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Social media and crime prevention:

*The effects of social media use within co-production of
 safety projects in Dutch neighbourhoods*

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Abstract

Over the past years the amount of civic involvement within the public sphere has grown immensely within the Netherlands, signifying the shift from a welfare to a participation society. This thesis studies the context of public safety, in which Dutch citizens have become increasingly involved over the past years. This development can largely be explained by the increasing use of social media within Dutch society and co-production. In the past decade the amount of co-production of safety projects, that deploy social media in their efforts, has risen enormously all over the Netherlands. Yet, only little is known how the stakeholders of co-production of safety experience and value this development. This thesis aims to contribute to the field of knowledge about social media use within co-production of safety projects. Studying the advantages, disadvantages and possibilities of this development can provide insight on how stakeholders of this field can, or should deal with this development. A literature review was conducted to establish an understanding on how social media can impact co-production of safety according to the theory. The primary data of this study is derived from interviews conducted with stakeholders (e.g. police, neighbourhood watch groups) of co-production of safety projects in the Netherlands. Based on the analysis of the data from the conducted interviews, the conclusion can be made that the impact social media can have on co-production of safety projects can be rather significant. The results show that social media can make it easier for citizens to be active and effective in the domain of public safety. Surprisingly, it can also have a positive effect on social cohesion within a neighbourhood. Yet, the results also show that clear guidance and rules are needed, to prevent that social media based co-production of safety projects negatively influence the neighbourhoods in which they are active.

Keywords: Social media, Co-production of safety, Public safety, Civic engagement, Digitalisation, Community policing, Neighbourhood watch

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1 Introduction

1.1 Background & Problem definition

During the king's speech of 2013, Willem-Alexander addressed the Dutch people, the goal of this speech was to discuss pressing matters of Dutch society. Issues like the economic crisis, state debts, employment opportunities, and entrepreneurship were discussed. During this speech a new concept was introduced to the Dutch people, the term '*participation society*'. This term was introduced by the Dutch king in the following way:

'It is unmistakable that our network- and information society makes people more assertive and independent. This, together with the urgency of the growing state deficits, leads to the change where the classical welfare state is slowly transforming into a participation society. Where everyone, who is able, is asked to take his or her responsibility in his or her own life and environment' (Rijksoverheid, 2013, n.p).

It seemed that this speech did not fall on deaf ears, in the past years the amount of civic involvement within the public sphere has grown immensely in the Netherlands (van Eijk, 2018). Citizens are taking responsibility for steering and participating in projects, services, and activities, at the level of neighbourhoods, villages or cities. Because of this process, civic parties are increasingly involved in public processes that were in the past deemed as sole responsibility of the state (Rauws, 2016; van der Land, 2014).

It thus seems that the traditional, government-centric, model, with little citizen input, becomes increasingly something of the past in the Netherlands (van Eijk, 2017; Meijer, 2012). Civil parties are increasing '*co-producing*' public services alongside governmental actors. The term '*co-production*' was a term originally coined by Ostrom (1978). It entails the cooperation between state and civic actors in the production of public services (Meijer, 2012).

One of the domains of Dutch society in which citizens have become increasingly active is the domain of public safety and social security (Lub, 2017). This domain will also be the focus of this thesis. The governmental mind-set that civic parties should be involved in the domain of public safety is older than the king's speech of 2013. The Dutch police departments were already striving to include civilians in making public spaces safer for more than a decade. The coalition agreement of the Dutch government in 2007, represents a start of this increasing shift towards an integration of safety activities between citizens and the police (Pridmore et al., 2019). This agreement entailed that civilians were encouraged by local police to be involved in keeping neighbourhoods safe. These measures were taken to make crime prevention more effective within public areas, and through this increase public safety (Berevoets, 2014).

Dutch state officials are thus increasingly advocating the cooperation between the state and civic actors (van Eijk, 2018). This makes it that, while crime control used to be carried out by the police alone in the Netherlands, now, this responsibility becomes more dispersed among formal authorities as well as civic and private actors, leading to '*co-production of safety*' (van der Land, 2014). The first civic initiatives that could fit the term co-production of safety in the Netherlands date back to the 1980's, and were physical in nature, and patrol-focused (Lub, 2017). However, during the end of the 20th century and the start of the 21st, these kind of initiatives were only organised on a small scale (Lub, 2017).

Over the past years civic involvement in public safety has risen enormously, a development that can be explained by the introduction of social media in this sphere (Pridmore et al., 2019). It has only been

recently that mobile phone-based neighbourhood crime prevention messaging groups have emerged, in ways that both supplement and supplant the classic patrol-focused neighbourhood groups (Pridmore et al., 2019). These type of civic initiatives have risen enormously over the past few years. For example, in more than 7250 neighbourhoods in Belgium and the Netherlands so called WhatsApp neighbourhood watches are present, which are far greater in numbers than their patrol-focused neighbourhood crime prevention counterparts (Pridmore et al., 2019). This development illustrates that through the rise of availability and use of social media, civic crime prevention becomes more accessible and popular (Pridmore et al., 2019). It seems that there is almost no stop to the growth of civic crime prevention initiatives in the Netherlands. For instance, in 2014 the Dutch province of Drenthe only counted 8 WhatsApp crime prevention groups, and in 2019 this count has risen to 248 (Bransma, 2019). These developments confirm the statement made by Tim et al. (2017, p. 178): '*Social media is fundamentally changing the way we communicate, collaborate, consume and create, they are giving rise to new forms of behaviours, activities, and engagement that are yet to be explored.*' Digital crime prevention might be one of the most successful of cooperative policing occurring at the local level, at least when judging by its exponential growth (Mols & Pridmore, 2019). However, what are the effects of this development, what does social media based co-production of safety, for example, mean for the safety of Dutch neighbourhoods?

The existing literature on this subject gives mixed results on the effects of the use social media in the coproduction of safety practices. On the one hand, it can lower the threshold for people to join in co-production practices (Pridmore et al., 2019), however, it can also lead to an increase of prejudice and racial profiling (Lub, 2016). As Tim et al. (2017) indicate, the emergence of social media can indeed be a valuable asset in public participation. Yet, there is still seems to be a lot of ambiguity on how social media best can be used within the co-production of safety (Tim et al., 2017; Lub, 2016). Despite its growing popularity, there is still no clear view among state officials on how to create a regulative framework around the use of social media in the collaborative protection of public spaces (van Eijk, 2018). For most state officials co-production of safety, with or without social media, is a theoretical ideal, rather than a method that is stooled on practical knowledge (Gill et al., 2014). Despite the lack of research and knowledge, governmental actors are stimulating citizens to be involved in the co-production of safety processes (Berevoets, 2014). This raises questions: is this support of governmental parties justifiable, and is social media indeed the right way forward for co-production of safety in the Netherlands?

It is vital to gain more insight on how social media impacts the practices around the co-production of safety in the Netherlands (van der Land, 2014). While the popularity of digital co-production practices is growing, it remains questionable to what extent the use of social media has a positive impact on the practices around the co-production of safety, and in what contexts it can be deployed effectively (Vos, 2018; Gill et al., 2014).

1.2 Research questions

The objective of this research is to see what the effects of social media use within co-production of safety projects within the Netherlands are.

To achieve this objective the following primary research questions will be answered:

Main research question: *What are the effects of social media use within co-production of safety projects in neighbourhoods of the Netherlands?*

Secondary research questions

1. *What does co-production of safety entail for the different parties involved, and how can it manifest itself on the neighbourhood level?*
2. *How can co-production of safety impact the challenges, components, and factors of neighbourhood safety?*
3. *What are, according to the theory, the drivers, advantages, and disadvantages of social media use in co-production of safety?*
4. *How do governmental and civic actors perceive and value the use of social media in co-production of safety on the neighbourhood level in the Netherlands?*
5. *What is the role of online crime prevention on neighbourhood interaction within neighbourhoods in the Netherlands?*
6. *How does the use of social media impact the cooperation and relation between public and civic parties in the coproduction of safety in the Netherlands?*

1.3 Societal relevance

As has already become clear in the background and problem definition of this research, co-production of safety has become a hot item within the Netherlands. An increasing amount of citizens are taking on their responsibility, trying to make their local neighbourhoods a more safe and liveable place (van der Land, 2014). According to Pridmore et al. (2019), the upswing of civic action within the public domain can be explained by the rise of social media use. The emerging use of social media is establishing new opportunities for citizens around the world to participate and contribute their knowledge power in solving important public issues, like public safety (Tim et al, 2017). However, there is still a lack of understanding how the use of social media impacts the practices of co-production of safety.

While governmental actors are promoting citizens to engage in digital forms of co-production of safety, there still remains a void of understanding on this development (van der Land, 2014). At the same time a research of Berevoets et al. (2016) has shown that local governments lack the right knowledge to appropriately cooperate with newly formed civic initiatives in the domain of public safety. Lack of knowledge on how to appropriately use social media within the co-production of safety, can give rise to situations that can harm local communities (van der Land, 2014). Findings within this research can add to the understanding on how the use of social media impacts co-production of safety. In this way both civic and governmental actors can gain insight on how to appropriately deploy social media within co-production of safety practices, and increase the safety of neighbourhoods.

1.4 Scientific relevance

The use of social media within practices of co-production is a relatively new phenomenon, therefore there has not yet been a lot of research on this topic (Scheurs et al., 2018). Most literature of neighbourhood watch groups is focused on the physical presence of patrolling, or individuals observing their neighbourhood (Pridmore et al., 2019). Additionally, there are very few studies which have examined police programs involving local communities (Gill et al., 2014). There thus seems to be a knowledge gap on how social media can impact co-production of safety in practice (Lub, 2016; Tim et al., 2017). Because of this, there only seems to be a theoretical ideal about digital forms of co-production of safety, and not practical understanding (Gill et al., 2014).

This study will make an examination on how social media impacts co-production of safety within the context of the Netherlands. This can lead to a better understanding of co-production of safety facilitated by social media. This thesis will focus on the means by which communication technology, like social media, facilitates and changes the policing of neighbourhoods. This can lead to new insights on how social media can be used optimally in the domain of co-production of safety.

1.5 Readers guide

This research is divided into six chapters. This introduction being the first chapter. In the second chapter the theoretical framework will discuss the concepts and theories central to this thesis. Chapter three elaborates on the mythology of this research, while chapter four will state its findings. Drawing on these results, chapter five and six cover the conclusion and reflection of this thesis.

2. Theoretical framework

The goal of this theoretical framework is to establish a theoretical overview on the impact social media has and can impact co-production of safety in the Netherlands. The following sub-chapters will discuss concepts and themes that stand central in the connection between social media and co-production of safety. This analysis will be based on a wide variety scientific literature on this subject. Additionally, policy documents will be used to understand the Dutch context of co-production of safety (*see Appendix A*). This theoretical framework will be concluded with a conceptual model in which central theories and concepts discussed within this theoretical framework will be visually connected.

2.1 Co-production

2.1.1 The origin and fuzzy meaning of co-production

As already noted in the introduction of this thesis, the term of ‘*co-production*’ was originally coined by in a paper by Ostrom (Meijer 2012). Ostrom (1978) introduced this term in a paper written on civic engagement within policing practices in the United States. In her research she noted that local communities were increasingly involved within law enforcement services. In this way citizens were ‘*co-producing*’ the services that were formerly deemed the sole responsibility of the state. In this way public safety became a shared responsibility of both police and citizens (Ostrom, 1978).

While the interest in co-production grew over time, within both scholarly and practitioner work, confusion about the term remains to this day. This confusion comes forward from conceptual, definitional, and empiric issues. This ambiguity has led scholars and practitioners to use the term ‘*co-production*’ in a wide variety of ways (Nabatchi et al., 2015).

When the term ‘*co-production*’ was introduced it involved two sets of actors: the so called ‘*regular producers*’, like governments and professionals, and ‘*citizen producers*’: civic actors who participate voluntarily in the production of public services (Nabatchi et al., 2015). In this understanding, citizens are enabled to directly and actively contribute to public service delivery process (van Eijk, 2018). However, over time, scholars have expanded the amount of actors and the constitution of their relationship, leading to a broader understanding of the term ‘*co-production*’. Because of this development, the understanding of co-production has shifted over time and has become more fuzzy (Nabatchi et al., 2015). Today, co-production can be understood as the input of third parties who are interested in the creation, execution, and enforcement of governmental policies. This input leads to the creation of shared services (van Dijk et al., 2015). Co-production is often based on voluntary actions, and can be practiced in different phases of delivery process, the planning, designing and the implementation of public services (van Eijk, 2018). This understanding does not only include citizens as third party producers, but broadens the spectrum of co-production to a wider range of co-producers next to the government, such as private companies and associations.

2.1.2 The implementation of co-production in public policies

Civic engagement and community involvement was nothing new when Ostrom (1978) introduced the term of co-production. In this period community involvement was even seen as an American tradition (Chavis & Wandersman, 2002). This signifies that civic involvement within public service delivery process already gained a foothold within the USA for some time. In the decades after the work of Ostrom (1978), the practice of co-producing also became a hot issue in a broader geographical context outside the USA. Both in academics and practice co-production became increasingly popular. Strong conceptual papers about co-production were published over the past 40 years (Meijer, 2012) and, later on, governments all over the western world became increasingly eager to incorporate co-production within local policymaking (van der Land, 2014).

Yet, for a long time in the 20th century western states, including the Netherlands, were welfare states, where state officials looked reluctantly at involving citizens in public service delivery practices (Meijer, 2012). This conception relegated citizens into a secondary consumer type role (Rosentraub & Harlow, 1983). Yet, over time this system proved to have limits. A public sector who treats citizens as customers misses the dimension of citizen participation, while participation proves to be at the heart of the most successful organisational models (Meijer, 2012).

During the first decade of the 21st century the mind-set that citizens could play a viable role in public delivery practices became increasingly accepted among state officials (van Eijk, 2018). Within numerous western countries, including the Netherlands, co-production became a viable alternative to pure governmental or market delivery (Nabatchi et al., 2017, van Eijk, 2018). The reasons identified by Nabatchi et al. (2017) for this shift are threefold. Firstly, governments realised that governance became increasingly multi-sectorial in nature, meaning that relations between private, public, and non-governmental actors became increasingly complex. Secondly the global financial crisis of 2007 and 2008 hit the funds of the states, because of this state-funds were depleting. In this light of fiscal constraints citizens taking over tasks of the government became an interesting option. Thirdly, the diminishing role of citizens within their communities made it that practitioners and scholars looked for new ways to reinvigorate the role of citizens within their local communities (Nabatchi et al., 2017).

Yet, this change in vision did not go without problems. Because of this tumbling position of the welfare state around the turn of the century, citizens grew increasingly uncertain about how they should live their lives. It became increasingly unclear for citizens which institutions should counter their social problems (van der Land, 2014). Also for the governmental side things changed within the Netherlands. Government was increasingly transitioning into governance, meaning that the state was increasingly collaborating with rather than steering citizens. In such a structure, government and citizens participate together in various networks. This also meant that citizens were expected to take more responsibility for their life and actively contribute to society (Franjkic, 2018). This empowerment of citizens to take responsibility in contributing to society was within the Netherlands implemented in the so called '*responsibilization strategies*', plans that were set up to activate citizens to execute tasks within various public service delivery process (van der Land, 2014). The Dutch state justified these developments by claiming that the involvement of citizens will make public institutions more responsive to the needs and demands of citizens (Gaventa and Barret, 2012), that it could strengthen decision-making arrangements (Gaventa and Barret, 2012), and that it would lay a foundation for a positive relationship between government and citizens (Glaser & Denhard, 2010). However, if these policies would turn out successful remained to be seen. In many societies, citizens were unaware of their rights, were lacking knowledge to engage, or did not see themselves as persons with agency and power to act in the public sphere (Gaventa & Barret, 2012).

2.2 Co-production of safety

In the past two decades the domain of public safety, formerly the sole responsibly of police, became a field in which citizens became increasingly active (van Steden et al., 2011). Within various states in the western world, including the Netherlands, projects and initiatives were set up where the state and citizens worked together on issues like crime prevention (Lub, 2017). This form of co-production will stand central in this thesis. In further paragraphs this manifestation of civic action will be related to the developments around the use of social media, however first an outline will be made on what co-production of safety means, and what it entails for its stakeholders.

The assistance of citizens in policing practices can be seen as '*co-production of safety*'. In this form of co-production citizens and the state are working together in keeping local communities and streets safe from criminal activities (Meijer, 2012). Civic involvement within crime prevention can be seen as anti-crime measures that citizens take individually or collectively to increase the safety within their neighbourhood. These measures can take various forms. According to Franjkic (2018), the most common ways in which citizens are active in the domain of public safety are: neighbourhood surveillance, detection of suspicious behaviour, persons and circumstances, taking care of public space, mediation of local conflicts, promoting the contact between neighbours or between the police and neighbours, and sharing information and influencing the police. Through the cooperation of citizens and the police, citizens can aid in local law enforcement efforts (Akkermans & Volaard, 2015). Because of the involvement of neighbourhood communities there is less chance that problems will escape the attention of the police, and solutions to local problems can be developed easier (Grinc, 1994).

The practice of co-production of safety is closely connected to the growing relevancy of community policing within states of the western world (Gill et al., 2014). Community policing is a philosophy of policing that sees community involvement as a vital part of crime prevention. Proponents of this philosophy see it as a process through which relationships between citizens and the police can be improved, and where the local expertise of citizens can be capitalized by police in order to understand social issues that create crime, disorder, and fear (Gill et al., 2014). The more traditional forms of policing relied on responsive control, where the police are the only responsible actor for fighting crime. In the more recent philosophy of community policing there is an increased focus on cooperation between the police and the community (Scheurs et al., 2018). This cooperation does, according to a study of Gill et al. (2014), not directly lead to a decrease in crime-rate, but it can increase the citizens' trust in the policing apparatus.

2.2.1 Co-production of safety and neighbourhood safety

One of the main drivers for citizens to join co-production of safety projects is to improve the safety of their local neighbourhoods and communities (Franjkic, 2018). Living in a safe environment is a basic need, therefore it is not surprising that citizens engage in safety issues in co-production of safety projects (van Eijk et al., 2018). This raises the question, what factors influence neighbourhood safety?

Safety can be divided into two sub-categories: subjective and objective safety. Objective safety is measured by measurable crime statistics, like the amount of burglaries. In this frame of safety, less criminal offences mean a safer neighbourhood (Boers et al., 2008). Subjective safety is about the feeling people have within their environment. Subjective safety is influenced by emotional elements; the feelings of people stand central in this form of safety. Feelings of unsafety are largely connected to feelings of fear. High senses of fear often originate from a high sense of vulnerability (Killias, 1990), previous victimhood of a criminal act (Wilcox Rountree, 1998), and indirect experiences of crime such as reading a social media post on local criminal acts (Pemberton, 2012).

Situational factors also influence the subjective safety of people. Unfamiliarity can, for example, have a negative impact on subjective feelings of unsafety (Warr, 1990). Additionally, a physical design of a neighbourhood for example that blocks the view of an individual can also negatively impact the feelings of safety (Warr, 1990). The visual presence of other individuals within a neighbourhood can both negatively and positively impact the subjective feelings of safety. This depends on the '*type*' of person that is visible, a visible neighbour, or someone that an individual knows can increase the sense of safety, while an unknown person can decrease the feelings of safety (Warr, 1990).

Thus, when studying the effect co-production of safety projects have on safety, both the subjective and objective derivative of safety have to be taken into account. The extent to which neighbourhood crime prevention initiatives are/can be successful in safeguarding their neighbourhoods will be discussed further on in this chapter.

2.2.2 Drivers of co-production of safety

The driving forces of co-production of safety can both originate from the state officials, such as the police and the municipality, as well as citizens. Among these different parties the motivations to work together in crime prevention can differ (Wisler & Onwudiwe, 2008).

Police departments can simply not have the resources to be constantly present within certain communities (Scheurs et al., 2018). Police can also lack local knowledge on local issues, incorporating citizens to provide an extra information and extra sets of eyes and ears, can therefore be a valuable addition for local police. For instance, if someone is missing, the police can include local citizens in the search for that persons, which can significantly increase the odds of finding this missing person (Scheurs et al., 2018). Because of these reasons many police departments are encouraging citizens to join projects which aid the local police (Scheurs et al., 2018; Wisler & Onwudiwe, 2008).

Civic involvement within the policing apparatus can also be initiated by citizens themselves (Wisler & Onwudiwe, 2008). According to Franjkic (2018), community engagement for citizens is a multi-level model, where decisions are both influenced by the individual (e.g. the usefulness of certain behaviour), social (e.g. the relationship one has with neighbours), and institutional (e.g. trust in local police force) level. For the case of co-production of safety, this for instance means that citizens are more likely to join a co-production of safety programme when they perceive that they have a high chance to be a victim of crime (Lavrakas & Herz, 1982; Scheurs et al, 2020). Yet, also other individual drivers can be identified, ranging from a genuine public concern and aiming to make a useful contribution to the neighbourhood or society in general, to simple enjoyment of, or a need for, social contact with neighbours (van der Land, 2013).

Furthermore, the degree to which citizens feel willing to participate in co-production of safety projects set up by the state depends on the relation they have with state institutions. People are more willing to take responsibility for their own safety when they believe they can have a fair and empowering relationship with state institutions (in this case the police) (Scheurs et al., 2020). Previous research has shown that the trust citizens have in the police is based on the degree to which police share their priorities, behave dependably, act competently and treat citizens with respect. If this trust is thus lacking citizens can be less inclined to collaborate with the police (Haas et al., 2014).

According to Berevoets et al. (2016), a lot of co-production of safety initiatives start because civilians find the public policing services that are present lacking, and therefore want to fill up this void. Many citizen watch groups are for instance legitimized by the claim that local police lack capacity and effectiveness, or do not give sufficient priority to local safety issues (van der Land, 2013). However, while in the Netherlands this mind-set is also present, this has not led to crime prevention initiatives where citizens completely try to take crime prevention into their own hands completely, there always remains a degree of contact and cooperation between state authorities and citizens (Berevoets et al., 2016). This underlines that in states like the Netherlands, with a high service delivery capacity, the police has a non-negotiable state monopoly on certain issues like violence. This means that citizens have very limited options in facing crime related situations alone and head on (Wisler & Onwudiwe, 2008).

2.2.3 The manifestation of co-production of safety in the Netherlands

Within countries such as the Netherlands, co-production is increasingly acknowledged by state officials and police departments as a vital part of crime prevention (Scheurs et al., 2018). The Dutch coalition agreement of 2007 highlighted this, by stating that safety is not only a task for police and the judicial system; citizens, companies, and organisations are all jointly responsible. This agreement represents the start of an increasing shift towards an integration of citizens and police within safety policies (Pridmore et al., 2019). But how does this development impact the role citizens and the state play within crime prevention?

While citizens are thus increasingly involved in local crime prevention projects, this does not mean that citizens can act on the same level as police. Larson (2017) makes clear that in many states the duty of the citizen is simply to anticipate and expect an approaching threat, never to actively engage with or stop it. The mere task citizens are given is just to contact the authorities. This task indeed marks the boundary between the citizen, and the sovereign state. So, while policing in most western states is increasingly claimed to be a shared effort, the state itself retains in most cases the final power to exercise top-down force if needed (Larsson, 2017). This division limits the power of citizens in crime prevention, but there are still options for citizens to be engaged in police practices.

Within the first set up crime prevention projects within the Netherlands, most citizens organised themselves in neighbourhood watch teams (Lub, 2017; Akkermans & Vollaard, 2015). These teams are groups of residents who, in varying degrees of autonomy and cooperation with police and state, carry out activities to bolster the public safety in their local neighbourhoods. These groups physically patrol local streets to prevent and deal with public nuisance, and/or improve local feelings of safety. Initially, neighbourhood watches were more or less autonomous in their actions. Nowadays, many of these groups have a broader spectrum which is partly facilitated by the police or local government (van der Land, 2014). Yet, these forms of co-production of safety are not that popular, only a small portion of the Dutch population joins so called '*neighbourhood watch teams*' or '*citizen watch teams*' (Scheurs et al., 2018)

The success of physical citizen involvement in crime prevention can be deemed as questionable. According to van der Land (2013), most Dutch citizens are commonly not aware what they should and should not do in terms of monitoring their neighbourhood, in order to be a responsible citizen in the eyes of the state. This indicates that there is an apparent lack of cooperation between citizens and state officials in the process of co-production of safety. According to van Eijk (2018), there is an inadequacy of national policies and regulations with regards to the organization of citizen watch groups, because of this there is a lack of clarity on how the collaboration and the policing can best be organized. Additionally, a research of Gill et al. (2014) on the effectiveness of community policing within the USA showed that there is a lot of ambiguity among police officers on how to cooperate with citizens, this has led to different tactics and results. This suggests that it is not always clear cut to the police how to involve and deal with citizens in this cooperative way of crime prevention.

However, in the past years a new form of citizen watch has become dominant within the public sphere of the Netherlands. Through the technical and digital advancement of society and the rise of social media, digital forms of co-production of safety have become increasingly popular within the public sphere among both state officials and citizens (Berevoets et al., 2016; Pridmore et al., 2019; Meijer, 2012). The next paragraphs will discuss how this development has come to be, and what the consequences of this shift are.

2.3 Rising impact of social media on society

Social media are sociotechnical infrastructure, which enable and foster sets of practices, and influence how individuals can communicate with one another (Mosconi et al., 2017; van Dijk et al., 2015). Social media is not just there to overcome geographical distance, for it is mostly used among people who are in close proximity to one another (Mosconi et al., 2017). Social media is generally used to interact among friends, family and other close acquaintances who often live in the same region, and therefore see each other on a more or less regular basis (Mosconi et al., 2017). In short, social media is technology with a global reach to serve local ends. According to van Dijk et al. (2015), technological advancement and digitalisation opens up new options for social media. The recent trends around increasing internet access for mobile phones enables users of social media to be online whenever they please (Kuss et al., 2018). On top of that, the general expectation is that social media will be used in all layers of society in a short period of time (van Dijk et al., 2015). Social media is fundamentally changing the way that people all over the world communicate, collaborate, consume and create, this gives rise to new forms of behaviour, activities and engagement (Tim et al., 2017).

2.3.1 Social media as platform of citizen-state engagement

Over a short period of time social media has become a medium that is used across all layers of society, through which it also became an option for governments and citizens to engage with one another (Kleinhans et al., 2015; van Dijk et al., 2015). This rise in use and possibilities has also impacted the relation between government and citizens. In this time of almost ubiquitous internet accessibility (in countries like the Netherlands), an increasing attention is given to legitimate citizen engagement on social media platforms (Kleinhans et al., 2015). Because of the impact social media seems to have on society, citizens and state officials see social media as a potential medium for co-production in different fields of society (Meijer, 2012).

According to Kleinhans et al. (2015), citizens are keener on using social media tools to engage with state officials than through the use of conventional methods. Social media has, because of this, the potential to improve the interactions between citizens and public authorities. Additionally, social media is, generally speaking, more accessible from smartphones than desktops, for most people have 24/7 access to smartphones. This accessibility gives online participation a major advantage over physical or other forms of citizen participation, for it removes the barrier of access by even allowing participation ‘*on the go*’ (Kleinhans et al., 2015).

The question is: can, and should, social media fully replace physical interaction between the state and citizens? When local governments use social media to interact with local citizens, this done from the mind-set that it can solve problems around, representation, citizen engagement, and networking with the public (Kleinhans et al., 2015). While turning to social media can indeed theoretically solve these problems, in reality its success remains to be seen. A study of van Dijk et al. (2015) indicates that social media as a mode of interaction between citizens and government is not for everyone. Elders, low-literate people, and migrant, are hardly reached by this method. Even if these groups use social media it is for personal uses, and not for governmental information exchange. On top of that, the study of van Dijk et al. (2015) does also indicate that 60% of the general Dutch population is a sceptical user of social media.

The developments of digitalisation also impact the governmental side of things. The increasing digitalisation of the participation society within the Netherlands asks public servants to adapt. What is important for state officials in the cooperation with civilians is the creation of a personal connection, which is vital for a good discourse around the many facets of civic participation (Berevoets et al., 2016). Yet, per public servant the affinity with digital tools and civil-state relationships differ (Berevoets et al.,

2016). Additionally, growing literature on communication through social networks suggest, that social media serves more as the platform for the preservation of already existing relation among offline contacts, rather than the activator of new connections (Antoci et al., 2014).

2.3.2 Social media as medium for co-production safety

The use of social media has also impacted the collaboration between citizens and the state on issues around the public safety of neighbourhoods. Within the Netherlands the rise of social media has also become a new facilitator for the co-production of safety (Meijer, 2012). Digital forms of co-production of safety are often manifested by mobile based groups of citizens, where neighbours are connected via social media chat applications. Within the Netherlands the most popular application is WhatsApp, yet other social media like Telegram and Nextdoor are also gaining popularity (Pridmore et al., 2019). Through the use of these social media neighbourhood communities can interact with one another in group chats. Within these chats neighbours can exchange warnings, concerns, and advice and information about neighbourhood safety. Within the process of surveillance citizens often use their phones to record events or people they see as suspicious (Pridmore et al., 2019; Mols & Pridmore, 2019). Today, almost all neighbourhood watch patrol teams in the Netherlands have largely been overtaken by these social media, mobile based, crime prevention groups (Pridmore et al., 2019). There are now for instance more than 9300 WhatsApp neighbourhood crime prevention teams present within the Netherlands, far greater numbers than their patrol-focused neighbourhood crime prevention counterparts ever had (Attentie WhatsApp Buurtpreventie, 2020).

There are multiple reasons for this development. Firstly, social media use has the ability to drastically reduce the costs of co-production of safety. Through the use of social media messaging applications (e.g. WhatsApp) citizens can be connected much easier, for these technologies create opportunities to interact 24/7 (Meijer, 2012). Secondly, the use of social media can reach a larger demographic than the physical forms of co-production of safety (Mols & Pridmore, 2019). The high accessibility to these social media makes it that almost everyone can join. Additionally, it requires far less time of the citizens to join digital than physical crime prevention teams (Berevoets et al., 2016; Kelly & Finlayson, 2015).

State officials and police are enthusiastic about the development of social media crime prevention (Berevoets, et al., 2016). For the government social media forms of co-production cost less effort for the police than physical forms, yet they provide the same outcome; more social control and the reduction of problems (Berevoets et al., 2016).

2.4 The effects of social media on practices of co-production of safety

Within the following paragraphs the effects of social media use within co-production of safety projects will be discussed. Through this it will become clear how social media can impact the behaviour, views, and communication of the actors that are involved in co-production of safety.

2.4.1 Social media and the reduction of crime

The effects of physical neighbourhood watches have attracted more attention of researchers than their digital counterparts (Scheurs et al., 2020). According to Bennet et al. (2006), physical neighbourhood watch can lead to crime prevention through various mechanism, including the increase of informal social control, increase of useful information from the public to the police, the generation of acceptable norms within the community, and visible surveillance can have a demotivating effect on potential offenders. Yet, the actual realisation of these mechanisms remain to be seen. Internationally, nearly half of the evaluated neighbourhood watch projects have been unsuccessful (Kelly & Finlayson, 2015).

The evaluations of digital and social media forms of co-production of safety have been limited (Scheurs et al., 2020). One of the first Dutch researches on this topic discusses effects of WhatsApp neighbourhood watch teams on burglaries within the Dutch municipality of Tilburg (Akkermans & Vollaard 2015). According to this study, the presence of a WhatsApp neighbourhood watch team can put off potential perpetrators. A condition for this is that the potential perpetrator knows that such a team is present (Akkermans & Vollaard 2015). To make this presence known, the municipality can place public signs within neighbourhoods signifying the presence of a WhatsApp neighbourhood watch (van Damme et al., 2018). The study of Akkermans and Vollaard (2015) also showed that, because of the WhatsApp project, people became more alert and involved in keeping their neighbourhood safe. It also made citizens more willing to report crimes they witnessed, because through partaking within WhatsApp initiative they were knowledgeable on how to deal with such a situation. These results, at least, indicate that the use of social media has indeed the potential to diminish crime rates and make neighbourhoods safer.

2.4.2 Social media and 'policing your own community'

Because of the digitalisation process of co-production of safety, citizens and police use social media to communicate, share information, and warn one another for suspicious or out of order situations. Through this process the police gain extra (digital) eyes and ears, within the public environment (Berevoets, 2014). However, this does raise questions, for example, when is something worth messaging within the digital environment of the digital neighbourhood watch, and what are the effect of citizens monitoring their own communities?

According to Larsson (2017), the ambiguity of some events can lead to pre-emptive action of citizens. When citizens are monitoring their streets for criminal behaviour, they look for activities they deem as '*out of place*' or '*out of the ordinary*' (Larsson, 2017). However, when can something be deemed as '*out of place*' or '*extraordinary*', and as such deemed as a threat to the community? According to van der Land (2013) and van Eijk (2018), there is a lack of clarity among citizens what a citizen should and should not do in terms of crime prevention. This ambiguity is created by a lack of cooperation, and a lack of national policies and regulations in regard to the organization of (digital) citizen watch groups (Mols & Pridmore, 2019). Because of this lack of clarity for both the police as citizens negative situations can occur. Without clear arrangements and training citizen watch teams often operate on intuition and instinct, which can further be motivated by excitement (Mols & Pridmore, 2019). These kinds of irresponsible action, where citizens act as would-be police officers without any form of training, can lead to harmful effects for the citizens themselves and the neighbourhood in which they operate (Pridmore et al., 2019).

Citizens within co-production of safety projects facilitated by social media can send one another messages to warn each other for suspicious situations (Pridmore et al., 2019). However, how trustworthy are these messages? According to van Dijk et al. (2015), messages on social media platforms that are posted by citizens often lack objectivity. On social media facts and opinions are often mixed with one another, statements are hardly backed with facts or logical reasoning. Additionally, the technology and social media of today make it very easy for people to send a message into the world. With messages send in seconds, social media are often impulsively used (Pridmore et al., 2019).

The general use of social media can bring forward large implications for one's privacy and that of another individual. Social media give people the ability to share data, in various forms, with the world (van der Shyff et al., 2020). Yet, posting content such as videos and picture online has the ability to blur the divide on what is private and public. Filming or photographing individuals is become increasingly

accepted, and a method often used by members of co-production of safety projects. However, send images can invade someone's privacy, if confidentiality and anonymity are not taken into account. (Lasén & Gómez-Cruz, 2009; Pridmore et al., 2019). As mentioned in the paragraph above, social media posts often lack objectivity (Pridmore et al., 2019). Taking this together, the combination of lacking objectivity and the ability to share visual footage on social media can have negative consequences for residents or visitors of a neighbourhood (Lasén & Gómez-Cruz, 2009; Pridmore et al., 2019). This implies that both public authorities and active civilians should be wary when it comes to civic crime prevention efforts based on video and photo recordings.

On top of that, the increasing normalisation of surveillance of one's neighbourhood can lead to increasing distrust towards strangers and suspicion amongst neighbours (Mols & Pridmore, 2019; Larsson, 2017). This increase of distrust of one's neighbours in combination with lack of objective quality of social media messages can lead to issues like racial profiling, the misinterpretation of situations, and false accusations. These situations can create an increasing hostile environment within neighbourhood communities, which can paradoxically lead to increasing feelings of unsafety (Mols & Pridmore, 2019).

The use of social media also results in the anonymity of its users. This anonymity creates an uneven balance between citizens who are member of digital crime prevention initiative and who are not. Most non-members are unaware of when and how they might be targeted by the digital surveillance of their neighbours, especially because they are not included in the social media conversation about the monitoring and their respective results. This dichotomy can further polarise existing differences within neighbourhood communities (Mols & Pridmore, 2019).

2.4.3 Regulating digital co-production of safety

State officials do not turn a blind eye to the issues that come forward through the use of social media within crime prevention projects. Numerous Dutch municipalities are pushing for more training and guidance for citizens who are involved in participatory policing practices (Berevoets et al., 2016; Mols & Pridmore, 2019). This has led to for example the SAAR guidelines, SAAR which stands in Dutch for Singlaren (signalling; be aware and notice suspicious situations) Alarmeren (Alert the police), App (Inform the civil WhatsApp network), and finally Reageren (react in a safe manner). These guidelines are an attempt to make normalise a way how social media should be deployed to fight criminality all across the country. The aim is that guidelines like this can stabilise and regulate the practices of civic groups who are involved in participatory policing practices (Mols & Pridmore, 2019).

Additionally, most social media groups for crime prevention have moderators. These moderators have the responsibility for gatekeeping and controlling these groups (Pridmore et al., 2019). The moderators are also often the ones who are in contact with community police officers and/or with other neighbourhood watch group moderators. It is often the responsibility of these moderators to be the middleman between police and the social crime prevention group (Pridmore et al., 2019; Mols & Pridmore, 2019; van Damme et al., 2018).

These moderators have, the task to regulate and moderate the messages that go back and forth within these social media groups (Mols & Pridmore, 2019). These moderators are citizens that have the ability to remove members when incidents occurs. Yet these processes related to group moderation can be seen to perpetuate an uneven power balance between the moderators and the members, leading to friction within the group, this can make it difficult for moderators to be strict in rectifying misjudgements, or misconduct of regular members (Mols & Pridmore, 2019).

2.4.4 The inclusivity/exclusivity of co-production of safety projects

One of the main issues of the traditional physical neighbourhood watch teams was that they consisted of people that did not represent the community they tried to protect. Most groups consisted of members that were mostly older, white, middle-class citizens (Kelly & Finlayson, 2015). Physical/direct confrontational forms of neighbourhood crime prevention require certain amounts of courage, preferably good health, and the available time to participate in such practices. Characteristics that not every citizens has. Proponents of social media use within these projects, see social media as the solution to this issue. According to their argumentation, smartphone applications and social media channels have the possibility to make participatory surveillance practices accessible to all citizens. The high accessibility to these media makes it that almost everyone can join, next to this it requires far less time of the citizens that join in comparison to physical crime prevention teams (Berevoets et al., 2016; Kelly & Finlayson, 2015). This lower threshold to communicate information for members of digital or hybrid (physical and digital) neighbourhood watch groups can than empower a larger group of citizen to join such groups (Mols & Pridmore, 2019).

However, according to van Dijk et al. (2015), the increase of social media within co-production will not enable every demographic in joining. Elderly, who are not using social media, and people who are low-literate in the native language (e.g. migrants), are for instance still not reached by the communication within these digital forms of co-production of safety. A study of Mols and Pridmore (2019) showed that most WhatsApp neighbourhood crime prevention groups in the Netherlands consist of people with a Dutch background. This shows that while the accessibility of social media forms of co-production of safety is higher than traditional ones, it does not immediately lead to a more culturally mixed member groups. Issues like these can further perpetuate problematic the discriminatory practices that can come forward from digital neighbourhood watch (Mols & Pridmore, 2019).

2.4.5 Interaction and cooperation between citizen and state

As the 'co' in co-production already implies, co-production of safety involves a relationship. This relationship entails the cooperation between police and state at the one hand and citizens at the other hand (Glaser & Denhardt, 2010). According to van Steden et al. (2011), government and police authorities should directly and actively be involved in citizen neighbourhood safety initiatives. A lack of involvement can put the pressure on the citizens that are active within these initiatives, for these citizens do not always have the skills and knowledge to deal with certain safety issues. Because of this, these citizens can become the scapegoats when problems remain or re-emerge, which can even decrease feelings of neighbourhood safety. The question is how does social media impact this cooperation?

Social media crime prevention groups have the ability to make the transmission of vital information from a witness to the police much easier (Nhan et al., 2017). The expectation is that because of the ICT developments the role of citizens will increase in the future in all areas of the police domain. These developments for example allow citizen to take pictures or make videos, which can help the police to solve a case (Franjkic, 2018; Larsson, 2017). Yet, it remains detrimental that the police stay in close contact to digital/social media crime prevention groups. What is clear is that citizens that are empowered by the information from social media groups can also lead to harmful effects, if acted up in an irresponsible way (Pridmore et al., 2019).

The use of social media to interact has the potential to make police work more efficient. According to police officers from the Dutch municipality of Ede, social media does enable more swift and efficient contact with citizens. When someone reports a criminal act the police does not have to meet this citizen directly, the witness can discuss the case digitally with the police. This process increase the time

efficiency, and because of that the chance to catch the potential perpetrator (Berevoets et al., 2016). However, the use of social media can also lead to an overabundance of ‘tips’ for the police, also containing non-objective and untruthful messages. Real cases already have shown that simply having more ‘eyes and ears’ does not necessarily translate in better and more effective police work (Nhan et al., 2017). So, on the one hand the cooperation between police and citizens through social media can improve the efficiency of police work, on the other hand it can also hamper the work of this same police (van Dijk et al., 2015).

Additionally, the police also has to be careful on the relationship it has with local communities. Through the social media citizens can keep an eye on their neighbourhood with much greater ease, this will make that the police themselves also can be watched through which it will become increasingly under scrutiny in terms of engagement and response (Pridmore et al., 2019).

2.4.6 Influence of commercial parties

Because of the growing popularity of digital forms of civic participation, the impact of technological and commercial companies in neighbourhood crime prevention is growing. Consequently, governmental actors are losing control on some parts of crime control (van Dijk et al., 2015). Nowadays, digital crime prevention initiatives are facilitated by a wide spectrum of social media applications. Citizens use already existing social media like WhatsApp. The commercial interest in digital forms of co-production of safety has also led to the development of new social media applications, especially made for digital crime prevention initiatives (van Damme et al., 2018). This has for instance led to the development of *veilgeburt.nl* (Safe neighbourhood), an application for smartphones that is especially developed to enable users to easily contact fellow users in case of nuisance of criminal activities in the neighbourhood (*Veilgeburt.nl*, 2020).

The issue with digital messaging applications is that they are most of the time not monitored or owned by government institutions. Instead, they are owned by commercial third parties (e.g. Facebook). Most conversations that play out on these digital fora are to a large extent invisible and uncontrollable to governmental institutions (Mols & Pridmore, 2019). This lack of control can make it hard for governmental institutions to create policies that organize the cooperation between state and citizen using these digital forms of communication, for on this form of co-production of safety the government is a player on the platform of others (van Dijk et al., 2015).

These commercial parties also have taken an interest in digital forms of neighbourhood crime prevention, such as WhatsApp neighbourhood watch, and emerged collecting and selling data on these forms of civic engagement. This commercial involvement and interest can thus also lead to unwanted commercial surveillance, this can be sensitive if personal details are involved (Pridmore et al., 2019).

2.5 Conceptual model

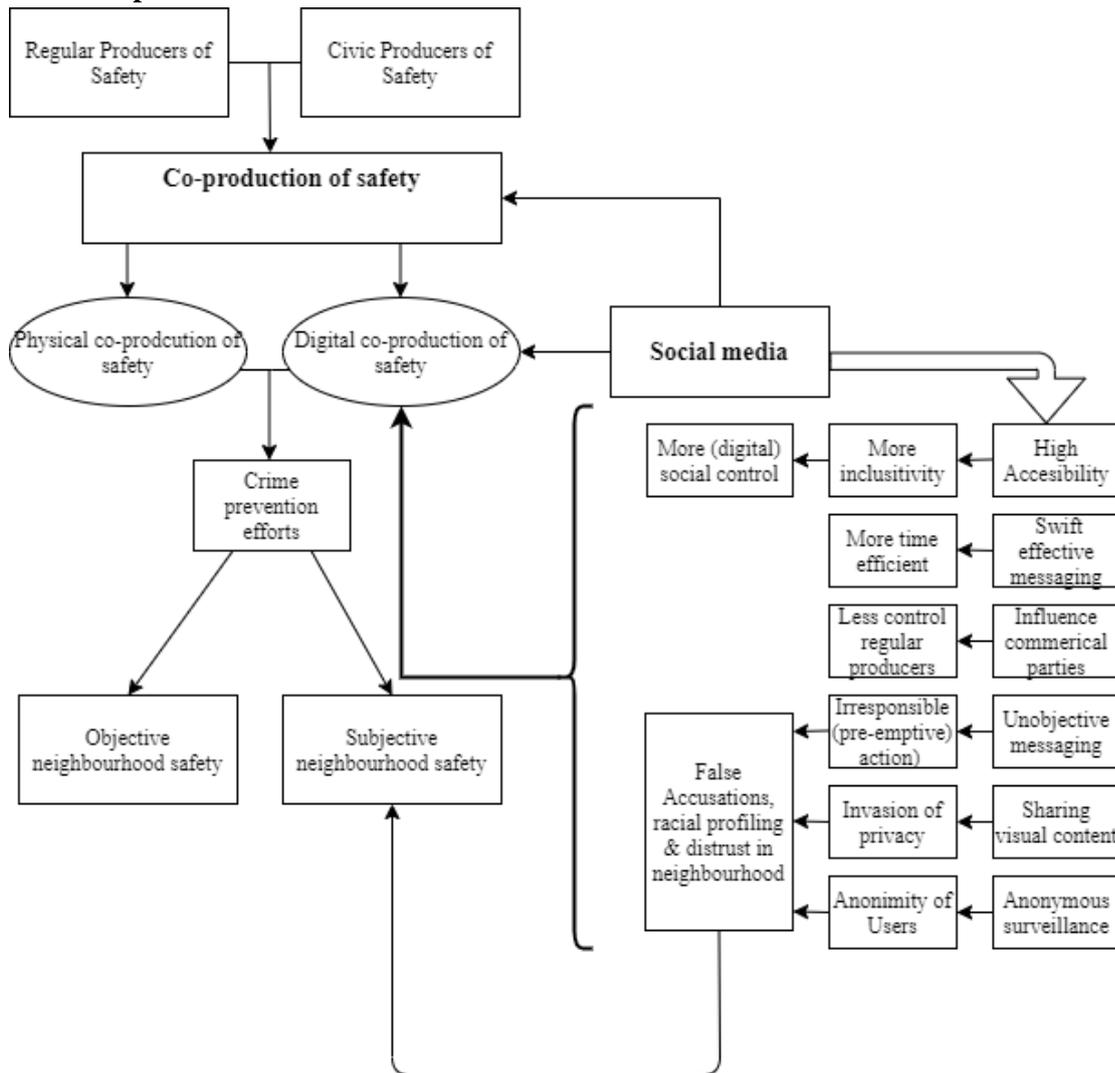


Figure 1: Conceptual model (own source)

The conceptual model (figure 1) visualises the connections between the various concepts discussed within this theoretical framework. As the model shows, regular producers of safety (police and members of state) can work together with civic producers of safety through co-production of safety projects. In turn, co-production of safety can be accomplished through physical and digital co-production of safety projects. The goal of these projects is crime prevention, efforts that aim to increase both the objective and subjective safety of a neighbourhood.

On the right side of the model the impact of social media on co-production of safety is visualised. The line between digital co-production of safety and social media implies that social media can be used for these projects. As the model shows, the nature of social media bring forward both positives and negatives for the co-production of safety projects. These effects do, in turn, impact digital co-production of safety. The relatively high accessibility of social media leads, for instance, to the fact that more people are able to join an initiative. While, on the other hand, the often non-objective messaging on social media can lead to irresponsible action. The positive characteristics of social media can enhance the crime prevention efforts that come forward out of co-production of safety, which, in turn, can lead to more neighbourhood safety. Yet, because of certain characteristics of social media, digital neighbourhood initiatives can eventually also negatively impact the subjective side of neighbourhood safety

3. Methodology

The first paragraph of this chapter will outline the research method of this thesis. The second paragraph will cover the data collection methods that are deployed within this research. This paragraph will be directly followed by a description of how the primary data collected for this research are analysed. The fourth and fifth subsection will cover the selection of cases and research participants for this research. The last paragraph will cover the limitations and ethical issues that come forward within this research, and how these issues are taken into account within the totality of the research process.

3.1 Research method

In this thesis a qualitative approach is selected to examine the impact of social media within co-production of safety initiatives. Qualitative research is very broad; a lot of techniques and philosophies fit under its umbrella (Hennink et al., 2020). According to the study of Lichtman (2013) on this type of study, qualitative research is a way to study social interactions of humans in naturally occurring situations. The role of the researcher is to make sense of, and interpret, the stories or observations that come forward out of these situations. Qualitative research fits questions that try to uncover the meaning and impact of certain behaviour, through that one can understand and interpret human interaction or social phenomena (Lichtman, 2013). Qualitative research has thus the ability to uncover the motivations, evaluations, and experiences behind social media use within co-production of safety projects. This knowledge is vital to understand the effects of social media use within co-production of safety. Through the opinions, stories, and evaluations that come forward from the qualitative research conducted, an image can be made on the effects of this phenomenon.

This qualitative research approach is deployed within a case study. A case study can be characterized as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within a real-life context (Williamson, 2002). Case studies have the ability to get a grip on how and why phenomena play out in a certain way (Williamson, 2002). Social media use is a relatively new development within the field of co-production of safety (Mols & Pridmore, 2019). Therefore, a case study on the use of social media within this form of crime prevention, can aid in grasping the drivers, context, and consequences of this development. Additionally, due to the novelty of this phenomenon, this thesis will try to formulate and gather new information on this topic, rather than only testing already existing information.

This research can be characterized as both an explorative and descriptive case study. According to Baxter and Jack (2008), a descriptive case study is used to describe a phenomenon, and the real-life context in which it occurred. Case studies are always context dependent; the context impacts the knowledge that is derived from the study (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Explorative case studies can be used to explore situations in which the phenomenon under study has not a clear set of outcomes (Baxter & Jack, 2008). So, this study aims to describe the practices and effects of co-production of safety initiatives that use social media in their practices, and simultaneously take into account the context in which these activities take place. On the other hand, this study also tries to explore what new forms of behaviour, activities, results, and engagement this relatively new phenomenon of digital co-production of safety brings forward.

3.2 Case selection

This study focus is on digital forms of co-production of safety, initiatives that use social media in their efforts. As described in the theoretical framework of this thesis, co-production of safety initiatives are becoming increasingly popular within Dutch society, leading to a large population of initiatives (Pridmore et al., 2019). Because of the scope of this research not all initiatives in the Netherlands can be approached to take part in this research. That is why this study is a typical case study. Within a typical

case study representative case(s) are selected, that conform the general characteristics of a phenomenon (Seawright & Gerring, 2008). By studying typical cases, a more general proposition can be made on what the effects of social media use within co-production of safety initiatives are (Seawright & Gerring, 2008). In this research multiple digital co-production of safety initiatives were analysed. In a multiple case study several cases are examined in order to understand the similarities and differences between cases (Baxter & Jack, 2008). Each initiative can have different methods, experiences, and interaction with stakeholders. By studying these multiple cases one can analyse the phenomenon at hand across different settings (Baxter & Jack, 2008).

To find suitable cases, an online inquiry was made of the digital co-production of safety initiatives within the Netherlands. The initiatives that were taken into account within this inquiry had to meet the following criteria: a social media is used as platform for the initiatives, the goal of the initiative is crime prevention, and both citizen and state actors are involved in the project. To check if an initiative matched these criteria, the information on public websites of these initiatives of their respective municipalities was analysed. If the information on these formats proved that these initiative fitted the characteristics of a co-production of safety initiative, they were taken into account as a potential case for this research. Which potential participants were approached, and how they were contacted is described further down in this chapter.

3.3 Data collection methods

In this thesis the research questions are answered through a review of the available literature, collecting data through semi-structured in-depth interviews, and the analysis of online data and policy documents. The following paragraphs will discuss the motivations for choosing these methods.

3.3.1 Literature review

By answering the first three sub-questions a clear picture of co-production of safety, and the role of social media in this phenomenon, can be made. This frame is made through a review of the available literature on this topic. Different researches relate to a topic in different ways, a combination of these readings can lead to a larger understanding of a certain phenomenon. Through managing, combining, and relating different literature, a general discourse on a certain topic can be revealed (Harris, 2019). By reviewing available researches and policy documents, a broad understanding can be created on the concepts central to this thesis. This knowledge will enable one to understand the dynamics and interrelationships between different concepts central to the digital/social media forms of co-production of safety, through which a literature review can be established. This literature review will bring forward the data that is used to answer the first three sub-questions of this thesis.

3.3.2 Semi-structured interviews

In this thesis the fourth, fifth, and sixth sub question are empirical in nature, these questions were therefore answered through (digital) semi-structured, in-depth interviews (*see appendix B for interview guides*). Polit and Beck (2006) define an interview as a method of data collection in which one person (the interviewer) asks question of another person (the respondent). Through interviewing a stakeholder of, in this case co-production of safety, the context, feelings, intentions, meanings, and thoughts on a certain topic can be discovered (Lichtman, 2013). This information can unveil the drivers, motivations, reasons and opinions of the stakeholders involved within co-production of safety. Through the collection of this data the empiric sub-questions of this thesis can be answered.

The interviews conducted for this thesis are semi-structured. Semi-structured interviews can be positioned between unstructured and structured interviews (Lichtman, 2013). In an unstructured

interview the interviewer can vary the questions, if the situation demands as such (Lichtman, 2013). Structured interviews, on the other hand, have a predetermined set of questions that are asked in the same way in every interview. Structured interviews therefore, limit the freedom an interviewer has to respond to new information (Fontana & Prokos, 2007). In a semi-structured interview the general set of questions is the same for each participant, yet the actual interview can vary per participant. Semi-structured interviews do give the interviewer freedom, by allowing to divert from some questions. This allows the interviewer can respond to new information that comes up during an interview, and ask, for instance, follow-up questions. This will enable the interviewer to add questions when new insights arise during an interview (Fontana & Prokos, 2007). In this way novel insights on social media and co-production of safety, not covered by the interview guide, can be examined and incorporated within the results.

The interviews that were conducted for this thesis were in-depth. In-depth interview techniques take into account that the interviewer does not know all the relevant questions to ask to a participant. In-depth interviewing let respondents tell their own story, based on their own terms and assumptions. In this way in-depth interviews have a broader scope than other types of interviewing (Lichtman, 2013). Even though the interviewer is familiar with a particular topic, the respondent can still have different interpretations or assumptions on certain issues, by allowing the respondents to tell their story, new information may come that was not covered by the interview questions. In-depth interviews allow the interviewer to go into the different interpretations and assumptions of the study at hand, which can potentially lead to new insights. The usage of only predetermined questions the interviewee might feel that the interviewer is in charge or in a higher position, through which the interviewee can feel less likely to respond in a meaningful manner (Lichtman, 2013). By conducting in-depth semi-structured interviews with the stakeholders of co-production of safety projects, a broad picture can be created on the impact of social media on this phenomenon.

Due to the fact that this research took place during the Corona pandemic, the expectation was that respondents were reluctant to participate in a physical on site interview. Therefore, the choice was made to conduct the interviews in a digital way by using online services like Skype, Zoom, or Google Meet. These types of software can provide access to video based interviewing which can provide access to verbal and non-verbal cues of the respondent, proving an equal authenticity level with face-to-face interviews (Fielding et al., 2008).

3.3.3 Online data and policy documents

To provide additional information and context to the data that comes forward from the interviews, online data and police documents was used. Websites of civic initiatives from which respondents are interviewed, or policy documents concerning rules for civic crime prevention initiatives that are available online, can give additional insights or extra context on the statements made within the conducted interviews (*see appendix A for sources used*).

3.4 Selection research participants

This thesis focuses on the stakeholders of digital co-production of safety projects within Netherlands. The theoretical framework has shown that both state actors and civilians can be active within co-production of safety projects. Police, municipality and active citizens were therefore all approached, to share their opinions, views, and experiences on social media use within co-production of safety projects in the Netherlands. The selection of respondents was based on their availability and willingness to participate in this research. How the respondents of this research were reached, is discussed in the subsections below.

3.4.1 Citizens

According to the theory, citizens that are active in co-production of safety initiatives can be divided into two groups, active citizens who (digitally) monitor their neighbourhoods, and moderators who also control the social media environment, and are in direct contact with the police (van Damme, 2018). The aim for this research was to get in contact with moderators of different digital co-production of safety initiatives in the Netherlands. The theory shows that moderators are more or less the organisers of these civic initiatives (van Damme, 2018). This leads to the expectation that moderators are well informed on the activities and processes that are going on within such an initiative to represent the initiative in an interview.

An online inquiry was made of digital crime prevention initiatives within the Netherlands. If public contact information was present of an initiative, an email was sent with the question if a moderator of the initiative would be willing to participate in this research. This search eventually led to interviewing moderators in three municipalities, in the municipality of Laren, located in the province of Noord-Holland, Blaricum also located in Noord-Holland, and Weststellingwerf located in the province of Friesland.

3.4.2 Police

Secondly, representatives of the police were approached to give their views on the use of social media in co-production of safety. However, it is quite difficult to contact local members of the police directly. That is why the decision was made to use the moderators of digital co-production initiatives as so-called middlemen. These moderators were asked to share the contact information of the police officers with whom they interacted.

This method can be seen as a gatekeeper approach. A gatekeeper is a person or institution who stands between the data collector and the potential respondent. The gatekeeper can aid the data collector, by connecting the data collector to their own work/personal relations (Lavrakas, 2008). By contacting members of the police, who are active in the same areas as the researched digital co-production of safety initiatives, a more comprehensive image of the co-production efforts can be created. Interviewing both police and citizens of the same municipality, can give a better understanding of the interrelationships of state and citizen actors within the domain of co-production of safety.

3.4.3 Municipality

In the municipalities in which no contact could be made with local police officers, representatives of the municipality were contacted. These people also have the ability to give insights on the state side of co-production of safety practices. Municipal websites were used to gain access to the right contact information of these representatives of the municipality.

3.4.4 Overview

In total 11 interviews were conducted for this research. A complete and chronological list of these interviews, is shown below:

Representative from	Function	Based in	Date conducted
Argus BuurtWhatsApp	Moderator	Laren	28 – 10 – 2020
WhatsApp groep BPV Prisma	Moderator	Blaricum	29 – 10 – 2020
WABP Blaricumemeent & Bijvanck	Moderator	Blaricum	29 – 10 – 2020
Buurtpreventie omgeving rustwat	Moderator	Blaricum	02 – 11 – 2020
Buurtpreventie Zandhuizen	Moderator	Zandhuizen, <i>Weststellingwerf</i>	03 – 11 – 2020
Buurtpreventie in Wolvega	Moderator	Wolvega, <i>Weststellingwerf</i>	05 – 11 – 2020
Buurtpreventie in Noordwolde	Moderator	Noordwolde, <i>Weststellingwerf</i>	06 – 11 – 2020
BPV Postiljon	Moderator	Laren	10 – 11 – 2020
Police department in Blaricum	Community police officer	Blaricum	14 – 11 – 2020
Municipality of Weststellingwerf	Specialist Public Order & Safety	Weststellingwerf	23 – 11 – 2020
Police department in Laren	Community police officer	Laren	04 – 12 – 2020

Table 1: Initiatives and institutions interviewed for this thesis

3.4 Analysis method

The semi-structured interviews were transcribed for further analysis. The transcripts that come forward out this process were afterwards coded with the help of coding software (QDA Miner). Through connecting certain codes to certain passages of the transcripts, connections between different interviews could be made. These different codes can be connected to the theory on social media and co-production of safety, in order to see to which extent the theory compares and differs to empirical evidence.

Both inductive and deductive coding was used to analyse the interviews. In deductive coding pre-set coding sets are used to analyse the interviews. These codes are based on a literature review of a certain topic (Morse & Mitcham, 2002). The conceptual model (figure 1) was therefore used as guideline for the deductive coding set. Additionally, inductive coding is used to highlight new insights that come forward out of the primary data. Inductive coding is an approach that is bottom up. Inductive codes are derived from the data, these codes are thus build and modified through analysing the data itself (Morse & Mitcham, 2002). By combing both deductive and inductive coding for this research the primary data can be related to the concepts and theories of the theoretical framework, and new aspects can also be highlighted. The codes that are used for this thesis can be found in the appendix E.

In the results section quotes from the different interviews will be used to give a more elaborate depiction of the conducted interviews. However, it must be noted that the interviews are held in Dutch, therefore the quotes are a translation from the primary data. In the cases that quotes are used, the translations are done in such a way that the translated quote still holds the same meaning as the original one.

3.6 Ethical considerations and research limitations

Within qualitative research ethical issues and challenges can come up that are not immediately an issue in other forms of research (Lichtman, 2013). Qualitative research methods touch upon the perceptions, feelings and beliefs of respondents. Because of this, it is important establish a trustful relationship with respondents. This relation, for instance, demands to keep collected data secure by making it anonymous. Respondents might also disclose information that is not immediately connecting to this research, but which still might be confidential and thus also has to be kept secure (Lichtman, 2013).

When trying to behave ethical in research various aspects have to be taken into account. Firstly, the interviewer has to respect and guarantee the privacy and anonymity of a respondent. This means that no identifying information about the individual is to be revealed in this research (Lichtman, 2013). That is why, in this thesis, identifying information will be removed, which, for example, means that pseudonyms rather than real names will be used within the interview transcripts (*see appendix F for transcripts*). In order to produce an ethical research it is also important to treat the primary data in a confidential manner. This means that the primary data that will be collected for this thesis will not be given to any third party.

Additionally, it is important that respondents are informed, to the greatest extent possible, about the nature of this thesis. Therefore respondents were informed in the early stage of contact on what the objective of this research is. It is also important to let the respondent know what his/her rights are, for instance: that the respondent can decline to participate at any time, end the interview at any time, or ask for the erasure of any materials that the respondent does not wish to be used in this research (Lichtman, 2013). This is achieved by distributing an information sheet (*see appendix C*) and informed consent (*see appendix D*) to the participants of the research, in which the facets that are mentioned above are discussed.

Every research method has its strengths and limitations. The limitation of a case-study is that it can be too particular, and because of that its results cannot be generalized (Lichtman, 2013). Furthermore, in depth semi-structured interviews can be very time consuming and intensive, because of this only a limited amount of semi-structured interviews can be conducted (Newcomer et al., 2015). In-depth interviews are also one-to-one, this makes it that feedback from others is not possible. While feedback might strengthen upcoming interviews, through which the researcher might obtain more information (Hennink et al., 2020). Another limitation is the danger of bias. An interviewer can bias the information that is gathered through the interview. Aspects like personal beliefs, values, and personal characteristics can negatively influence an interview, through which the quality of the data of the interview can diminish. Also, skills are needed to establish a good relationship with an interviewee. A bad relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee can negatively impact the social interaction during the interview. Bad social interaction can, in turn, impact the credibility of the interview and through that the research (Roller & Lavrakas, 2015). The digital form of the interviews also has some limitations. Fielding et al. (2008) point out that using software to conduct an interview can be perceived to be too advanced. Some potential participants may not have the technological skill, or are not familiar with online communication software. This can already discourage potential respondents in participating in this research. Additionally, online interviews can be hampered due to technological issues, such as connection malfunctions, this can reduce the quality of the interview (Fielding et al., 2008). These limitations were kept in mind in the process of interviewing and processing the data of this research.

4. Context and results

This chapter will present the findings from the conducted interviews that are part of this research.

The first section of this chapter will form the introduction, this paragraph will provide the context of the co-production of safety projects which have been studied in this research. In the paragraphs that follow the introduction, the different themes and categories that came forward within the interviews will be discussed.

4.1 Introduction

To gain insight on the impact of social media use within co-production of safety projects, moderators of these initiatives, and their state partners were interviewed. Their experiences, stories, and opinions represent the situations and contexts of three municipalities in the Netherlands; Blaricum, Laren, and Weststellingwerf. This subchapter will introduce the contexts of these three municipalities.

4.1.1: Blaricum

Blaricum is a small municipality located in the southern part of the province of Noord-Holland. The municipality is named after the largest village of the area, Blaricum. Blaricum is characterized by its villa districts and open nature (Gemeente Blaricum, 2020). The interviews indicated that civic involvement within the domain of public safety seems to be going on for some time already in Blaricum. Within Blaricum, several neighbourhood watch associations are active, associations where civic members can, led by a civilian board, organize themselves to bolster the safety in their localities (Convenant Buurtpreventie Blaricum, 2015). Civilians in Blaricum are also active in the domain of public safety through the use of social media tools. The civilian interviewees in Blaricum all were moderator of WhatsApp neighbourhood watch groups. These groups are used to interact with neighbours, and warn each other if needed. The goal of these groups is to bolster the safety and social control in the neighbourhoods. According to the interviewees, social media in the form of WhatsApp became a medium for these activities around the year 2015.

4.1.2 Laren

Just as Blaricum, Laren is a municipality located in the southern part of the province Noord-Holland, The municipality is named after the only residential core of the area: Laren (Gemeente Laren, 2020). Laren is a rather small municipality in terms of size and population, making it rather similar to Blaricum (CBS Statline, 2020). Just as in Blaricum, Laren also has active neighbourhood watch associations. According to one of the civic interviewees of Laren, these civic associations already go back twenty years. This illustrates that within Laren civic involvement within the domain of public safety is not a new development, but already goes one for quite some time. According to the interviewees of Laren, this involvement has also transferred to the domain of social media, a process that started around three years ago. The municipal website of Laren shows that almost all streets of Laren are covered by a WhatsApp neighbourhood watch group (Gemeente Laren, 2020). This illustrates that civic involvement in public safety is widely supported in Laren.

4.1.3 Weststellingwerf

The municipality of Weststellingwerf is located in the southern part of the province of Friesland. Within the municipality there are 26 different villages, housing in total 25.500 residents (Gemeente Weststellingwerf, 2020). Within most residential cores of Weststellingwerf citizens are active in protecting the public safety through WhatsApp neighbourhoods watch teams (Gemeente Weststellingwerf, 2020). According to the interviewed state actor representing this municipality, the municipal government of Weststellingswerf is involved with these initiatives from 2015 onwards.

4.2 Perception and appreciation of social media use in co-production of safety

In the interviews that were conducted, the respondents were asked how they perceived and valued the use of social media in the practices of co-production of safety. The following paragraphs will go into the opinions and views of these stakeholders on this matter.

4.2.1 Trigger of organising co-production of safety initiative

To get a first idea on what grounds social media platforms are chosen to be the medium for co-production of safety initiatives, it is important to distinguish what triggers the establishment of a digital co-production of safety initiative in the first place. Most of the respondents stated that the main incentive to set up a co-production of safety initiative, had to do with maintaining the safety of their neighbourhoods. One of the respondents stated for instance:

'I wanted more safety for my own neighbourhood, and through that also for my fellow neighbours. I knew something was going on in this neighbourhood, now and then there were burglaries. (Moderator Buurtpreventie in Wolvega).

Some responders were also stimulated by their local government to set up social media based co-production of safety initiatives. The interviewed state actors all acknowledged that they stimulate and try to aid local social media based co-production of safety initiatives in their efforts. The following quotes illustrate this:

'This [setting up a WhatsApp neighbourhood watch group] was very much stimulated by the municipality. A security officer asked us if we could do this. We proposed this to our members [of the neighbourhood watch association], and they thought it was a good idea'. (Moderator BPV Postiljon).

'We [municipality of Weststellingswerf] have freely accessible information on our website. Example letters, rules, folders, stickers, flyers all can be requested, we can come by to give a presentation to give clarifications on things. We try to be as accessible as possible, both the police and the municipality. (Representative municipality Weststellingswerf).

The interviews with civic and public stakeholders thus confirmed the premise of Wisler and Onwudiwe (2008), who state that the driving forces to organize co-production of safety can both originate from the state as citizens in the Netherlands. But this still leaves the questions, to what ends can social media be deployed within co-production of safety?

4.2.3 The goal of a social media platform for co-production of safety

As already mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, all interviewees were part of a digital neighbourhood watch team that used the medium WhatsApp for their efforts. All moderators acknowledged that the main objective of their WhatsApp groups was to maintain the safety within the neighbourhood or street. According to all the civic respondents, these WhatsApp groups can enable neighbours to warn one another in suspicious or dangerous situations, or criminal events within the neighbourhood. Multiple interviewed moderators stated that they are also part of a WhatsApp group especially created for the different moderators of social media based co-production of safety initiatives within their locality. Through these groups relevant information can be shared quickly across different neighbourhoods.

By having a medium to share suspicious/noteworthy events the social control of citizens in the neighbourhood can increase. One of the respondents underlined this as follows:

'You report it [situations regarding the safety of the neighbourhood] earlier, you are more likely to say something in the case you have seen something, yes I think people are more triggered [through being part of the social media platform] to look out for one another.' (Moderator BPV Postiljon).

The interviewed state actors also seem to see these WhatsApp groups as an addition to social control and crime prevention within neighbourhoods; extra eyes and ears that can aid the police in public safety related circumstances. This stance can, for instance, be illustrated by the following quotes:

'These [WhatsApp crime prevention projects] are actually the modern versions of the neighbourhood watches of the past, but than a lot of digital eyes and ears' (Representative municipality Weststellingswerf).

'Not that I get a message every day, but pretty regularly I am approached [by the WhatsApp crime prevention initiatives] with information of suspicious events, with descriptions, license plates for example. This has led to some interesting cases, which is amazing.' (Police officer, Blaricum).

Yet, what also was surprising that in the initiatives of four of moderators that were interviewed (moderators: Buurtpreventie omgeving rustwat, Buurtpreventie Zandhuizen, Whatsapp groep BPV Prisma, Argus BuurtWhatsApp) also a WhatsApp group with a social function was set up, as an addition to the crime prevention WhatsApp group. By setting up a social app next to the crime prevention app, members had the ability to have a medium for social talk, and non-urgent questions. As one of the respondents stated:

'We got the idea, through another neighbour, to set up a social app. Where you can send different things, like I lost my dog, or I have lost my package, did someone else receive it?' (Moderators Buurtpreventie omgeving Rustwat).

Co-production of safety social media groups can thus have the ability to facilitate social contact between neighbours, that is not just aimed at crime prevention and maintaining public safety. As one of the respondents stated:

'Additionally to the neighbourhood watch group, we have also set up a social group, also for this period of the Corona pandemic, also because people live here alone, also the elderly. This are of course extraordinary times, these times of Corona. So, it is a result of the neighbourhood watch app, through this [the social app] we can do groceries for some people, and other stuff like that.' (Moderator WhatsApp group BPV Prisma).

According to all the moderators that were interviewed, social talk in prevention groups is not appreciated. Because of this, one can expect that such groups are not necessarily leading to more social interaction between neighbours. Social groups, which may come forward out of the crime prevention apps, on the other hand, seem to have that ability. One of the moderators stated, for instance, the following:

'Because of the additional social app, people have far more contact with one another, that is, in my opinion, really good for the neighbourhood.' (Moderator Buurpreventie Rustwat).

Additionally, several civic respondents also saw the medium of social media not only as a tool for crime prevention, but also for other function that improve the general sense of safety. Two respondents (Moderator Buurtpreventie omgeving Rustwat, BPV Postiljon) had, for instance, the idea to link an AED (automatic external defibrillator) network to the already existing WhatsApp group that was set up for crime prevention purposes. In this way citizens could gain access to an AED if someone gets a heart attack.

The different uses of social media within co-production of safety initiatives that were researched show that social media platform are versatile. They can be used in different ways to fit the different context and the demands that arise from these contexts.

4.2.4 Motivations to use social media for co-production of safety

As the theory has shown, social media is highly accessible (Kleinhans et al., 2015), relatively easy to use (Meijer, 2012), and time efficient (Berevoets et al., 2016; Kelly & Finlayson, 2015).

All these advantages were also mentioned in the interviews conducted with the moderators of the co-production of safety initiatives. As an interviewed moderator, for example, puts it:

'I think that the advantages are: that it [WhatsApp] is accessible and easy to use, everyone has it [WhatsApp] at hand.' (Moderator WABP Blaricummermeent & Bijvanck)

But why are these characteristics of social media beneficial for the purpose of co-production of safety? One of the recurring themes of the interviews was that because of the ease and accessibility of social media based co-production of safety initiatives, an initiative can gather a relatively large support base within a neighbourhood. Consequently, more participating residents does in turn lead to more digital eyes and ears within the neighbourhood. Most interviewed moderators experienced that their neighbours are watching out for each other by being member of such a WhatsApp. One of the moderators stated for instance:

'I think it is for many people a nice feeling that they can reach many people with one push of a button; that they can reach many people, if something is going on.' (Moderator WABP Blaricummermeent & Bijvanck).

Results like this show that the easy and fast connection of social media can increase people's sense of assurance and safety within their neighbourhood.

4.2.5 Contributing to safety?

As already stated, the main objective of the co-production of safety appgroups was related to maintaining public safety in a neighbourhood. The questions is: is this a correct association? Different experiences that came up during the interviews do indicate that these digital initiatives can indeed, rightfully, be perceived as contributors to public safety. The appgroups seem to be contributing to both subjective and objective safety in neighbourhoods. This can be illustrated by the following examples that came forward during the interviews:

'There was a woman who was home alone together with her kids. She was scared, because she thought someone was walking on her roof. I [the moderator] went there, I checked it and it was just sliding snow on her roof. Yet, she was super happy with the group [the co-production of safety group], because someone responded to her. In this case it was me, but otherwise it would be someone else who would come and check it out.' (Moderator WABP Blaricummermeent & Bijvanck).

'Two years ago we got a notification that a weird guy was walking in a neighbourhood at night that was seen by the local resident and shared in the WhatsApp group. Because of this we could arrest him for burglary, these are successes, which show the value can be of a WhatsApp group'. (Police Blaricum).

The first quotation does show that social media can help civilians to contact their neighbours in time of need, which can lead to feelings of assurance. According to the theory, feelings of assurance can positively influence the subjective sense of safety (Killias, 1990). While the second quote indicates that information shared on a co-production of safety chat group can be a valuable asset for local police enforcement. That is why it is no surprise that all state respondents perceive that these co-production of safety apps are a valuable contributor to neighbourhood safety.

4.2.6 Risks of social media use in co-production of safety

The respondents also saw that some characteristics of social media were not so beneficial to the outcomes of digital co-production of safety initiatives. The biggest disadvantage concern unnecessary messages; messages that are not relevant to matters of public safety in the local area. The respondents experience that this problem comes out of the general familiarity that people have with social media platforms. Social media as WhatsApp seem to be widely used, and therefore already familiar to new members of a co-production of safety initiative. On the one hand, this familiarity seems to make it easier for new members to join said initiatives. On the other hand, this familiarity can also lead to people using WhatsApp crime prevention groups as a social platform, rather than a platform to promote local safety.

Thus, what a lot of the interviewed moderators experience is that the members of their WhatsApp groups are sometimes inclined to use the crime prevention as 'regular' WhatsApp groups. As Mosconi et al. (2017) indicate, social media, such as WhatsApp, are generally used among friends, family and other close acquaintances, which indicates that social media is mostly used to maintain certain social contacts. According to the interviewed moderators, this leads to the issues in which some members of the crime prevention app groups use the social media group just as any other. One of the interviewed moderators explained this as follows:

'They think they [members of the crime prevention WhatsApp group] need to respond to everything, while they [members of the crime prevention WhatsApp group] do not see any boundaries' (Moderator Buurtpreventie in Wolvega).

According to different moderators, issues like this can have negative consequences: members can leave the group, arguments can rise between members, or people become less alert if a message pops up in the co-production of safety app group.

Following this line, it is therefore not surprising that people who are less familiar with social media seem to be less inclined to post unnecessary messages, and follow the rules of conduct. This is, for example, illustrated by one of the interviewed moderators:

'In de Bijvanck [neighbourhood in Blaricum] lives a generation which is hardly active on social media, mostly elderly, in that case you notice there is more discipline. There, no nonsense is posted in there WhatsApp groups, people really abide by the rules.' (Moderator WABP Blaricummermeent & Bijvanck).

Thus, while the theory shows that social media as a medium of co-production of safety is possibly not inclusive to an elderly population, because of the unfamiliarity this population generally has with social media (van Dijk et al., 2015). The results of the interviews show that this unfamiliarity can also have positive side effects. Elderly, could be less inclined to use co-production of safety WhatsApp groups for social talk, and non-urgent messaging to their neighbours.

Another issue that often came up, relating to the characteristics of social media, was privacy. The issue of privacy came back in two ways within the interviews that were conducted. Firstly, interviews showed that some local residents did not want to join social media based co-production of safety initiatives because of privacy reasons. One of the interviewed moderators (moderator Buurtpreventie Wolvega), for instance, stated that some neighbours did not want to join the WhatsApp crime prevention initiative, because that would mean that their phone number was visible for other members of the initiative.

The second privacy issue has to do with pictures that can easily be shared through the medium of social media. Within most social media applications users have the ability to share pictures with other users. In the domain of co-production of safety pictures made by citizens can help the police to solve cases (Franjkic, 2018; Larsson, 2017). Yet, the empiric result indicated that sharing visual information also can have negative effects. The interviews showed that within these initiatives pictures were sometimes shared irresponsibly. Moderators found it a difficult issue to deal with; when is it okay if a member shares a picture of a situation that he or she finds suspicious? One moderator stated for instance the following:

'Sometime pictures of a car that people see are shared, a picture that includes that license plate of the car. I find this a difficult issue. When do you invade someone's privacy? For me, that is a difficult issue.' (Buurtpreventie Noordwolde).

Put in the theoretical context that messages on social media often lack objectivity (van Dijk et al., 2015), taking pictures really seems something that must be approached with great care. Some of the moderators indicated that pictures were not to be shared within the social media group. Yet, other moderators did not have this rule, mentioning different examples in which photos were taken of seemingly suspicious situations. Their examples also showed that this practice can indeed have negative consequences. For instance:

'Once we had an accident where someone posted a picture of someone who seemed suspicious from the perspective of the picture taker. He shared the picture [in the WhatsApp group of the initiative] asking if someone knew the person on the picture. It turned out to be someone who lived in the neighbourhood, he [the individual on the picture] was really mad about this.' (BPV Postiljon).

Thus, while the interviewed stakeholders of social media based co-production mainly see social media as a beneficiary addition to co-production, they also acknowledge that it can bring forward negative effects.

4.3 Online crime prevention and neighbourhood interaction

The following paragraphs will discuss the results of the interviews regarding the influence of social media based co-production of safety on neighbourhood interaction.

4.3.1 Insider vs. Outsider

The literature on the inclusivity of social media based co-production of safety initiatives proved to have mixed results. On the one hand, the point was made that the accessibility of social media based surveillance made it that everyone could join, if they wanted to (Berevoets et al., 2016; Kelly & Finlayson, 2015). On the other hand, other research showed that social media based crime prevention groups in the Netherlands are still rather homogenous (van Dijk et al., 2015). This is an issue that could further polarize neighbourhoods (Mols & Pridmore, 2019). Within the interviews, the civic respondents were asked how representative the co-production of safety projects are to the population of the neighbourhood, in order to see if certain groups were generally excluded. All moderators pointed out that the largest share of the neighbourhood population is part of the co-production of safety initiative. Most of the moderators also indicated that the social media groups are rather heterogeneous, inhibiting people from different backgrounds and age-groups.

This deviation from the theory (Mols & Pridmore, 2019) can possibly be explained by the fact that most moderators indicated that they were rather active in approaching people, who were for example new in the neighbourhood, to join the co-production of safety initiative. All Moderators also indicated that public street signs were placed within the neighbourhood; signs that indicated the presence of a WhatsApp neighbourhood watch group in the area. Despite they seemed to be publicly known, most moderators indicated that there were still people that did not join the co-production of safety initiative. Yet, moderators did not know why, and whether the people that did not want to join the initiatives were dominated by certain population groups within the neighbourhood. This makes it hard to indicate if the presence of digital co-production of safety had any polarizing influence in the contexts studied for this thesis.

4.3.2 Policing your own community?

The co-production of safety initiatives studied for this thesis, all seemed to have a stimulating effect on the awareness of people have on suspicious or dangerous situations within their neighbourhoods. The representative of the municipality of Weststellingswerf states the following about this:

'It [the WhatsApp neighbourhood watch groups] creates awareness, like you watch out, to check what deviates from a normal situation.' (Representative municipality Weststellingswerf).

This statement matches the work of Larsson (2017), who indicates that, when citizens are monitoring their streets for criminal behaviour, they look for activities they deem as *'out of place'* or *'out of the ordinary'*. In the interviews the attempt was made to discover on the basis of what grounds situations were deemed as suspicious or dangerous. The different interviews show that feelings, and lack of objectivity can indeed play a role in the monitoring a neighbourhood. As one of the moderators for instance stated:

'It [WhatsApp co-production of safety] has also weird things connected to it. If black man cycles through the street it is sooner considered as suspicious, than if a white man does this'(Argus BuurtWhatsApp).

Additionally, the interviewed police officer from Laren stated something in the same line:

'There was a woman, a remarkable one, she was wearing a lot of skirts and dresses, her hair painted red. She seemed to be strolling through a neighbourhood, according to the one who send a message [within the co-production of safety WhatsApp group], yet it actually was just a resident of the neighbourhood'. (Police officer, Laren).

All the respondents pointed out that the issues such as the examples above, are rare incidents, rather than a structural issue. Additionally, all interviewed moderators indicated that there is, according to their knowledge, no structural tension between members and non-members of the co-production of safety initiatives within the neighbourhood. Yet, the results above do, at least to some degree, seem to support the claims made by van der Land (2013) and van Eijk (2018) who state that, without the right guidance, citizen watch teams often operate on the basis of intuition and instinct. This can in turn lead to the distrust towards residents that deviate from the *'normal situation'* within the neighbourhood, and create tension within a neighbourhood.

4.3.3 A Sense of togetherness?

While all moderators stated that no social messaging is allowed within the crime prevention chat groups, the interviews did show that members of these initiatives experience that these social media platforms can stimulate the cohesion between neighbours. What also became apparent that neighbourhoods based social media groups can help to get neighbours more acquainted with each other. Two civic respondents (*Moderators: Omgeving Rustwat, Buurtpreventie in Laren*), for instance, indicate that the app helps them to recognize their neighbours on the streets, it seems to lower the bar for them to interact with their fellow neighbours. The social apps, which are deployed in some of the cases, also seems to give a boost to the social interaction that neighbours have with one another. These results seem to go against the premise made by Antoci et al. (2014), who states that social media is more a platform for perseveration of existing contact, rather than the activator of new connections. Especially in Laren and Blaricum, the neighbourhood watch teams seemed to be an activator for more acquaintanceship between neighbours. Being a member of a social media neighbourhood app seems to help neighbours to get to know each other, through which neighbours are more inclined to make interaction with one another.

The interviews also showed that, by being a member of a social media group for co-production of safety, residents experienced something like a sense of togetherness, in relation to their neighbours. As one moderator states:

'I think that you create [By setting up a social media based co-production of safety initiative] a sort of sense of togetherness with one another, that you do it together, I think that is very important.' (Moderator Buurtpreventie in Noordwolde).

The experiences that come forward out of the co-production of safety app also show that many residents are supportive of their neighbours. The following statement illustrates this:

'I have experienced that if something [an incident that is shared on a co-production of safety app] happens, then suddenly the streets gets crowded, you see that they are helping in the search. That is beautiful'. (Moderator WABP Blaricummermeent & Bijvanck).

So, it seems that positive experiences that come forward out of the different co-production of safety chat groups can stimulate a sense of togetherness and community within a neighbourhood. As various civic respondents indicated, the apps showcase that neighbours are ready to help each other if the situations demands it. Positive experiences like this, seem to give a boost to the sense of community that the residents of cases studied experience.

4.4 Social media and public-civic relations in co-production of safety

The 'co' in co-production of safety already states that this concept is about a relationship, in this case the relations between public and civic parties (Glaser & Denhardt, 2010). The following paragraphs will discuss how the respondents of this research look at the relation and cooperation between public and civic parties in the context of social media use within co-production of safety.

4.4.1 Social media and the effectiveness of cooperation

The interviews with state actors have shown that both the interviewed police officers and the representative of the municipality are not directly involved in the WhatsApp groups of the co-production of safety initiatives. During the interviews with the different state actors, two reasons were given for this choice. Firstly, all interviewed state actors raised the point that by being part of such chat group, can raise the expectation that a police officer is always available for questions or demands, which is of course not achievable for the police officers involved. A second reason had to do with the nature of social media such as WhatsApp. One of the interviewed police officers stated that because of the fact that WhatsApp is a medium of a third party, police should be wary in using social media for their efforts. The police officer in question stated the following on this issue:

'We are not going to join the WhatsApp groups [civic co-production of safety ones], because WhatsApp is owned by Facebook. Upper management has therefore stated that we have to be very reluctant in being a member of a WhatsApp group, and also in the information share. This because of privacy reasons'. (Police officer, Blaricum).

Results like this can explain the premise of Mols & Pridmore (2019), who indicate that because of the third party ownership of social media and WhatsApp, police can have difficulty to directly control the conversations that play out on this media.

Despite the fact that the state members were not directly involved within the WhatsApp groups, there were still factors, associable with social media, which were deemed to positively influence the cooperation between civic and state parties. These factors are related to the time it takes to interact with citizens on certain issues. The state respondents all made clear that it only takes little time to reach out to citizens within social media based co-production of safety initiatives. Stating, that this way of communicating is far more time efficient than it used to be. In all cases moderators are used as middlemen by state actors. Police and municipality can send out messages to different moderators, who send out these messages to the members of the digital co-production initiatives. This makes it that citizens are alerted much quicker in the event of, for example, a burglary, which can, in turn, lead to more effective control. This is in line with the study of Berevoets et al. (2016), according to whom, social media can make the contact between citizens and public actors more time efficient. Yet, this also implies that resident who cannot or do not want to be a member of these initiatives can be excluded from important information. Thus, if police communicate messages to citizens solely through the social media platforms, it potentially can enlarge the polarization described by Mols & Pridmore (2019). Civic respondents also indicate that these initiatives can make it easier for citizens to get in contact with the

police. The moderators state that they can, for instance, link through information or questions of local residents to the police fairly easily.

4.4.2 The division of responsibility and tasks for digital co-production of safety

As already established, in co-production of safety state and citizens work together to promote public safety at the local level (Meijer, 2012). Civilians and state actors have different rights, tasks, and responsibilities within the field of public safety (Larsson 2017). But the question is: how is this translated within the field of social media based co-production of safety? All interviews state actors saw themselves more as a supportive party to the civic initiatives of co-production of safety. Consequently, the civilians active within the digital co-production of safety initiatives were deemed as the ones responsible for regulating and organising the social media groups.

The interviews with state and civic stakeholders pointed out that the ways in which state actors can be supportive to the co-production of safety initiatives can differ per location, but also per individual. Both the interviews with state and civic actors indicated that the ways in which police is active within the co-production of safety initiatives can be largely dependent on the views and priorities of the respective police officers. One civic respondent stated for example the following:

'We used to have a very involved community police officer, who was also present in the WhatsApp group of the different moderators [of the different WhatsApp neighbourhood watch groups]. This police officer really liked it to be involved within the neighbourhood like this. I also liked that he [the community police officer] was active in this way. The community police officer succeeded him in January did not join the moderators WhatsApp group.' (Moderator WABP Blaricummermeent & Bijvanck).

The different approaches of police and municipality towards co-production seem to be based on preference and personal views and interests. Police does not seem to be led by clear jurisdiction on how to interact and cooperate with social media based co-production of safety initiatives, which is in accordance with the theory on this matter (van Eijk, 2018). As one of the interviewed police officers stated:

'I am a proponent of it [social media based co-production of safety initiatives], but I know of community police officers who do not see the value in it, and also put less energy in it. I know that in The Hague, the big boss will say that he is all for it. Yet, in the field, where I work, it differs per police officer how much time and energy is put into it.' (Police officer, Laren).

All interviewed state officials acknowledge that in their regions, municipality and police have stated that they try to aid the local WhatsApp neighbourhood watch initiatives by providing information, tips, and tools in order to set up and regulate the social media based co-production of safety initiatives. Yet, in the three municipalities that were studied the ways that police and municipality supported the initiatives differed. For instance, in Laren and Blaricum police officers were also present in moderator WhatsApp groups, while in Weststellingswerf did not seem to be the case. Through their presence in the moderator groups, police have the ability to directly and swiftly interact with all moderators in the area at the same time.

The interviews also indicate that much responsibility is put in the hands of the different moderators of the initiatives. The moderators have the task to control the chat groups, and solve issues that come up. Moderators are deemed to share issues, questions, and problems related to the initiatives to the police and municipality. The representative of the municipality Weststellingswerf illustrates this as follows:

'We [municipality and police] try to steer the setup of a co-production of safety project in terms of content, efficiency, and objectives, that sort of things. But, after that we distance ourselves from it, than it is the moderator's task to moderate it [the WhatsApp group]. We as municipality have no presence in these app groups, this would not be achievable. If issues come up [in the WhatsApp group] than police or municipality should be informed about that. As long we do not hear anything, we suspect that the moderators can handle it.' (Representative municipality Weststellingswerf).

On the basis of the results one can question if this trust in moderators well-founded. Not one of the civic respondents indicated during the interviews that there has been a clear selection or governmental control over who becomes a moderator for a co-production of safety group. It seemed that the civic respondents became moderator based on their own accord. Based on this, it seems the nature of moderators can vary greatly between different co-production of safety groups. This leads to the expectation that the interaction between state and civic actors within co-production of safety can vary, depending on the nature, knowledge, intentions, and views of a moderator.

The results of the interviews seem to indicate that police and municipality are, in a relatively great extent, involved in the process of setting up social media based co-production of safety initiatives. Yet, if such initiatives are set up, the involvement of state actors is to a large extent dependent on the priorities and views regarding social media and civic-public cooperation. The different interviews seem to show that in Laren and Blaricum state involvement within co-production of safety initiatives is more extensive than in Weststellingswerf. The different interviews with stakeholders from Laren and Blaricum showed, that police is present at local meetings of the initiatives, is sharing newsletters with information on, for instance local crime statistics/tips to make it harder for burglars to break in, and is sharing information on cases in which the co-production of safety groups were involved. While the civic respondents from Weststellingswerf did not state they were totally dissatisfied with the cooperation with police, two out of the three civic respondents stated that they would like a more active stance from the police in regard to the co-production of safety initiatives (*moderator: Wolvega and Noordwolde Buurtpreventie*). The following suggestions were for instance given: to give feedback on how the police has dealt with suspicious sightings that came forward out of the crime prevention WhatsApp groups, or generally, and ask how things are generally going in the crime prevention social media group. Too little active input from state actors can thus be experienced negatively. One of the civic respondents stated the following about this:

'I do not really appreciate this [the interaction with police and municipality] at a minimal level. I have the feeling that you are left to your own devices. But then I think, it [the neighbourhood watch initiative] is working here well, we take care for one another, and we do not have always have to deal with the police directly, but yeah I do miss it [Interaction with police and municipality]. I would like to see that, so now and then, they [police and/or municipality] would email us: how are things going in the neighbourhood app? That would be the minimal standard. From there we could see if we should come together or not.' (Moderators Buurtpreventie in Wolvega).

Issues like this seem to support the study from Steden et al. (2011), according to whom, direct involvement, from state parties is needed in civic co-production of safety initiatives. For, citizens do not always have the skills and knowledge to deal with certain issues that play up in these initiatives (Steden et al., 2011).

4.4.3 Digital co-production of safety projects and public-civic relations

The digital co-production of safety initiatives involve public-civic cooperation. The questions is to what extent can this cooperation impact the public-civic relations in general? One of the main points that can be derived from the results is that social media based co-production of safety initiatives can lower the bar for public-civic cooperation and contact. Through the WhatsApp groups police have the ability to reach out, via the moderators, to most of the residents of a neighbourhood in one message. The initiatives seem to have the ability to establish a firm basis for further contact between citizens and state actors in the domain of public safety. The interviews have shown that if police is transparent and responsive towards the co-production of safety initiatives is important. For example, giving information about cases in which the initiatives have been involved, can lead to more civic appreciation towards the policing apparatus. This is line with the study of Haas et al. (2014), who state that trust citizens have in the police is based on the degree to which police share their priorities, behave dependably, act competently and treat citizens with respect.

Thus, the social media crime prevention initiatives can make contact between citizens and state actors easier, this ability can enlarge the trust en lower the bar between citizens and state. Yet, one has to take into account that it can also work the other way around. When state actors do not live up to the expectations of the citizens involved within these initiatives, or direct involvement seems to lacking, it can leave a dent in the appreciation citizens have for state actors.

5. Conclusion

This chapter will cover the conclusions of this research. This chapter will first discuss the answers to the sub questions central to this thesis. On the basis of these analysis the main research question of this thesis will be answered. Finally, an argument is formed on how this thesis can contribute to planning theory and practice.

5.1 What does co-production of safety entail for the different parties involved, and how can it manifest itself on the neighbourhood level?

According to the theory, co-production of safety can be seen as a concept which entails the cooperation between state and civic actors within the domain of public safety (Meijer, 2012). It is a concept that has become increasingly relevant, due to the increasing participation of citizens within the public sector (van Eijk, 2018; Nabatchi et al., 2017). Different studies show that co-production of safety is often realised on the neighbourhood level, where neighbourhood communities can organise themselves in local initiatives (Akkermans & Volaard, 2015; van Eijk et al., 2017). In these programmes citizen engage in activities to protect the public safety within their neighbourhoods (van Eijk et al., 2017). These initiatives seem to manifest themselves in two ways; physically, where citizens are patrolling and scanning the streets (Franjkic, 2018), and digitally, where citizens can control their streets through social media applications (Pridmore et al, 2019; Mols & Pridmore, 2018).

The manifestation of co-production of safety projects within Dutch neighbourhoods has led to a development where state actors are increasingly cooperating instead of steering citizens in the field of public safety (Franjkic, 2018). The theory has thus shown that, from the perspective from state officials, co-production of safety represents a shift in discourse. Citizens were first deemed as consumers in public safety, but are now increasingly seen as partners. For citizens, co-production of safety seems to be envisioned as an opportunity to be directly involved in the public safety of their neighbourhoods.

5.2 How can co-production of safety impact the challenges, components, and factors of neighbourhood safety?

The theory has shown that the challenges, components and factors of safety can be categorized in subjective (e.g. how safe people feel when they walk outside at night) and objective categories (e.g. amount of burglaries) (Boers et al., 2008). In order to have a positive impact on neighbourhood safety co-production of safety initiatives should take in to account these two components. Co-production of safety initiatives can impact objective challenges to neighbourhood safety, such as crime, by enlarging the social control within the neighbourhood, or to provide information to public authorities (Kelly & Finlayson, 2015). In this way the known presence of a co-production of safety initiative can put off potential perpetrators (Akkermans & Vollaard, 2015). The subjective challenges of neighbourhood safety are connected to senses of fear and vulnerability (Oppelaar & Wittebrood, 2006; Killias, 1990). According to the theory, co-production of safety projects can impact these subjective challenges by letting neighbourhood residents feel less vulnerable (Killias, 1990), through for instance patrolling the street at night (van der Land, 2014). Additionally, co-production also can have the ability to make neighbourhood residents more familiar with one another, knowing the people who are visually present in the neighbourhood can, in turn, increase the subjective safety within a neighbourhood (Warr, 1990). This paragraph can be seen as a summarizing answer to this respective sub question, the facets related to this question are discussed in the theoretical framework in more detail.

5.3 What are, according to the theory, the drivers, advantages, and disadvantages of social media use in co-production of safety?

By looking at different studies on the use of social media within co-production of safety projects, different drivers, advantages, and disadvantages could be discerned of this development. The theory has shown that processes of digitalisation and technological advancement have made social media an increasingly viable option for co-production (Mosconi et al., 2017; Kleinhans et al., 2015; van Dijk et al., 2014). The motivations to use social media for co-production seem to be constructed on various advantages that these media can bring forward. Firstly, it can enlarge easiness to interact (Meijer, 2012), second, it is relatively accessible (Mols & Pridmore, 2019), and third, it can make efforts far more time efficient (Berevoets et al., 2016; Kelly & Finlayson, 2015). Yet, different studies have also shown that the use of social media can have disadvantages in the field of co-production of safety. Social media communication is generally impulsive, anonymous, and often lacks objectivity (van Dijk et al., 2015; Mols & Pridmore, 2019). This can have negative impact in terms of privacy (Pridmore et al. 2019), and neighbourhood cohesion (Mols & Pridmore, 2019). The use of social media in co-production of safety, also incorporates a new player: the parties owning the social media (e.g. Facebook) (Mols & Pridmore, 2019). Using a medium of a third party can block state and civic parties to fully control the co-production of safety processes (van Dijk et al., 2015).

5.4 How do governmental and civic actors perceive and value the use of social media in co-production of safety on the neighbourhood level in the Netherlands?

Drawing on the findings from the interviews that were conducted, social media is perceived and valued in a variety of ways. Social media was deemed by most interviewees as a tool through which residents of a neighbourhood can be connected, with the purpose of protecting the public safety of the neighbourhood. The general tendency in the interviews was that social media is a valuable component to the efforts of co-production of safety. According to the experiences of respondents, social media is easy to use, time efficient, and highly accessible. Factors which are in line with the theory on this subject (e.g. Pridmore et al. 2019; Mols & Pridmore, 2019; Berevoets et al., 2016; Kelly & Finlayson, 2015).

Some civic respondents perceived the social media groups of co-production of safety also as an enhancer of social cohesion within the neighbourhood. According to these respondents, social media can have the ability to construct a certain degree of connectedness among neighbours, through which more inter-neighbourhood contact can develop. The interviews with state actors indicated that police and municipality see social media use in co-production of safety as an effective and efficient way to let citizens be active within the field of public safety. The interviewed state actors experience that these initiatives can contribute to social control and crime prevention among citizens. The popularity of co-production of safety initiatives among citizens seems therefore also to be further stimulated by the state actors that were interviewed.

5.5 What is the role of online crime prevention on neighbourhood interaction within neighbourhoods in the Netherlands?

While the theory mostly highlighted the negative impact that social media based co-production of safety can have on neighbourhood interaction (e.g. Mols & Pridmore, 2019; Lasén & Gómez-Cruz, 2009; Pridmore et al., 2019), the results of the interviews indicated that social media based co-production of safety can also have positive impacts on neighbourhood interaction.

The interviewees did share experiences which indicate that problems like false allegations and racial profiling could occur, issues that indeed can deteriorate neighbourhood interaction. Yet, contrary to what theory suggests, no indications were given that these the crime prevention social media apps brought

forward structural conflict or polarization within the neighbourhoods. The interviews also indicated that the connectedness among neighbours through the social media app groups creates some sort of sense of togetherness and cohesion. The existence of the social media app groups seemed to show the respondents that their neighbourhoods were supportive to one another. This supportiveness expressed itself, for example, in the way members responded adequately to the messages shared in the social media groups. Various respondents also indicated that through the establishment of the social media app group neighbours got more familiar with one another, which seemed to give a positive stimulus to neighbourhood interaction within multiple cases. In the cases in which social app groups were set up this seemed to be even more the case. All in all, online crime prevention initiatives seem to have the ability to lay a foundation that is beneficial to neighbourhood interaction.

5.6 How does the use of social media impact the cooperation and relation between public and civic parties in the coproduction of safety in the Netherlands?

The interviewed state actors all seemed to have a rather positive view on what possibilities social media can bring in the context of public-civic cooperation in the field of co-production of safety. While the interviewed state actors were not a direct member of the social media groups, social media groups were still perceived as a tool that could improve the efficiency of interaction between civic and public parties. This is in line with theory on this matter (Nhan et al., 2017). Due to privacy and availability reasons, members of police could not directly control and be involved within these social media based initiatives, their interaction was mostly done through the moderators of the social media groups. This lack of control seems to put more pressure on the moderators to control and regulate these initiatives. This seems to suggest that the increasing use of social media in co-production of safety can potentially give citizens even more responsibility within the domain of public safety. This fits in the literature on the so-called '*responsibilization strategies*' (van der Land, 2014).

The interviews did seem to indicate that the social media based co-production of safety can have the ability to improve civic-public relations. Various respondents indicated that this is mainly due to the fact that by being part of an initiative can lower the bar for further cooperation and contact. Social media based chat groups thus seem to be an effective and accessible gateway for citizens and public parties to engage with one another within the domain of public safety. As the interviews seem to show this contact can further improve public-civic relations.

5.7 What are the effects of social media use within co-production of safety projects in neighbourhoods of the Netherlands

This research has shown that the increasing use of social media within co-production of safety projects in the Netherlands can have quite the impact of multiple facets of co-production of safety. Existing studies already made clear that social media use can increase the inclusivity (Mols & Pridmore, 2019), time efficiency (Berevoets et al., 2016; Kelly & Finlayson, 2015), decrease the cost of the projects (Meijer, 2012), and make participation in such projects easy for civic actors (Meijer, 2012). The different interviews with moderators of co-production of safety initiatives acknowledged these theoretical advantages. The results from the interviews also seem to indicate that these advantages can lower the bar for citizens to be active in public safety. This could be a potential explanation for the fact that social media based co-production of safety initiatives are overtaking their physical counterparts in terms of numbers (Berevoets et al., 2016; Pridmore et al., 2019).

According to the existing theory, the role of citizens in co-production of safety is to act as extra sets of eyes and ears for the police in neighbourhoods (Larsson, 2017). In this way control for suspicious or unusual situations in a neighbourhood can be increased (Larsson, 2017). While theory shows that

physical, patrol focussed co-production of safety initiatives are through these techniques hardly contributing to crime prevention (van der Land, 2013). The results of the interviews on the other hand seem to show that digital forms of co-production can have this ability. Both state as civic respondents shared experiences which indicated that by sharing suspicious sightings, or warning one another for certain situation on the social media platforms can indeed contribute to neighbourhood safety.

The (technological) advantages of social media can make it easier for civic actors to be active in the field of public safety and make their own neighbourhood a safety place. Yet, some theoretical possibilities of social media, such as the ability to share pictures (Franjkic, 2018), or the possibility for swift and easy interaction through messaging (Meijer, 2012), can also have downsides. The empiric results have shown that taking and sharing pictures irresponsibly can have negative impact in terms of privacy and anonymity. Additionally, the results also show that while messaging on social media can indeed be an effective and easy communication tool for citizens in co-production of safety, it can also invite members to send unnecessary messages, which can drive other members away from the initiative.

While different studies on social media use within co-production of safety seem to focus more on the impact this phenomenon has on safety (e.g. Bennet et al., 2006; Franjkic 2018; Pridmore et al., 2019), the interviews of this research has shown that social media use in co-production of safety can also have impact on the social side of a neighbourhood. The results show that social media based co-production of safety initiatives have the potential to enlarge the social cohesion within a neighbourhood. A development that seemed to be based on the sense of togetherness that came forward out these neighbourhood based crime prevention apps. These results thus show that social media based co-production of safety can be used for more than solely crime prevention efforts.

Co-production of safety implies that state actors increasingly work together with civic partners in the domain of public safety (Lub, 2017). Both the theory (e.g. van der Land) and interviews have shown that social media has the ability to make this cooperation easier and efficient, and improve public-civic relations. Yet, to safeguard these positive effects, government and police should be directly and actively involved in the civic initiatives (van Steden et al., 2011). Without the right state guidance the actions of social media based co-production of safety groups can also lead to harmful effects (Pridmore et al., 2019). Yet, according to the interviews with state actors, the way in which police and actors work together with social media based civic initiatives seem to be greatly dependent on the views of the priorities and views of the police/municipality on social media and civic-public cooperation. Thus it seems that the extent in which social media use can have a positive effect on the relation and cooperation between state and civic actors, seems to be largely dependent on the stance of public actors.

All in all, social media seems to be a digital gateway for more opportunities and possibilities for the domain of co-production of safety. Yet, this gateway should be opened with care, clear guidance and regulations seem to be needed to control the effects that come forward out of the use of this medium.

5.8 Relevance for planning theory and practice

The amount of citizens that is active in digital forms of co-production of safety is increasing (van der Land, 2014), therefore social media will probably become an increasingly important playing field for the cooperation between state and civic actors in the field of public safety. Yet, as in any form of public-civic participation rules are important to structure the domain of co-production of safety for a successful collaboration (Bakker et al., 2012). Also, in co-production of safety clear guidance and organisation is needed to safeguard the quality and efficiency of the civic initiatives in this field (Pridmore et al., 2019). Yet, to this point many governments seem to lack the right knowledge to effectively and appropriately organise with social media based co-production of safety initiatives (Berevoets et al., 2016). This thesis has studied the effects of social media use within co-production of safety projects, the findings of this

study can therefore add to the understanding of the relatively new digital form of co-production of safety. The risk, possibilities and opportunities of social media in co-production of safety that this study has brought forward can, in turn, also create a better view on how the governance of social media based co-production of safety should be organised in practice.

6. Reflection

This chapter will reflect on the results and the overall research process of this thesis, additionally it will elaborate on the strengths and weaknesses of this study.

When I started the process of writing this thesis in May 2020, my aim was to research an issue related to the field of co-production of safety. Yet, how to incorporate this concept within a sound thesis was difficult for me. By reading news articles and studies on this topic it became apparent to me that, in a relatively short time span, social media was increasingly used in this domain. Additionally, the fact is that the effects of this developments seemed to be relatively unknown. These factors made the impact of social media on co-production of safety an interesting topic to investigate.

The decision to research this topic in a qualitative study, has been an appropriate one. By interviewing stakeholders of the co-production of safety initiative, I could uncover experiences, opinions and views, which really could tell a story of the pros and cons of social media use in co-production of safety. In this way I was able to shed more light on this, relatively understudied, phenomenon.

To get in contact with the right respondents for this research took more time than anticipated. The initial plan was to get in contact with stakeholders of co-production of safety in the municipality of Groningen. However, contacting different parties in this municipality resulted in no positive responses. This issue demanded a flexible stance for this research. By enlarging the spatial focus of my research, eventually enough people could be contacted who were willing to participate in my thesis. All respondents of this research were in some way involved within social media based co-production of safety initiatives, this could explain that all respondents were overall rather positive about social media use within co-production of safety. Their willingness to participate in this research could very well be influenced by their positive stance. It can very well be that people who are not involved in these kind of initiatives and/or have different opinions on social media use in co-production of safety, could share a more critical view on this matter. Future research could incorporate more critical views, by, for example, researching views of both members and non-members of these initiatives.

The interviewed moderators of this thesis did not seem to be selected by any outside party, which indicates that personal characteristics could differ between different moderators. The relatively high degree of control moderators seem to have, can therefore have big impact on the organisation of these initiatives. One can expect that moderators with different characters also can lead to, for instance, different uses of social media, different rules, or different ways of cooperating with state actors. In my process of analysing the interviews I did not know to what extent the nature of the moderator has had impact on the initiative I was studying. This made it sometimes difficult to discern which aspects of the interview could be viewed as direct consequences of social media use, and which could be seen as an effect of the organisational set-up installed by the moderator.

The COVID-19 pandemic also caused some difficulties for this research, because personal encounters were forbidden by university policy, which made gathering data physically impossible. This issue demand me to be flexible in the methods of data gathering. Video conference software proved useful in interviewing the respondents of the research. Yet, it became apparent that dealing with this software can sometimes be difficult. Some respondents were not able to use the video call software in order to conduct the interview. Because of the alternative of interviewing over the phone, this issue has not led to the cancellation of any interview. Yet, I experienced that interviewing through video or telephone can have a negative impact on the relation between the interviewee and myself. In my experience it is harder to

establish a good relationship with an interviewee than in a physical interview. This issue can potentially have worsened the interview output.

Concluding, despite the fact that not all things went as I hoped for, I am convinced that this research process has taught me a lot about doing research and about its related subjects. Also, the feedback of the supervisor was really helpful in solving the issues that I encountered, for which I am very grateful.

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P. 12. Figure 1: Conceptual model

P. 21. Table 1: Initiatives and institutions interviewed for this thesis

Appendix

Appendix A: List of online sources and policy documents

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Appendix B: Interview guides

Interviewguide – Burgers

Introductie

1. Eigen achtergrond/introductie
2. Achtergrond onderzoek: Binnen dit onderzoek probeer ik in kaart te brengen wat de rol van sociale media is binnen coproductie van veiligheid projecten zijn.
3. Reden voor contact: Doordat u als burger/moderator actief bent binnen een dergelijk initiatief kunt u mij een inzicht geven hoe sociale media, vanuit uw perspectief, een rol kan hebben binnen coproductie van veiligheid initiatieven
4. Mag ik de audio van dit interview opnemen? De data zal vertrouwelijk gebruikt worden.
5. Heeft u het toestemmingsformulier kunnen ondertekenen?
6. Heeft u nog vragen voordat we aan het interview beginnen?

Algemeen

- 1) Kunt u mij wat vertellen over de achtergrond van het buurtpreventie initiatief, en hoe u hierbinnen betrokken bent en hoe lang?
 - a) Weet u welke partij(en) dit initiatief hebben opgezet, en waarom?
- 2) Weet uw uit wat voor mensen de buurtgroepen bestaat? (leeftijd, geslacht, achtergrond)
 - a) Hoe kan iemand lid worden van een dergelijke groep?
 - b) Zijn, voor uw gevoel, alle bewoners van de buurt vertegenwoordigd binnen de WhatsApp groep?
 - c) Zijn er ook partijen buiten lokale burgers om deel van de WhatsApp groep? Zo ja, wie, en waarom nemen zij deel, en wat vindt u daarvan?
- 3) Op welke manier wordt de aanwezigheid van het digitale buurtpreventie initiatief kenbaar gemaakt aan buitenstaanders?

Digitale buurtpreventie & interactie binnen de buurt

- 4) Hoe ervaart u de dynamiek en interactie binnen de WhatsApp groep?
 - a) Hoe (bericht, foto, video), hoe vaak, en waarover worden meldingen gemaakt; welke problemen worden als relevant genoeg gezien om te delen?
 - b) Hoe reageren leden op elkaars meldingen, is er bijvoorbeeld ook wel eens discussie over berichten?
 - i) Wordt bij een verdachte situatie meteen de politie ingeschakeld, of gaan mensen er ook zelf op af?
 - c) Kent u voorbeelden waarbij informatie dat gedeeld werd binnen heeft binnen de groep heeft geleid tot het stoppen van een strafbaar feit?
 - d) Leiden meldingen in de groep wel eens tot misverstanden? Zo ja, kunt u hier voorbeelden van geven?
- 5) Beïnvloed het contact dat buurtbewoners op de buurtpreventie app met elkaar hebben der verdere interactie binnen de buurt? Zo ja, hoe?
- 6) Welke regels gelden er binnen de groep waarvan u lid bent?
 - a) Hoe wordt u geïnformeerd over deze regels?
 - b) Zijn er bepaalde richtlijnen en/of groepsleiders die ervoor zorgen dat de leden binnen de WhatsApp groep binnen deze perken blijven?
- 7) Zijn non-leden in de buurt bewust van het bestaan van WhatsApp buurtpreventie in de wijk? Zo ja, hoe worden non-leden geïnformeerd, en hoe wordt hier tegenaan gekeken?

- a) Zorgt WhatsApp buurtpreventie wel eens voor spanningen op tussen leden en non-leden?

Waardering Coproductie van veiligheid gefaciliteerd door sociale media

- 8) Op welke manier kunnen, volgens u, in het algemeen burgers door het gebruik van sociale media (WhatsApp) bijdragen aan een veiligere buurt?
- Draagt het project waarvan u lid bent ook op deze manier bij aan de veiligheid van uw buurt, waarom wel/waarom niet? (kunt u voorbeelden geven hoe)
 - Heeft u ook inzicht in of er ook andere initiatieven in (plaats) die bijdragen aan criminaliteitspreventie/buurtpreventie? (zo nee, leg uit wat dit zou kunnen zijn)
 - Wat zijn, volgens u, de voor-en of nadelen van sociale media gebruik over andere vormen van buurtpreventie, zoals fysieke patrouilleren door de wijk?
- 9) Wat zijn, volgens u, de grootse voordelen van de aanwezigheid van een digitale buurtpreventie in uw buurt in relatie tot criminaliteitspreventie?
- Kunt u voorbeelden noemen die deze voordelen illustreren?
 - Heeft de deze groep ook andere functies dan criminaliteitspreventie?
- 10) Voelt u zich veiliger binnen u buurt, omdat u lid bent van digitale buurtpreventie?
- Waar komt dit door?

Interactie tussen civiele en publieke actoren

- 11) Is er interactie tussen buurtpreventie groepen en politie, en zo ja hoe is dit georganiseerd?
- Wat zijn de taken van politie binnen deze (eventuele) samenwerking?
 - Wat zijn de taken van burgers?
 - Hoe worden eventuele afspraken tussen partijen in stand gehouden?
 - Zijn er nog derde partijen betrokken bij buurtpreventie? Zo ja, wie en hoe?
- 12) Hoe verloopt de samenwerking tussen de het WhatsApp buurtpreventie en de politie/gemeente/?
- Wie draagt de eindverantwoordelijkheid van dit project?
 - Wie bepaalt binnen de samenwerking de prioriteiten?
 - Hoe waardeert u de samenwerking die u heeft met politie/gemeente binnen de digitale buurtpreventie? Ervaart u ook dat de politie/gemeente uw werk waardeert?
 - Wat zou u eventueel anders willen zien in deze samenwerking; op welke manier zou kan de samenwerking tussen WhatsApp buurtpreventie en politie/gemeente, volgens u, het beste kunnen vorm gegeven?
- 13) Vindt er samenwerking plaats tussen verschillende WhatsApp groepen (op buurt niveau) in de gemeente, zo ja, hoe is dit georganiseerd?

Afsluiting

- 14) Heeft u verder nog iets te melden?

- 15) Samenvatting

Interviewguide – Gemeentes

Introductie

- Eigen achtergrond/introductie
- Achtergrond onderzoek: Binnen dit onderzoek probeer ik in kaart te brengen wat de effecten van sociale media gebruik binnen coproductie van veiligheid projecten zijn.
- Reden voor contact: Door de introductie van sociale media in buurtpreventie, zijn steeds meer burgers betrokken in criminaliteitspreventie. Het is ook belangrijk om te zien hoe een gemeente in deze ontwikkelingen staat. Door een interview met u te hebben, heb ik de mogelijkheid om inzicht te krijgen in dit perspectief.
- Mag ik de audio van dit interview opnemen? De data zal vertrouwelijk gebruikt worden.

5. Heeft u nog vragen voordat we aan het interview beginnen?

Algemeen

- 1) Hoe is de gemeente in deze regio betrokken bij lokale digitale buurtpreventie projecten (bijvoorbeeld WhatsApp buurtpreventie)?
- 2) Heeft de gemeente een (actueel) overzicht van alle digitale buurtpreventie groepen binnen uw regio?
 - a) Hoe blijft de gemeente op de hoogte van nieuwe ontwikkelingen binnen dit domein?
- 3) Welke afspraken zijn er binnen de gemeente over het inzetten van digitale buurtpreventie initiatieven?
 - a) Is er gemeentelijk beleid over waar een digitale buurtpreventie initiatief aan moet voldoen? Zo ja, waar is dit op gebaseerd?
 - b) Is er verschil in beleid vanuit de gemeente t.o.v. fysieke/digitale vormen van buurtpreventie. Zo ja, hoe uit dit verschil zich?
- 4) In hoeverre heeft de gemeente inzicht in de gang van zaken binnen digitale buurtpreventie initiatieven van uw regio?
 - a) In hoeverre probeert de gemeente de gang van zaken binnen dergelijke initiatieven te sturen?

Waardering Coproductie van veiligheid gefaciliteerd door sociale media

- 5) Hebben de digitale buurtpreventie groepen volgens de gemeente een toegevoegde waarde?
 - a) Waarom wel/niet?
 - i) Kunt u een voorbeeld geven van een situatie geven die dit illustreert?
 - b) Hoe verhoudt dit zich tot andere vormen van buurtpreventie? (bijvoorbeeld fysieke)
 - c) Ziet u eventueel ook nadelen/risico's aan deze digitale vorm van buurtpreventie?
 - i) Kunt u dit uitleggen?
- 6) Is er, vanuit de gemeente, zicht op hoe digitale buurtpreventie een positieve bijdrage heeft geleverd in de wijken waarin het actief is?
 - a) Hoe uit zich dit; kunt u voorbeelden geven?
- 7) In hoeverre stimuleert de gemeente burgers om betrokken te zijn bij sociale controle door lid te worden van digitale buurtpreventie initiatieven?
 - a) Mocht dit worden gedaan, hoe wordt dit dan aangepakt?

Interactie tussen civiele en publieke actoren

- 8) Hoe is de taakverdeling binnen WhatsApp buurtpreventie georganiseerd?
 - a) Wat zijn de taken van de politie?
 - b) Wat zijn de taken van de gemeente?
 - c) Wat zijn de taken van burgers?
 - d) Zijn er nog derde partijen, zo ja hoe zijn die bij dit project betrokken?
 - e) Zijn eventuele afspraken vastgelegd, wie houdt toezicht op het volgen van deze afspraken?
- 9) Hoe verloopt de samenwerking tussen de leden van een WhatsApp buurtpreventie project en de politie/gemeente/?
 - a) Hoe is het contact met de verschillende partijen georganiseerd?
 - b) Wie draagt de eindverantwoordelijkheid van een dergelijk project?
 - c) Wie bepaalt binnen de samenwerking de prioriteiten?
- 10) Is er supervisie vanuit de gemeente op de gesprekken binnen de buurtpreventie apps?
 - a) Zo ja, hoe is dit georganiseerd?

- 11) Hoe beïnvloed het contact met WhatsApp buurtpreventie initiatieven de relatie tussen de gemeente en burgers?
- Hoe wordt er vanuit de gemeente gezorgd dat het contact tussen de gemeente en de digitale buurtpreventie projecten goed blijft?
 - Heeft u het gevoel dat de samenwerking binnen deze projecten vanuit de verschillende partijen (burger, politie, gemeente) gewaardeerd wordt? Waarom wel, niet?
 - Heeft u het gevoel dat dergelijke initiatieven het vertrouwen van burgers in de gemeente beïnvloedt?
 - Kunt u voorbeelden geven waaruit dit blijkt?

Digitale buurtpreventie & interactie binnen de buurt

- 12) In hoeverre ervaart u dat digitale buurtpreventie projecten de cohesie binnen buurten kunnen beïnvloeden?
- Kunt u voorbeelden noemen die dit illustreren?

Afsluiting

- 13) Heeft u verder nog iets te melden/toe te voegen?

- 14) Samenvatting

Interviewgide – Politie

Introductie

- Eigen achtergrond/introductie
- Achtergrond onderzoek: Binnen dit onderzoek probeer ik in kaart te brengen wat de effecten van sociale media gebruik binnen coproductie van veiligheid projecten zijn.
- Reden voor contact: Door de introductie van sociale media in buurtpreventie, zijn steeds meer burgers betrokken in criminaliteitspreventie. Het is ook belangrijk om te zien hoe de politie in deze ontwikkelingen staat. Door een interview met u te hebben, heb ik de mogelijkheid om inzicht te krijgen in dit perspectief.
- Mag ik de audio van dit interview opnemen? De data zal vertrouwelijk gebruikt worden.
- Heeft u nog vragen voordat we aan het interview beginnen?

Algemeen

- Hoe is de politie in uw gemeente/regio betrokken bij lokale digitale buurtpreventie projecten (bijvoorbeeld WhatsApp buurtpreventie)?
- Heeft de politie een (actueel) overzicht van alle digitale buurtpreventie groepen binnen uw regio?
 - Hoe blijft de politie op de hoogte van nieuwe ontwikkelingen binnen dit domein?
- Hoe worden WhatsApp buurtpreventie initiatieven ingezet door de politie in uw regio?
 - Is er afstemming intern, of met partners over de inzet/gebruik van digitale vormen van buurtpreventie? (Zijn hier ook landelijke afspraken over gemaakt)
 - Wat is volgens de politie het doel van het inzetten van dergelijke initiatieven?
 - Wat is volgens de politie de (potentiele) rol van burgers in criminaliteitspreventie?
 - Is er verschil in beleid vanuit de politie t.o.v. fysieke/digitale vormen van buurtpreventie. Zo ja, hoe uit dit verschil zich?
- In hoeverre heeft politie inzicht in de gang van zaken binnen digitale buurtpreventie initiatieven van uw regio?
 - In hoeverre probeert de politie de gang van zaken binnen dergelijke initiatieven te sturen?
 - Hoe wordt bijvoorbeeld eigenrichting/spelen van eigen rechter of schending van de privacy binnen dergelijke initiatieven tegengegaan?

Waardering Coproductie van veiligheid gefaciliteerd door sociale media

- 5) Hebben de digitale buurtpreventie groepen volgens de politie een toegevoegde waarde?
 - a) Waarom wel/niet?
 - b) Hoe verhoudt dit zich tot andere vormen van buurtpreventie? (bijvoorbeeld fysieke)
- 6) Is er, vanuit de politie, zicht op het aantal zaken waarbij digitale buurtpreventie een positieve bijdrage heeft geleverd in de regio?
 - a) Hoe uit zich dit, kunt u voorbeelden geven?
- 7) In hoeverre stimuleert de politie burgers om betrokken te zijn bij sociale controle door lid te worden van digitale buurtpreventie projecten?
 - a) Mocht dit worden gedaan, hoe wordt dit dan aangepakt?

Interactie tussen civiele en publieke actoren

- 8) Hoe is de taakverdeling binnen WhatsApp buurtpreventie georganiseerd?
 - a) Wat zijn de taken van de politie?
 - b) Wat zijn de taken van de gemeente?
 - c) Wat zijn de taken van burgers?
 - d) Zijn er nog derde partijen, zo ja hoe zijn die bij dit project betrokken?
 - e) Zijn eventuele afspraken vastgelegd, wie houdt toezicht op het volgen van deze afspraken?
- 9) Hoe verloopt de samenwerking tussen de leden van een WhatsApp buurtpreventie project en de politie/gemeente/?
 - a) Hoe is het contact met de verschillende partijen georganiseerd?
 - b) Wie draagt de eindverantwoordelijkheid van een dergelijk project?
 - c) Wie bepaalt binnen de samenwerking de prioriteiten?
- 10) Is er sprake van actieve terugkoppeling vanuit de politie na het contact met digitale buurtpreventie initiatieven?
- 11) Is er supervisie vanuit de politie op de gesprekken binnen de buurtpreventie apps?
 - a) Zo ja, hoe is dit georganiseerd?
- 12) Hoe beïnvloedt het contact met WhatsApp buurtpreventie initiatieven de burger - politie relatie?
 - a) Hoe wordt er vanuit de politie gezorgd dat het contact tussen de politie en de digitale buurtpreventie projecten goed blijft?
 - b) Heeft u het gevoel dat dergelijke initiatieven het vertrouwen/contact van burgers in de politie beïnvloedt?

Digitale buurtpreventie & interactie binnen de buurt

- 13) In hoeverre ervaart u dat digitale buurtpreventie projecten de cohesie binnen buurten kunnen beïnvloeden?
 - a) Kunt u voorbeelden noemen die dit illustreren?

Afsluiting

- 14) Heeft u verder nog iets te melden/toe te voegen?
- 15) Samenvatting

Appendix C: Information sheet

Informatie formulier – Master thesis de effecten van sociale media gebruik binnen coproductie van veiligheid projecten.

Ten eerste, hartelijk dank voor uw interesse in mijn onderzoek. Binnen dit formulier wordt de inhoud van mijn onderzoek en wat uw potentiële rol is binnen dit onderzoek uitgelicht.

Beschrijving onderzoek

In de afgelopen jaren wordt de rol van burgers in de productie van publieke diensten steeds belangrijker in Nederland. Meer en meer burgers nemen hun verantwoordelijkheid om hun steentje bij te dragen in binnen verschillende aspecten van de samenleving. Dit leidt er toe dat burgers, in toenemende mate, ‘coproduceren’. Dit betekent dat burgers, samen met overheidsinstanties, binnen bepaalde velden van de maatschappij aan het werk zijn. Deze zogenaamde coproductie is steeds gangbaarder in het beleid omtrent verschillende gebieden van de maatschappij.

Deze ontwikkelingen spelen ook binnen het domein van publieke veiligheid. In de afgelopen jaren doen overheid en politie steeds meer een beroep op burgers om te participeren binnen buurtpreventie initiatieven, om zo de sociale controle te vergroten en politie werk effectiever te maken. Door deze ontwikkeling is criminaliteitspreventie niet alleen de taak van de staat. Burgers en private partijen nemen ook meer verantwoordelijkheid, dit leidt tot de zogenoemde ‘coproductie van veiligheid’.

De eerste coproductie van veiligheid initiatieven waren gebaseerd op fysieke aanwezigheid; burgers patrouilleerde hun straten om zo de sociale controle te vergroten. Echter, voor een lange tijd bleef de burgerparticipatie binnen dergelijke buurtpreventie initiatieven beperkt. Maar in de afgelopen tijd is de populariteit van buurtpreventie initiatieven in Nederland enorm toegenomen. Een verklarende factor voor deze ontwikkeling is het toenemende gebruik van sociale media binnen dergelijk buurtpreventie initiatieven. Sinds enkele jaren zijn bijvoorbeeld de zogenaamde WhatsApp buurtpreventie initiatieven niet meer wegdenken uit de Nederlandse maatschappij.

Echter, is er nog niet veel onderzoek gedaan naar effecten van sociale media gebruik binnen coproductie van veiligheid projecten. Binnen mijn thesis doe ik onderzoek naar de effecten van sociale media gebruik binnen coproductie van veiligheid projecten. Binnen mijn onderzoek staat de volgende onderzoeksvraag dan ook centraal:

Wat zijn de effecten van sociale media gebruikt binnen coproductie van veiligheid projecten in Nederland?

Voor dit onderzoek wil ik zowel gehoor geven aan mensen binnen de publieke als de civiele kant van coproductie van veiligheid. Door zowel politie/gemeente als burgers te interviewen, worden verschillende kanten van dit fenomeen belicht. Het doel van dit onderzoek is dan ook meer duidelijkheid te scheppen over hoe sociale media gebruikt wordt en gebruikt kan worden binnen coproductie van veiligheid projecten. Op deze manier wordt het beter zichtbaar wat de voor- en nadelen van deze recente ontwikkeling zijn.

Vertrouwelijkheid en rechten van deelnemers

- De audio van de interviews zal, na toestemming van de respondent, worden opgenomen
- U heeft het recht om de audio opname van het interview uit te zetten, mocht u dat willen.
- U mag het interview beëindigen op elk moment.
- Mocht u het wenselijk vinden, dan kan er een uitgeschreven kopie van het interview naar u verstuurd worden. U heeft de kans om binnen dit kopie correcties te maken en het verzoek te maken om bepaalde delen niet te gebruiken binnen mijn onderzoek.
- Tenzij u hier expliciet toestemming hiervoor geeft, zal uw naam, of andere persoonlijke informatie niet worden meegenomen in het onderzoek

Als participant binnen mijn onderzoek heeft u recht op:

- Afwijzen om te participeren binnen mijn onderzoek.
- Weigeren om een bepaalde vraag te beantwoorden
- Vragen of de audio opname uit kan op elk moment van het interview.
- Het interview beëindigen op ieder moment.
- Uzelf terugtrekken uit het interview tot drie weken na het interview.
- Het stellen van elke vraag over mijn onderzoek
- Het laten verwijderen van interview-materiaal van wat u niet wil dat het in het onderzoek naar voren komt

Nogmaals, hartelijk bedankt dat u de tijd neemt om meer te weten te komen over mijn onderzoek. Ik sta open voor elke vraag die u mocht hebben over dit onderzoek. U kunt mij bereiken via het mail adres s.valster@student.rug.nl.

Appendix D: Consent form

Toestemmingsformulier – Coproductie van veiligheid en sociale media

- Mits ik mijn toestemming geef, wordt het interview opgenomen en in een vertrouwelijke omgeving bewaard.
- De onderzoeker heeft aan mij uitgelegd wat het doel van dit onderzoek is. Ik heb tijd gehad om vragen te stellen over mijn deelname binnen dit onderzoek.
- Ik begrijp dat mijn deelname aan dit onderzoek volledig vrijwillig is en dat ik mijn deelname op elk moment kan beëindigen.
- Ik snap dat de data die voortkomt uit dit interview gebruikt kan worden voor wetenschappelijke doeleinden. Ik stem hier mee toe, op de voorwaarde dat mijn privacy gewaarborgd blijft.
- Hierbij geef ik toestemming, uit vrije wil, om deel te nemen aan dit onderzoek.

Naam respondent:.....

Handtekening:

Datum:.....

- Ik, de onderzoeker, bevestig dat dit onderzoek is uitgelegd aan de bovengenoemde respondent.
- Ik, de onderzoeker, waarborg de privacy van de bovengenoemde participant en ik zal de data die voortkomt uit dit interview anoniem maken.

Naam onderzoeker:.....

Handtekening:

Datum:.....

Appendix E: Coding schemes

Coding scheme interviews citizens:

Primary code	Secondary code	Tertiary code	
1. Involvement (digital) co-production of safety	1.1 Function/Role		
	1.2 How long involved		
	1.3 Reason for involvement		
2. Organization program	2.2 Regulations	2.2.1 Official set up rules	
		2.2.2 Non-official/ codes of conduct	
		2.2.3 Control of regulations	
	2.3 Organization interaction between members program	2.3.1 Digital interaction	
		2.3.2 Physical interaction	
	2.4 Responsibility		
	2.5 Membership	2.5.1 Representation neighbourhood	
		2.6 Representation	
		2.7 Visibility	
		2.8 Activities	
3. Trigger	3.1 Criminal acts		
	3.2 Feelings of unsafety		
	3.3 Request from third parties		
4. Function Initiative	4.1 Crime prevention		
	4.2 Social function		
	4.3 Bolster safety	4.3.1 Subjective safety	
		4.3.2 Objective safety	
5. Social media messaging in co-production of safety efforts	5.1 Content of message	5.1.1 Text message	
		5.1.2 Video/images message	
	5.2 Frequency of use		
	5.3 Response to messages		
6. Motivations social media use in co-production of safety	6.1 the accessibility of social media		
	6.2 Ease to use		
	6.3 Time intensity of social media		
	6.4 Familiarity		
	7. Effects social media use in co-production of safety	7.1 Privacy	
	7.2 (false) Accusations		
	7.3 unnecessary Messaging		
	7.4 Inclusivity		
	7.5 Anonymity		
8. Cooperation other parties	8.1 Police		
	8.2 Municipality		

	8.3 Other crime prevention initiatives	
	8.4 Other third parties	
9. Value digital co-production of safety	9.1 Positive aspects	
	9.2 Negative aspects	
10. Effects digital co-production of safety	10.1 Crime prevention	
	10.2 Feelings of (un)safety	10.2.1 Objective safety
		10.2.2 Subjective safety
	10.3 Neighbourhood interaction	
	10.4 Social cohesion	
	10.5 Interaction state parties	10.5.1 Interaction police
		10.5.2 Interaction Municipality
	10.6 Social control	
	10.7 Tension members and non-members	
	10.8 View strangers	

Coding scheme interviews state actors:

Primary code	Secondary code
1. Involvement (<i>digital</i>) co-production of safety	1.1 Function/Role
	1.2 How long involved
	1.3 Reason for involvement
	1.4 Role in co-production of safety initiative
2. Input initiative	2.1 regulations
	2.2 information
	2.3 finance
	2.4 standards
	2.5 material
3. Cooperation	3.1 Police
	3.2 Municipality
	3.3 Civic initiatives
4. Objective	4.1 Stop crime
	4.2 Bolster safety
	4.3 Social cohesion
5. Effects of social media use in co-production of safety	5.1 Privacy
	5.2 (false) Accusations
	5.3 unnecessary Messaging
	5.4 Inclusivity
	5.5 Anonymity
	5.6 unnecessary messaging
6. Effects digital co-production of safety	6.1 Crime prevention
	6.2 Feelings of (un)safety
	6.3 Neighbourhood interaction
	6.4 Social cohesion
	6.5 Interaction civic parties
	6.6 Social control
	6.8 View strangers
	6.9
7. Interaction	7.1 Meetings
	7.2 Digital presence
	7.3 Other contact
9. Public civic relations	9.1 Trust
	9.2 Accessibility
	9.3 Appreciation
10. Objective	10.1 Crime prevention
	10.2 Public safety
	10.3 Social factors
11. Motivations social media use in co-production of safety	11.1 The accessibility of social media
	11.2 Ease to use
	11.3 Time intensity
	11.4 Familiarity