

Citizens, safety and the precariousness of digital community initiatives

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"When there are cars in the neighbourhood we're not familiar with, or when we are not sure about people we have never seen before, we'll make a picture and send it: 'Do we know anything about this?'"

(Pauline, moderator of WhatsApp neighbourhood watch group)





WhatsApp Neighborhood Watch (WNW)

WhatsApp Buurtpreventie

- WhatsApp group chats created by neighbors
- Main goal: prevent break-ins, making a safer community
- Police and municipality sometimes involved
- 6943 NL-based groups registered on www.wabp.nl (May 15, 2017)
- Supplement and supplant 'physical' neighborhood watch groups

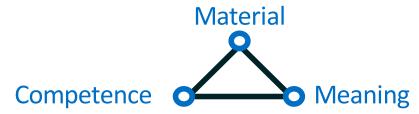
Existing public reports (grey literature) address benefits & pitfalls

- + Decreased break-ins (Akkermans & Vollaard, 2015)
- Low participation threshold (Bervoets, 2014)
- + Increased social cohesion (Van der Land et al., 2014)
- Stereotyping & racist behaviour (Lub, 2016)
- Increased feelings of unsafety (Lub, 2016)
- Privacy issues members (De Vries, 2016)



Practice theory

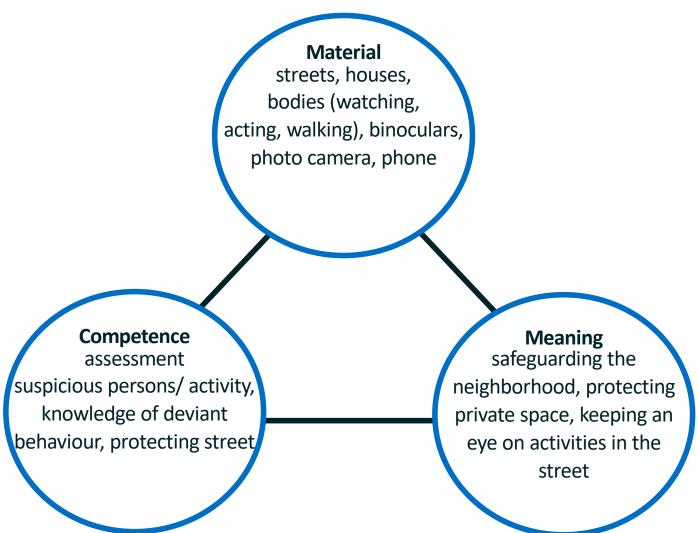
- "A 'practice' is a routinized type of behavior which consists of several elements, interconnected to one other: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, 'things' and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge." (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 249)
- Elements of practices Shove, Pantzar and Watson (2012)



 "Practices are intrinsically connected to and interwoven with objects" (Schatzki, 2002, p. 106)

Ezafung

Neighborhood watchfulness practices



(zafus

Providing a multidimensional understanding

Sample: 14 WhatsApp neighbourhood watch groups, differing in:

- Size
- Level of professionalization
- Involvement of third parties (police, municipality, etc.)
- Neighbourhoods: Degree of urbanity

Method

- 14 In-depth interviews with group moderators
- 2 Focus groups with group members
 - Audio-recorded, transcribed
 - Constructive grounded theory analysis (inspired by Charmaz 2014)
 - Inductive qualitative content analysis (using Atlas.ti)

The amplified material dimension

• Dave: "There a couple of Polish people living in the **village**, so there are quite

some cars with a Polish license plate. And I believe that there was a

message in the WhatsApp neighborhood watch group about a couple of

men sitting in their car."

Henry: "Yes, sitting in their car, or in a van. And then immediately someone

replied: Yes, they belong here, they live here."

Dave: "They were only waiting for someone to get in the car."

(members during focus group discussion)

"At work, I received messages: 'They are now here' (...) And they went to another street. And it felt rather inconvenient to not be home at that moment. Because, a couple more streets and they would have entered our property" (Rick, member)



The material dimension: shared images



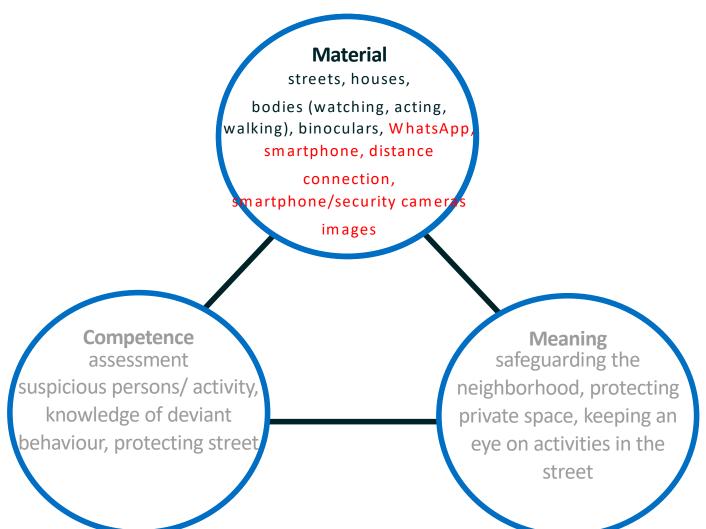
Your IPCamera:
detected motion
alarm at 2017-3-11 13:46:13







WhatsApp Neighborhood watch practices



Erafus,

Competence: skills, know-how & understanding

- "There are also members, and this is where it goes wrong, who will post things like:
 'Hey Harry, how is the weather?'. There are these ignorant people who do not get
 the purpose of this [WNW group]." (Kai, moderator)
- "As neighbours we can see the difference between a resident and a stranger. For them [police] everyone is unfamiliar, they have to use their intuition while we have the facts (...) that's why you can play a much bigger role as a resident." (Ron, moderator)
- "We've had a situation with a dark skinned man who was reported [in the WNW group], and everyone went out to look for him. Even though someone reported:
 'the police is informed', they started searching for him anyway." (Emma, member)



WhatsApp Neighborhood watch practices

Material

streets, houses,
bodies (watching, acting,
walking), binoculars, WhatsApp
group, distance connection,
smartphone with camera

Competence

assessment suspicious

persons/activity and deviant
behavior, protecting street,
using smartphone & WhatsApp,
activate and inform neighbors

Meaning

safeguarding the neighborhood, protecting private space, keeping an eye on activities in the street



Meaning: emotions & motivational knowledge

 "I believe that it also provides sort of a sense of security" (Kai, moderator)

Chrissy: "Sometimes I experience it creates unrest."

Lucia: "Yes, I understand that remark, because at a certain point, you

become nervous."

Interviewer: "So how do you feel when you receive a WNW group message?"

Lucia: "Well, if it is as close by as last time..."

Vera: "Yes, that was really close."

Lucia: "Yes, then I am really terrified. And then, I always sleep with the

windows open, we sleep at ground floor level with the windows

open, well, then I close the windows."

(members during focus group discussion)



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behavior, protecting street,

using smartphone & WhatsApp,

activate and inform neighbors

Meaning

safeguarding the
neighborhood, protecting
private space, keeping an eye
on activities in the street,
continuous
connectivity



Conclusions

- WhatsApp neighborhood watch increasingly popular phenomenon
 - Ambivalent nature & precarious consequences
 - Significant issues for communities, police and municipalities
 - Form of participatory policing (Reeves, 2017; Larsson 2017)
 - If you see something, WhatsApp something.
 - Limited actual police involvement, citizen mobilization
- Amplified communities in the making
 - Normalization process
 - Understanding of reconfiguration of elements within practices is required



Thank you for listening!

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Mapping Privacy and Surveillance Dynamics in Emerging Mobile Ecosystems project

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