood?

Questions belonging to sub question 3D → Self-reliance of residents
- Do you sometimes solve problems in the neighborhood yourself, without or with little help of the police?
    o Wat kind of problems did you recently solve yourself?
    o Has this become more or less since you use a WhatsApp neighborhood prevention group?
- What kind of self-reliant initiatives are there in your neighborhood?
    o Did those become easier to perform since WhatsApp is used in your neighborhood?
- Does your community police officer stimulate you to solve problems yourself?
    o Do you feel more or less stimulated now that WhatsApp is used in your neighborhood?
- Would you easier/quicker contact your community police officer now that it is possible THROUGH WHATSAPP?

General questions:
- What else changed since WhatsApp neighborhood prevention groups are used in your neighborhoods?
- What did I miss, or what did I not ask?

Appendix C

Table 2. Overview of conducted interviews with Community police officers and corresponding residents

Interview	Date	City of interview	Location of interview
Community police officer 1	July 3, 2017	Enschede	Police headquarters
Resident 1	July 7, 2017	Enschede	Home
Resident 2	July 17, 2017	Enschede	Home
Community police officer 2	July 3, 2017	Enschede	Police headquarters
Resident 3	July 11, 2017	Enschede	Home
Community police officer 3	July 13, 2017	Hengelo	Neighborhood center
Resident 4	July 17, 2017	Hengelo	Outside on a bench
Resident 5	July 17, 2017	Hengelo	Outside on a bench
Resident 6	July 26, 2017	Hengelo	Home
Community police officer 4	July 17, 2017	Hengelo	Police headquarters
Resident 7	August 15, 2017	Almelo	Home
Resident 8	August 23, 2017	Hengelo	Work

Table 3. Chronological overview of conducted interviews with Community police officers and residents*

Date	Interview	City of Interview	Location of interview
July 3, 2017	**Community police officer 1**	Enschede	Police headquarters
July 3, 2017	**Community police officer 2**	Enschede	Police headquarters
July 7, 2017	Resident 1	Enschede	Home
July 11, 2017	Resident 3	Enschede	Home
July 13, 2017	**Community police officer 3**	Hengelo	Neighborhood center
July 17, 2017	**Community police officer 4**	Hengelo	Police headquarters
July 17, 2017	Resident 2	Enschede	Home
July 17, 2017	Resident 4	Hengelo	Outside on a bench
July 17, 2017	Resident 5	Hengelo	Outside on a bench
July 26, 2017	Resident 6	Hengelo	Home
August 15, 2017	Resident 7	Almelo	Home
August 23, 2017	Resident 8	Hengelo	Work

* The number that is assigned to residents is in line with their connection to a community police officer and does not have a connection to the chronological order of interviewing.