

2018-09-21

Engaging the Senses: The Potential of Emotional Data for Participation in Urban Planning

Fathullah, A

<http://hdl.handle.net/10026.1/12373>

10.3390/urbansci2040098

Urban Science

MDPI AG

All content in PEARL is protected by copyright law. Author manuscripts are made available in accordance with publisher policies. Please cite only the published version using the details provided on the item record or document. In the absence of an open licence (e.g. Creative Commons), permissions for further reuse of content should be sought from the publisher or author.



1 Article

2 Engaging the Senses: The Potential of Emotional 3 Data for Participation in Urban Planning

4
5
6
7
8
9

10 Received: date; Accepted: date; Published: date

11 **Abstract:** This paper presents an exploratory study on the potential for sharing urban data; one where
12 citizens create their own data and use it to understand and influence urban planning decisions. The
13 aim of the study is to explore new models of participation through the sharing of emotional data and
14 focuses on the relationship between the physical space and emotions through identifying the links
15 between stress levels and specific features of the urban environment. It addresses the problem in
16 urban planning that, whilst people’s emotional connection with the physical urban setting is often
17 valued, it is rarely recognised or used as a source of data to understand future decision making. The
18 method involved participants using a (GSR) device linked to location data to measure participant’s
19 emotional responses along a walking route in a city centre environment. Results show correlations
20 between characteristics of the urban environment and stress levels, as well as how specific features
21 of the city spaces create stress ‘peaks’. In the discussion we review how the data obtained could
22 contribute to citizens creating their own information layer - an emotional layer- that could inform a
23 shared approach to participation in urban planning decision-making. The future implications of the
24 application of this method as an approach to public participation in urban planning are also
25 considered.

26 **Keywords:** emotions; participation; digital participation; physiological sensors; galvanic skin
27 response; GSR; stress levels; emotional layer; urban
28

29 1. Introduction – Sharing Cities

30 A sharing cities approach focuses on bring local people together through shared activities and
31 cooperation for the benefit of the city and includes initiatives such as carsharing, community
32 currencies, cohousing, hackerspaces, timebanks and tool or kitchen libraries. These new forms of
33 sharing, enabled by technological devices and platforms [1] work by enabling citizens to create, adapt
34 and exploit data[2] and can create new ways in which citizens participate in the governance of the
35 city. For example, civic apps, developed by citizens, civic organisations and commercial companies
36 [3] have become widespread and typically create some form of two-way interaction where citizens
37 contribute to commenting on or providing data on public services usually offered by the city such as
38 crime prevention, rubbish collection, public transportation and pollution reduction. McLaren and
39 Agymen present as new model for collaboration and sharing around the city where “the same
40 measures that enable sharing online, also – if civil liberties are properly protected – enable collective
41 politics online. We see the increasingly blurred nexus between urban- and cyberspace enabling
42 transformation – this time in the political domain. These spaces are fundamentally important for
43 forms of participation invented and controlled by the people” [4]. This takes a model of participation,
44 or sharing data that is termed ‘co-production’ whereby ‘citizens perform the role of partner rather

45 than customer in the delivery of public services' [5]. The challenge is how to enable citizens who are
 46 non-experts to gather, analyse and share data in a way that can meaningfully contribute to urban
 47 planning processes. The aim of this paper is to look at the potential of emotional data for enabling
 48 participation in urban planning, that contributes towards a shared cities approach. The objective of
 49 this approach to propose that a sharing emotional data can enable better insights of the city and its
 50 inhabitants which could lead to a citizen-centred approach in urban planning processes

51 In this paper we take the approach that sharing practices present an alternative model of
 52 participation in city decision making. Conventional citizen participation methods in city planning are
 53 typically linear and include referenda, public hearings, public surveys, charettes, public advisory
 54 committees or focus groups which often require the participants to be physical present at particular
 55 time and place (see Figure 1). The qualitative nature of data gathering and sharing means that citizens
 56 that have input into such consultations typically participate through methods such as completing
 57 surveys and contributing verbal comments, which are qualitative in nature and require further
 58 analysis to be used effectively. These forms of data are not easily translatable into the types and
 59 format of data and outcomes that are used by urban planners; such as urban plans, maps and GIS
 60 data. In addition factors such as the time required of citizens to participate often results in apathy
 61 among citizens [6], so that actual participation rarely represents a majority of inhabitants or involves
 62 the full range of stakeholders [7].
 63



64

65 Figure 1. Current model of participation in Urban Planning process

66 Digital technologies can address some of the issues of participation in the urban planning
 67 process by enabling a more accessible system for the public to shape their neighbourhood's future
 68 [8]. Munster et al. outline potential advantages of digital participation which include the utilisation
 69 of wider pool of knowledge through broader audience and participants, which creates an interactive
 70 and communication-oriented planning process [9]. They can lower barriers for participation, involve
 71 a wider range of participants, and by enabling people to discuss urban design proposals in place can
 72 foster interest in public participation [9]. This offers new perspectives for designers and planners to
 73 "transforming planning work into an iterative, agile work process, in contrast to sequential and linear
 74 workflows that have shaped urban design practice in the past" [10]. Crivellaro et al. [11] have looked
 75 at how local people use data sharing through Facebook to mobilise around a local social movement.
 76 They recognised the importance of forming a like-minded community, but also acknowledged the
 77 struggle of the group to translate their emotions to the authority and decision makers. Hasler et al.
 78 [12] in another research found that the multiplication and diversity of contributions by citizens
 79 through digital participation increases complexity which means that prioritising relevant data can be
 80 problematic. This illustrates how data sharing can facilitate discussions that are planning-related, but
 81 turning them into actionable policies proven to be difficult. The research question this paper therefore
 82 seeks to explore is: *Can sharing emotional data offer a method for participation in the urban planning process?*

83 The paper presents a potential methodological contribution in terms of the incorporation of
 84 physiological sensing device and GPS tracking technologies for measure and analysing emotional
 85 data in urban environments. In order to do this, we first review the literature on the urban planning
 86 process, showing how the development of the discipline has sought to enable citizen participation.
 87 This is mapped against Arnstein's 'Ladder of Participation' to highlight how much of this
 88 participation typically does not enable citizens to control and act in the process, and is therefore the

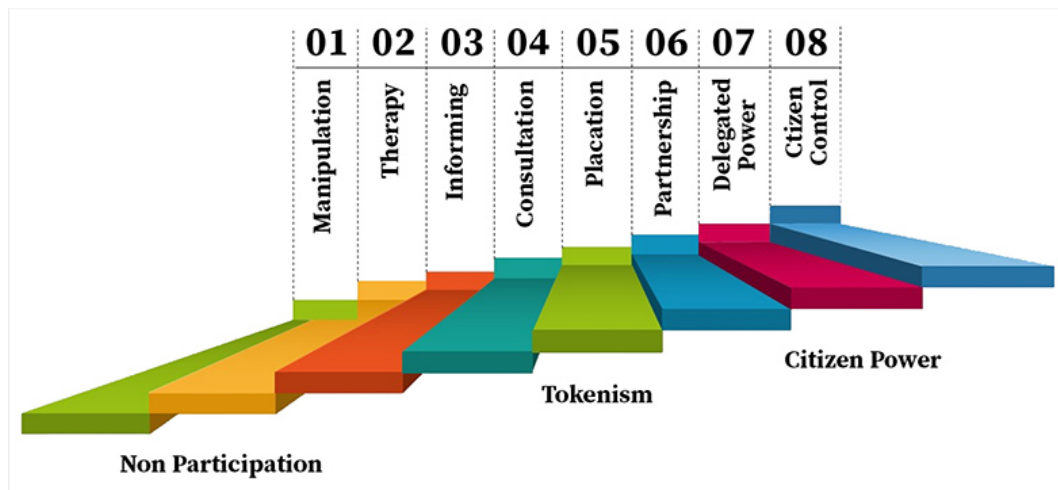
89 participation is often tokenistic. The potential of incorporating digital tools for participation is
90 presented, and in particular the value of incorporating emotional data as a way of capturing a more
91 person-centric understanding of urban space. In the study described in the paper, a small number of
92 participants used a galvanic skin response (GSR) linked to location data to record stress levels in a
93 walk through an urban city centre space with different characteristics. The findings aim to explore
94 whether this emotional data might have benefit for enabling new models of shared data in urban
95 planning processes.

96 1.1 The Challenge of Participation in the Urban Planning Process

97 *“Cities have the capability of providing something for everybody, only because, and only when, they are*
98 *created by everybody”* [13]

99 Many people now live in cities, but despite Jacob’s plea above, very few participate in how they
100 are created, designed and planned. Therefore, the contribution of this study address the following
101 broader question: ‘how to enable meaningful participation in the urban planning process’? In order
102 to do this, the paper first provides some context on how urban planning evolved and the developing
103 role of participation. The origins if urban planning in the western world in the early 20th Century,
104 were heavily influenced by the rational-comprehensive approach where the planning sequence
105 involves: a survey of the region, an analysis of the survey, and finally the development of the plan
106 [14]. Hall [15] argued that Geddes “gave planning a logical structure” by developing the survey-
107 analysis-plan sequence of planning. However, this method of planning has been criticised to be too
108 top-down; seeing the planner as “the omniscient ruler, who should create new settlement forms
109 without interference or question” [15] as well as being too reductionist as planners have to make
110 assumptions and predictions which required them to have complete certainty [16]. This then caused
111 the planners to proceed on the basis of simplifying the world around them which later led to a lot of
112 failure of the predictions [16]. The failures of the rational-comprehensive approach in urban planning
113 led it to being succeeded by synoptic planning approach in 1960s and Hall argued that this change
114 represents a fundamental shift in the role of the planners and their relationship with the public.
115 However, Faludi [16] argued that this early form of participation was still based on the assumption
116 that the society is homogenous – implying the homogeneity of interest. This means that participation
117 is only required to validate and uncritically legitimise the goals of planning and any objection to
118 planning proposal tends to be stigmatised [16].

119 Even when public participation has become an integral part of current urban planning process,
120 Innes and Booher [6] argued that they still “do not achieve genuine participation”. This is because
121 current form of public participation does not satisfy members of the public that they are being heard
122 and often does not improve the decisions that agencies and public officials make and [6]. The
123 scepticism posed by Innes and Booher [6] to the way that current participation is being practiced
124 could be traced back to Arnstein’s widely known ‘Ladder of Participation’ [17]. As she put it, “there
125 is a critical difference between going through the empty ritual of participation and having the real
126 power needed to affect the outcomes of the process”[17]. The fundamental point of these criticisms
127 was that if urban planners seek public participation, it is necessary that there be a redistribution of
128 power [17]. She regarded power in public participation as a ladder or a spectrum ranging from
129 ‘nonparticipation’ through to ‘degrees of citizen power’ (see Figure 2), which correspond to the
130 degree of power or control participants can exercise in the quest of shaping the outcome. The ladder
131 outlines steps of public participation from manipulation (level 1), education (level 3), and
132 consultation (level 4), through to sharing power through ‘partnership’ (level 6) and beyond.



133

134 **Figure 2.** Arnstein's Ladder of Participation

135 Notably, Arnstein's framework regards consultation as 'tokenism' similar to the way Innes and
 136 Booher [6] viewed the level of public participation in current urban planning process. However,
 137 Painter [18] argued against Arnstein's analysis by stating that her ladder of participation model
 138 inaccurately apprehends power i.e. it confuses 'potential power' with 'actual power' [18]. While the
 139 official decision-making power may rest with institutional decision-makers in a consultation process,
 140 to regard the process as tokenistic disregards the fact that "if the exercise of influence [by participants]
 141 is effective, then this formal power is an empty shell" [18], p.23). He also argues that Arnstein's model
 142 often assume decision-making in planning occurs at a single point in the process. This ignores the
 143 fact that there is rarely an identifiable, or single, 'point of decision' in policy-making [18]. The primary
 144 value of this discussion is that it exposes that participation in planning can include the exercise of
 145 both formal and informal power. Hence, having power in decision-making processes is not the only
 146 way towards achieving genuine participation, as it could also be realised through ranges of other
 147 participatory activities - as long as the engagement with citizens contribute positively towards the
 148 outcome of a planning project.

149 *1.1.1 Emotions and Planning*

150 This paper explores whether sharing emotional data about a particular city setting can be used
 151 to inform the urban planning process. Although the link between the built environment and human's
 152 emotional aspects in urban planning research has found a growing interest in recent years, it is still a
 153 rather new approach in the field [19]. Typically in urban planning, planning is seen as an objective
 154 process, so emotion is not seen as qualities or analysis that can be meaningfully included in decision
 155 making [20]. They believe that urban planners should avoid allowing emotions to influence their
 156 analysis or recommendations and this is largely due to the fact that urban planners are taught to
 157 operate in a rational manner [20]. Despite the neglect of emotional aspects by many planning officials,
 158 there are also some urban planners who do recognise the importance of emotions within the field.
 159 For example, Lynch [21] recognises the emotional aspect through its link with emotions and mental
 160 maps while Ferreira [22] has urged that emotions should be presented as constructive drives with the
 161 power to positively inspire the planner to become a more competent professional. Porter et al. [23]
 162 on the other hand have claimed that attachments to community members improve the ability of
 163 planners to understand and work with residents while Gunder and Hillier [24] have interpreted
 164 planning issues through a Lacanian psychological model which acknowledge the entire process of
 165 becoming and being a planner is typically associated with strong emotional experiences. These
 166 authors have provided a meaningful theoretical discourse in terms of acknowledging the importance
 167 of emotions within urban planning. However, the majority of them have kept their focus on the

168 planner side of the equation rather than on the users' side. Most of them recognise that planners
169 should positively address emotions but very few have put the emphasis on citizens' emotional
170 interactions with the urban environments itself. This should not be the case if we were to truly
171 understand the relationship between emotions and urban spaces. According to Zeile et al. 'the long-
172 term goal is to develop a new information layer for planners, in which a visualization of the measured
173 spatial perception is possible. These visualizations allow conclusions about human behavior in an
174 urban environment and enable a new citizen-centered perspective in planning processes' (Zeile,
175 Resch, Exner, & Sagl, 2015). Hence, by linking it to public participations and the developments of
176 digital tools, the next subsection will review some of the literature and studies around the spatial-
177 emotional interactions of the city's users as its main focus to understand the significance of emotions
178 in the urban planning field.

179 *1.1.2 Digital Tools as Means for Measuring Emotions*

180 Recent technological developments have allowed the incorporation of emotions in public
181 participation within the planning field. It also allows current urban planners to increase their
182 understanding of the relationship between citizens and urban spaces by measuring their emotions
183 using newly developed digital tools. Most of the studies around this topic can largely be divided into
184 three categories based on the tools they have used to extract emotional data either through: 1) social
185 media, 2) mobile apps, or 3) physiological wearable devices. The similarities within all of these studies
186 and perhaps the most important one for incorporating emotional experiences in spatial analysis is
187 the capability to cross reference emotional data with accurate locational data i.e. the ability to geo-
188 locate those data to a specific place within a city. For example, under the first category, Mislove et al.
189 [25] extract the moods of people from different cities by mining information on social media, in this
190 case, Twitter. This information however tends to be at a low level of granularity; it is generally at a large
191 spatial scale such as city, state or region and not collected at a detailed spatial level, such as a street
192 or a city centre. Nevertheless, there is other recent research on mining emotional responses towards
193 particular spaces from social media such as Tauscher and Neumann [26] who generated sentiment
194 maps of tourist locations.

195 The Urban Emotion Research Lab developed a methodology for the extraction of contextual
196 emotion information for decision support in spatial planning which enabled crowdsourcing
197 physiological conditions (technical sensors measuring psycho-physiological parameters) and
198 subjective emotions (human sensors contributing subjectively perceived emotions) [27-29] Drawing
199 on this work, Hauthal and Burghardt [30] and Aiello et al., [31] both extract location-based emotions
200 from photo titles, descriptions, and tags from Panoramio and Flickr respectively to generate maps of
201 specific streets within various cities with emotional attributes. Mody et al. designed a location-based
202 social networking tool that enables users to share and store their emotional feelings about places
203 'WiMo' [32]. They found that it was possible to create a recognisable and useable framework for
204 gathering users individual emotional responses in a shared map interface. Key to this was defining
205 'places' rather than distinct geographical locations as these elicited an emotional response.
206 Meanwhile, Zeile et al., [33] has established a dedicated algorithm to source emotional expressions
207 from Twitter before plotting them onto the map of downtown Boston, USA.

208 Some researchers have started to focus on developing mobile apps, to gather users' wellbeing
209 and feelings and to relate them to the geographic reference of their occurrence. For example, Ettema
210 and Smajic (2015) utilised smartphones to gather self-recorded experiences of students during a walk.
211 They have then later found out that the level of happiness was the highest in areas where many
212 activities were happening and where a lot of people were around (Ettema and Smajic, 2015).
213 MacKerron and Mourato (2013) in their project "Mappiness" used an iPhone app to collect frequent
214 reports of temporary happiness at random times. They found that participants are generally happier
215 in green or natural environments than in urban environments (MacKerron and Mourato, 2013).
216 Similarly, Klettner et al., (2013) designed mobile apps called EmoMap to collect people's emotional
217 responses to space through mobile phones, as well as modelling, and visualizing these data. The

218 findings indicate that environments varying according to the amount of vegetation and traffic are
219 perceived differently, with highest positive ratings for the urban-green area, and lowest ratings in
220 the heavy traffic urban area (Klettner et al., 2013).

221 While semantic analysis from social media data and citizen feedbacks from mobile apps offer
222 subjective evaluations on emotional experience of participants, physiological emotional extraction
223 technique using wearable devices propose the investigation of the more objective element of
224 emotions. This is on the basis that physiological responses would provide useful indications of the
225 users' current emotional states when they interact with the physical environment. Over the last ten
226 years, some urban researchers have been investigating this relationship and Nold's [34] 'emotional
227 cartography' is perhaps the most significant in laying a fundamental underpinning to explore the
228 changes in physiology in the urban space. His 'BioMapping' project, undertaken between the years
229 2004 to 2009, was the first to integrate GPS data with biometric human sensor data and explore the
230 idea of visualising cartographically referenced emotional data. In the fieldwork, he gathered the
231 change of the skin conductance levels and skin temperature of participants wearing a galvanic skin
232 response (GSR) device as they walked in a number of cities, which was then mapped based on their
233 GPS locations to describe areas in terms of emotional arousal [34].

234 Similar work was done by Zeile et al. [35] who mapped the stress levels of cyclists in Cambridge,
235 Massachusetts by measuring skin conductance levels during their ride using a GSR device. Apart
236 from that, they have also attached a video recording device to allow footages to be taken along the
237 route in order to accurately understand what caused the physiological changes in their participants
238 [35]. A dedicated smartphone app was then used to allow geo-tagged reporting of the experiment.
239 Their findings include the detection of what caused negative arousal in cyclists and they found out
240 that the triggers include dangerous intersections, physical obstacles, pedestrians crossing, cars
241 passing close by and damaged road surface [35]. They have also mapped the cycling route with all
242 the moments of stress and triggers as well as some specific emotions based on the input from the
243 participants and their rides.

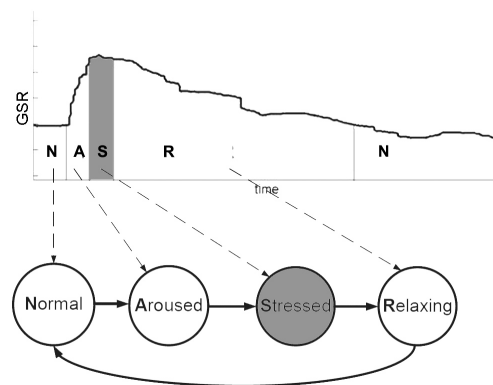
244 The studies conducted by Nold [34] and Zeile et al. [35] all benefited from the use of the GSR
245 device that offers physiological data collection of emotions of the participants. As the GSR device
246 measures levels of emotional arousal through the change in skin conductance and resistance levels,
247 these data can be easily quantified resulting in a more objective measure of emotions rather than just
248 qualitative. This method is valuable since objective measurement of emotions has proven to be
249 beneficial in terms of producing a more accurate representation of emotions. Hence, the next
250 subsection will explore the mechanism operating the GSR device and its uses in measuring negative
251 emotional arousal within the field. As mentioned previously, the work of Zeile and colleagues and
252 Nold have undertaken key work [34-36] that has objectively investigated the relationship between
253 emotions and physical environments using physiological responses methods. This work has laid
254 important theoretical and methodological foundations for integrating the use of galvanic skin
255 response (GSR) within urban spatial analysis and city planning, hence. In this paper we draw on
256 these methodological approaches and further investigate the link between and urban spaces to gain
257 understanding of how features in the urban space can be mapped against emotional response and
258 the corresponding potential for this in participatory urban planning.

259 1.1.3 Physiological Measures of Stress Levels Using a GSR Device

260 A range of physiological measures have been employed to assess emotions in research. As
261 mentioned before, physiological responses of the sympathetic nervous system, especially changes in
262 electrodermal activity (EDA), blood pressure, heart rate, and cortisol levels, are broadly used to
263 reflect changes in emotional arousals [37]. However, because the change in blood pressure and heart
264 rate are also influenced by physical activities, the EDA offers a more accurate measure of emotional
265 arousal [37]. Boucsein have discussed EDA at length and regarded it as a common term for all
266 electrical phenomena including active and passive electrical properties which occurs in the skin [38].
267 One of the most well-known EDA measures is the galvanic skin response (GSR) defined simply as 'a

268 change in the ability of the skin to conduct electricity' [38]. GSR can be measured using a GSR device
 269 in which the fundamental physiological mechanism that operates the response is 'the subtle change
 270 in sweat secretion from eccrine sweat glands throughout the body which increased when there is a
 271 high level of emotional arousal[36]. This phenomenon is called emotional sweating and can be
 272 observed and measured most easily and accurately on hands and feet. As the secretion of sweat
 273 increases, skin surfaces become moister, thus improving the conduction of an electric current [36].
 274 This allows for the skin conductance and resistance level to increase or decrease, and this change is
 275 recorded by the GSR device.

276 The current state-of-the-art in physiological sensor data analysis research suggests that negative
 277 emotional arousal can be correctly distinguished through the analysing of the skin conductance level.
 278 According to leading researchers in the field, such as Kreibig [39] and Rodrigues et al., [40], skin
 279 conductivity increases (while its resistivity decreases) when a negative experience occurs as this
 280 negative arousal is an indicator for a stress event. Zeile et al. supported this argument as their study
 281 has found out that "[if] for instance a test person has the experience of anger or fear – a negative
 282 emotion – skin conductance (the difference between sweat production and absorption of the skin)
 283 increases' [33]. Dakker et al. found in studies that GSR can be used not just to detect emotions but
 284 also for change detection in emotions since 'emotional experiences trigger changes in autonomic
 285 arousal quite impressively'. This can be used to link levels of emotional arousal with stress [41].
 286 Bakker et al. distinguish stress in patterns of sharp rising emotional arousal at the peak, prior to a
 287 slow return to a relaxed state (see Figure 3) as highlighted in grey in the adapted GSR data graph
 288 below.



289

290 Figure 3. (adapted from Bakker et al.) – 'An example of acute stress pattern observed from GSR data
 291 and how it can be mapped to the symbolic (time-stamped) representation of person's stress' [41]

292 In this paper we focus on change detection in emotions using a GSR device and through
 293 correlating with changes in the urban context aim to investigate whether this has potential for
 294 mapping emotional change to particular urban planning features and qualities.

295 2. Materials and Methods

296 In this study, individual participants were asked to walk through a specific route in the city,
 297 whilst linked up to a galvanic skin response (GSR) device attached to their fingers and a GPS tracker
 298 app (Figure 4) in a backpack which they carried. Stress levels were measured using the GSR device
 299 which operates by detecting the subtle change in sweat secretion from eccrine sweat glands. Prior to
 300 the walk the quality of the GSR signal was checked in the visualisation software and the data feed
 301 was tested with the participant to resolve any potential issues and visualize the impact of breathing,
 302 movements, and talking.
 303



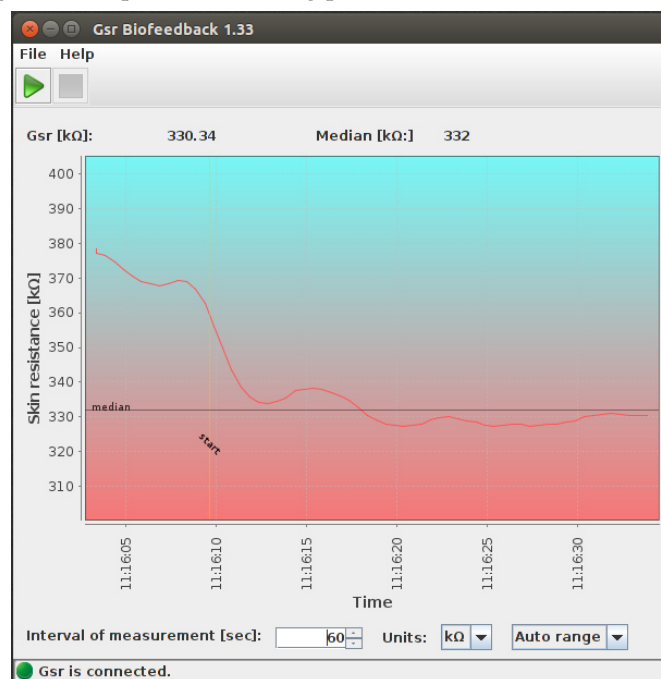
304

305 **Figure 4.** Experiment set-up consisting of a finger mounted GSR device, a laptop, and a backpack
 306 linked to a GPS Phone Tracker App that was used to track participant's location at 1-minute intervals
 307 during the walk

308 During the fieldwork, the GSR device was first fixed to participants' fingers and then connected
 309 to a laptop that runs an accompanying software called GSR Studio (Figure 5) that records changes
 310 detected by the GSR device and automatically plots a readable graph of skin resistance levels against
 311 time. GPS data was recorded at 1-minute intervals during the walk, and the GSR data was then read
 312 in conjunction with features and characteristics of the urban setting to identify how this correlated to
 313 emotional arousal levels. In this study the focus is on positive and negative emotional arousal.

314 The GSR device used in this study¹ was a low cost and low-tech piece of equipment (costing
 315 under €100), and required no specialist training prior to use.

316



¹ <https://www.happy-electronics.eu/biofeedback/products-en-2/skin-response-biofeedback/>

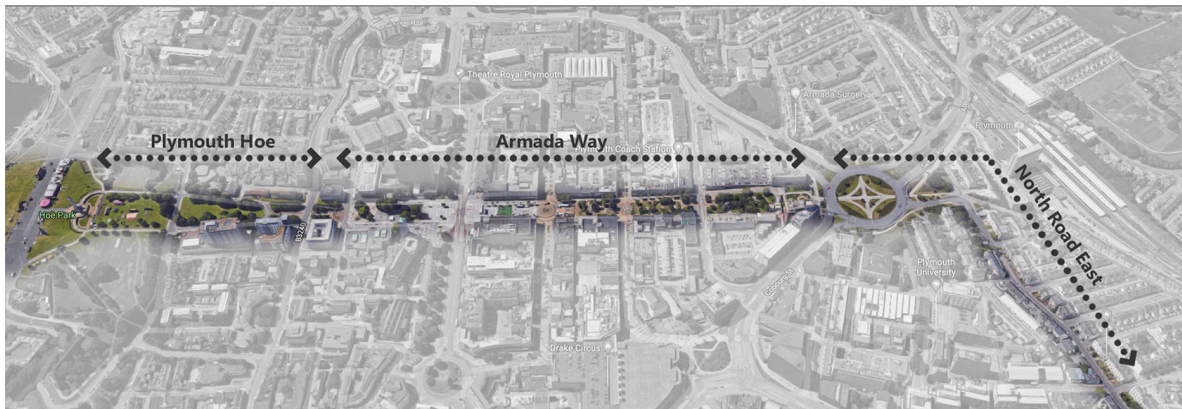
317 Figure 5. GSR Studio software plots data into graph in real time. (photo from supplier)

318 2.2 Participants

319 A total of 9 participants, 3 males and 6 females, aged between 23-28 years old were recruited for
 320 the study. They were selected based on the criteria that they had lived in the city for between 1-3
 321 years, so that they had some basic equivalence in terms of the background spatial knowledge of the
 322 setting. All of them were international students at the University of Plymouth. The participants were
 323 accompanied on the walk by a researcher, who followed the participant’s’ unobtrusively.

324 2.3 Setting

325 The route was chosen primarily because it covers three distinct areas in Plymouth City Centre.
 326 Participants were asked to walk from Plymouth Hoe, a popular recreational park in Plymouth,
 327 continuing their walk through Armada Way, a pedestrianized area, and ending at the North Road
 328 East (see Figure 6), a walk which took about twenty minutes in total. The urban spaces along the walk
 329 had different characteristics, ranging from the park at the beginning of the walk to a busy road at the
 330 end of the walk (see Table 1)



331



332

PLYMOUTH HOE

ARMADA WAY

NORTH ROAD EAST

333 Figure 6. Study Route – Participants start walking from Plymouth Hoe, through Armada Way and
 334 ends in North Road East.

335 The route chosen for this study consists of three distinct areas summarized in the table below
 336 (Table 1):

Location on Walk	Name	Type of Space	Urban characteristics
------------------	------	---------------	-----------------------

Start of the walk	Plymouth Hoe	Park	Fully pedestrianised greenspace with the least traffic
Mid-way through the walk	Armada Way	Urban pedestrianised	A mix of both pedestrianised area and traffic (with some green space and natural features)
End of the walk	North Road East	Urban road	Busy road with very limited natural features

337 Table 1: Names and types of key urban spaces along the walking route- ranging from green space on
 338 Plymouth Hoe to a busy road at North Read East

339 The route included a number of junctions with varying levels of car and pedestrian traffic
 340 summarized in the table below (see Figure 7 and Table 2): These had different characteristics, with
 341 some junctions being busy with high levels of traffic, some being pedestrianized and some being road
 342 junctions but relatively quiet.



343
 344 **Figure 7.** Participant’s walking route – main crossings or junctions along the route

Name	Type of Space	Characteristics
Citadel Road	Busy road junction	Busy road with high levels of traffic
Royal Parade	Busy road, with busy pedestrian crossing	Busy road with high levels of traffic, including buses and taxis. Main pedestrian crossing of city centre with high pedestrian traffic
Mayflower Street	Road junction	Busy road
New George Street	Pedestrianised	Fully pedestrianised wide shopping avenue with high pedestrian traffic
Cornwall Street	Pedestrianised	Fully pedestrianised wide shopping avenue with high pedestrian traffic
Derry Avenue	Quiet road junction	Road with low levels of traffic

345 Table 2: Names and characteristics of road junctions along the walking route

346 There were also twelve identified crossings and junctions along the walking route which require
347 participants to cross to get the other side. One of them is in the Plymouth Hoe area, six in the Armada
348 Way area and five in the North Road East area. The nature of the setting means, with the different
349 types of spaces can be said to correlate to typical regional city centre environments in the UK.

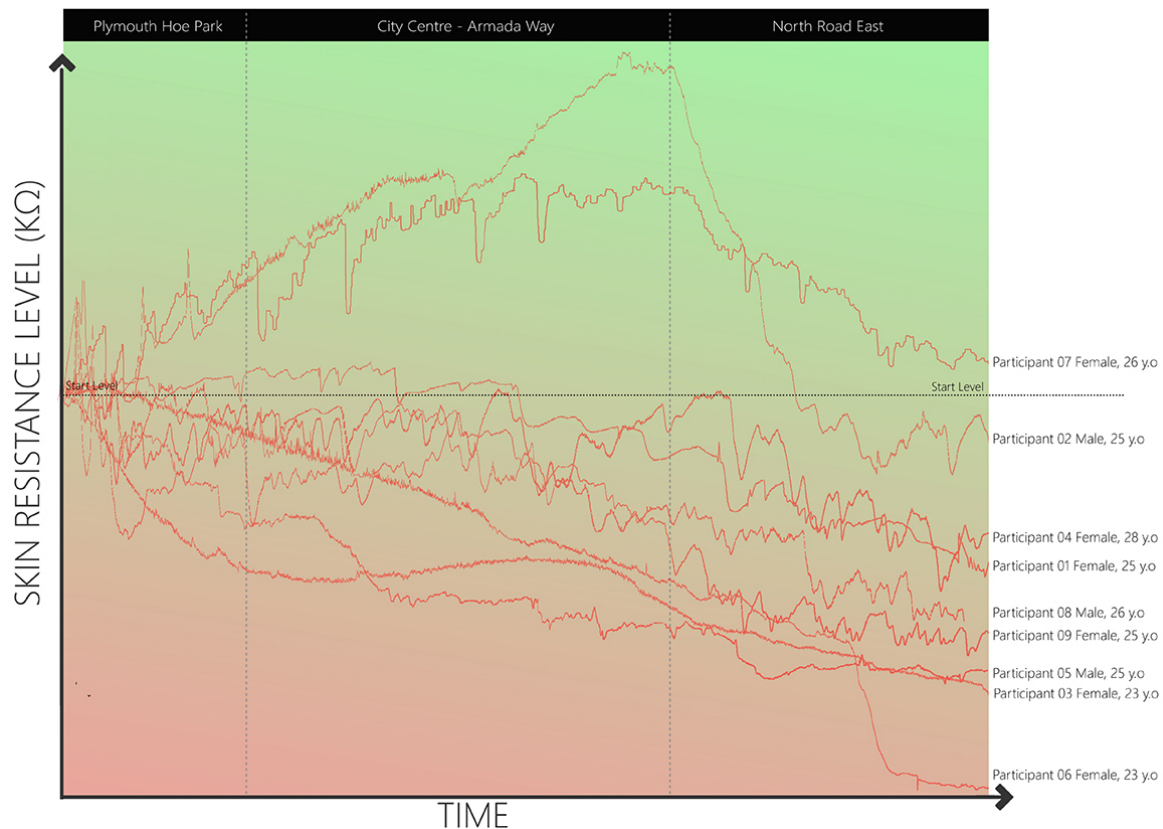
350 *2.4 Limitations of the methods*

351 There are a number of limitations in the methodology which should be taken into account, and
352 these are described below in order to demonstrate how these were allowed for in the results. In terms
353 of the participant's there was a low number, and we did not test participant's for their background
354 spatial knowledge (although participants were selected based on spatial knowledge criteria). As a
355 consequence, in our results the work is presented as exploratory in nature and the analysis is limited
356 to qualitative outcomes. The second limitation of the study is the accuracy of the GSR equipment
357 used in the study. A low cost GSR device was chosen for this study as it is aimed at demonstrating
358 the possibility for the use of such equipment on a wider scale and by non-experts. Therefore the GSR
359 results cannot be assumed to have the accuracy of data from products such as Movisens Edamove or
360 Empatica E4 [38] (although Boucsein et al. do state that a finger GSR device, such as that used in this
361 study can be more sensitive than a wrist-based device). According to Bakker et al. 'the reliable
362 translation of physiological data gathered by using sensor technology into the "stress level rates" is
363 only possible when additional sources of information are available' [41]. The results are presented
364 comparatively showing the difference or similarities between participant's rather than as discrete,
365 and were mapped using the GPS data against the features of the physical context. The use of GPS
366 locational data mapped against the GSR data means that it was possible to assess the relation between
367 spatial context and emotional response data at a fairly fine grain level.

368 **3. Results**

369 *3.1. General Change in Participants' Emotions*

370 The results showed that eight out of nine participants started with higher skin resistance level
371 (less sweaty fingers) and ended the walk with a lower skin resistance level (sweatier fingers) (see
372 Figure 8). As higher skin resistance level equates to lower stress levels, the change pattern in the
373 results indicates that almost all the participants had lower levels of emotional arousal at the beginning
374 of the walk i.e. at Plymouth Hoe park compared to when they were walking along the North Road
375 East at the end of the experiment. Only one participant (participant 06) ended the walk at about the
376 same level as when they started it.



377

378

379

Figure 8. Results – Combined results of all participants showing a general trend of a higher skin resistance level at the start of the walk and lower skin resistance at the end.

380

381

382

383

384

385

386

387

388

389

It could also be observed that seven out of nine participants recorded their highest level of skin resistance at the start of the walk in Plymouth Hoe than any other area of the walking route, and their skin resistance levels gradually decreased throughout the journey as they enter Armada Way and ended at the lowest level at the end of North Road East. If we see this pattern of emotional change as being linked to stress levels, then this result indicates that most participants find Plymouth Hoe park to be the least stressful area followed by Armada Way and then North Road East, where most participants find it to be most stressful. Two out of the nine participants (participant 02 and 06) on the other hand appeared to have their lowest stress levels when they were walking in the Armada Way. However, both of their apparent stress levels then changed dramatically as it steeply increased when they entered the North Road East area.

390

391

392

393

394

395

396

397

398

399

Further analysis on the participants' skin resistance levels can be made by drawing trend lines of their individual graphs for each area along the walking route. From the results it can be observed that the highest number of participants (5 out of 9 people) recorded an increasing level of skin resistance while walking through Plymouth Hoe. This suggests that most participants find Plymouth Hoe to be the least stressful place as their level of stress decreases as they walk through the park. Meanwhile, as participants walk through Armada Way, five participants experienced decreasing skin resistance compared to the number of people who experience increasing skin resistance levels (four participants). At North Road East, all of the nine participants recorded a decreasing skin resistance level. This further suggests that North Road East is the most stressful area compared to the other two areas as all of the participants' skin resistance levels decreased as they walked along the road.

400

401

402

The aggregate emotional arousal levels for all of the participants, where an average of the participants' data was visualised and projected onto the map of the city centre (see Figure 9), show a clear correlation between stress peaks and urban features.



403

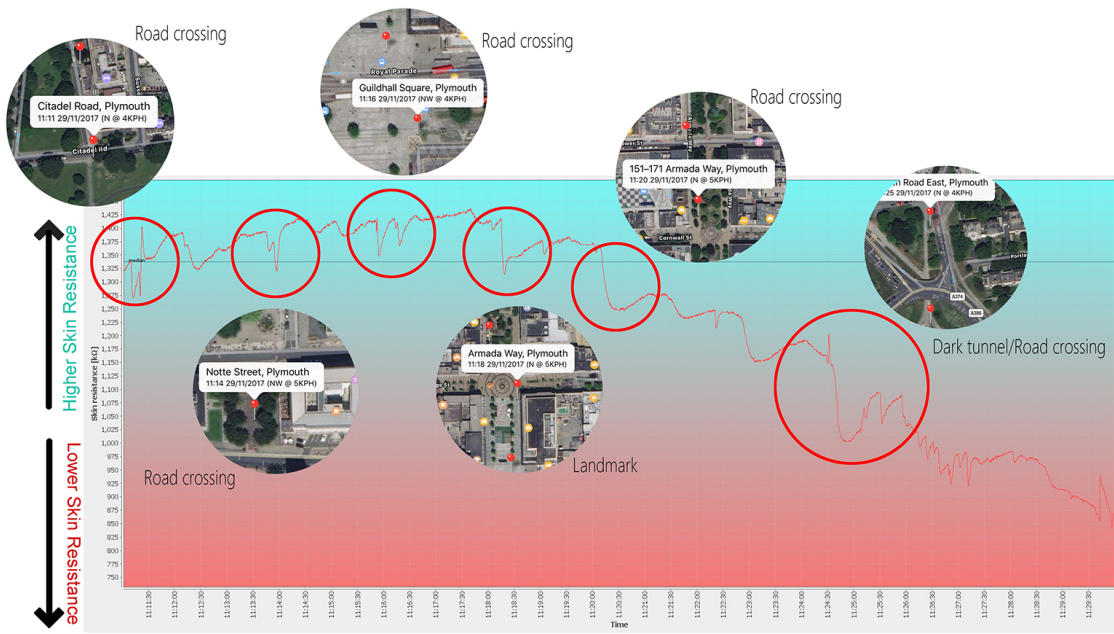
404 Figure 9. Average of all the participant's stress levels combined and visualised onto the map of
 405 Plymouth City Centre, showing the 'peaks' of negative emotional response at road crossings and
 406 junctions.

407 The participant's data showed 'peaks' (that correspond to Bakker's et al.'s findings [41]) that can
 408 be identified as sharp increases in stress levels whenever they encountered road junctions along the
 409 walk. In addition, the figure also shows that as participants walk from Plymouth Hoe to North Road
 410 East, their apparent stress level gradually increases, providing another indication as to how
 411 different areas within the city affect the level of stress of their inhabitants.

412 3.2. Change in Stress Levels at Crossings and Junctions

413 Another clear finding from this study is the relationship road crossings and junctions have with
 414 the change in stress levels of the participants. A typical participant is shown in Figure 10 with the
 415 crossings and GSR data levels indicated. The overall results (see Figure 11, 12 and 13) show that all
 416 of the crossings have at least three people experiencing a sudden drop in skin resistance level- or a
 417 stress 'peak'. Crossings at Citadel Road, Royal Parade, and Mayflower Street (see Figure 11) recorded
 418 the highest number of participants (i.e. all of the 6 participants) experiencing a sudden a stress 'peak'.
 419 Derry Avenue crossing and junctions at New George St. and Cornwall St., on the contrary, recorded
 420 the lowest number of participants (3 participants) that experienced the stress 'peak' (see Figure 12).
 421 The other 3 participants recorded generally unchanged stress levels when encountering these roads.
 422 Crossings at Citadel Road, Royal Parade and Mayflower St. are notably busier than junctions at New
 423 George St., Cornwall St., and Derry Ave. This resulted in more participants experiencing a sudden
 424 stress 'peak' at the former 3 crossings rather than at the latter 3. In fact, junctions at New George St.
 425 and Cornwall St. are at a fully pedestrianised area thus have no traffic presence.

426



427

428

429

Figure 10. Typical participant's GSR data graph with crossings indicated and corresponding stress 'peaks' circled.

430



431

432

433

434

435

Figure 11. Crossings at Citadel Road, Royal Parade and Mayflower Street recorded the highest number of participants (all of the 6 participants) experiencing a stress 'peaks'.

436

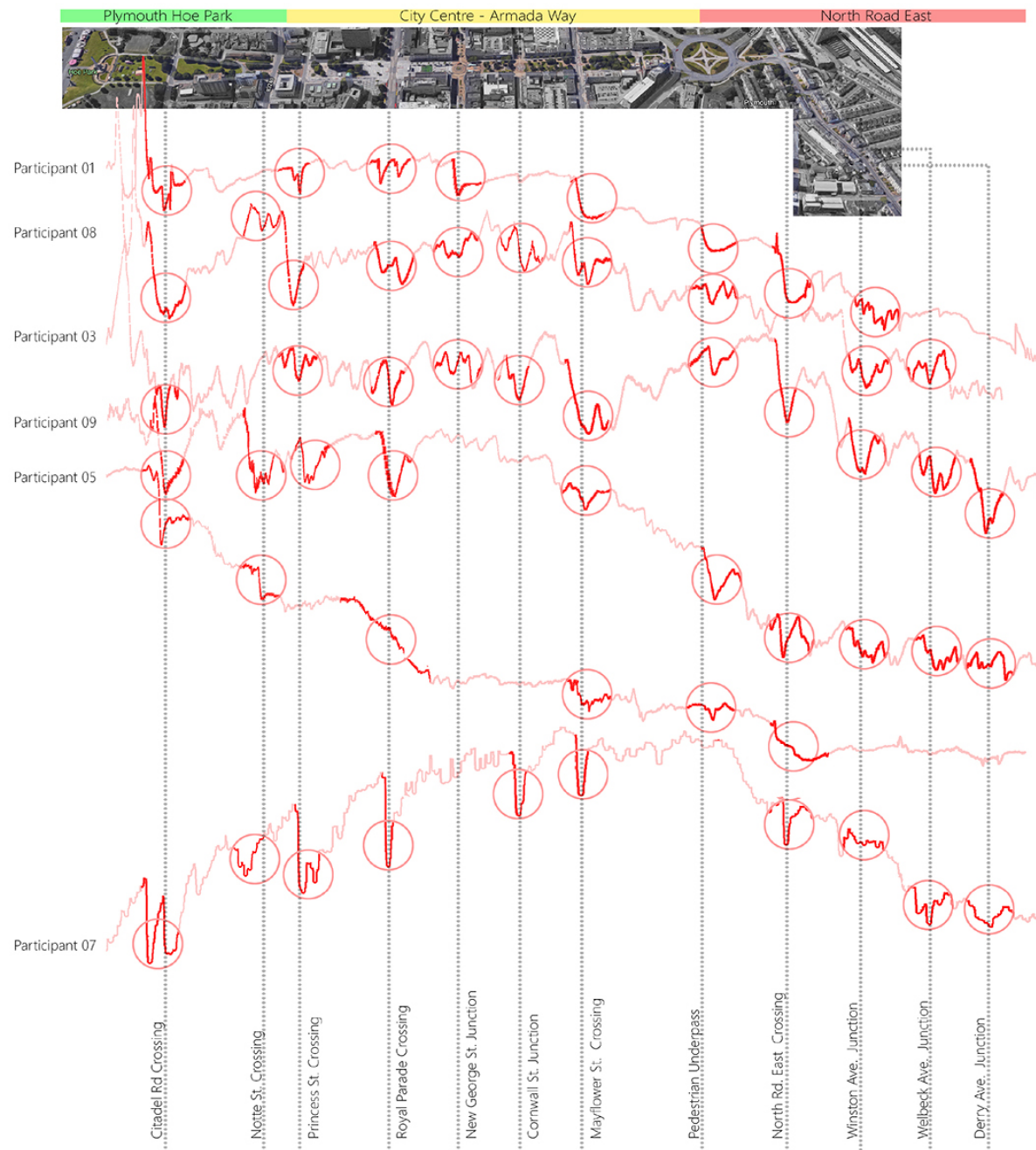


437

438

439

Figure 12. Derry Ave. crossing and junctions at New George St. and Cornwall St. on the contrary, recorded the lowest number of participants (3 participants) that experience the stress 'peak'.



440

441 Figure 13. Overall results from all of the 6 participants with their graphs cross referenced with their
 442 GPS locational data. It could be noted that all of the crossings have at least 3 people experiencing a
 443 sudden drop in skin resistance level which equates to a stress 'peak'.

444 3.3. Relationship between Stress Levels and the Presence of Traffic and Natural Features

445 These different characteristics of each type of urban space encountered on the walk provides a
 446 clear variable which allows this paper to narrow down its research i.e. the relationship between
 447 emotions and physical environment can be studied in a more explicit manner. This means that the
 448 connection emotions have with specific urban features, in this case the presence of traffics and natural
 449 features, can be established more clearly. One observation that could be made from the findings is
 450 that area which was had the most 'green' space and natural features (Plymouth Hoe) created a

451 generally less stressful environment for the participants. In contrast, areas with relatively less green
452 space caused participants to feel less emotionally aroused. This observation is supported by many
453 other previous studies such as MacKerron and Mourato's [42] "Mappiness" project and Klettner et
454 al., [43] EmoMap project which have shown that green or natural environments have positive effects
455 on emotions.

456 The results suggest that participants feel the least stressed at areas where the traffic levels were
457 low and vice versa exhibited higher stress levels at busy roads. This can also explain the difference in
458 number of participants experiencing stress 'peaks' at different junctions along the route. It was noted
459 that Citadel Road, Royal Parade, and Mayflower Street junctions in particular have the most number
460 of people experiencing the stress 'peaks' as they are significantly busier crossings than the others.
461 Crossings at New George St., and Cornwall St. on the other hand have the least number of people
462 experiencing sudden increase in stress levels because they are notably calmer and less busy in terms
463 of traffic presence. In fact, junctions at New George St. and Cornwall St. are fully pedestrianised areas
464 and thus the levels of traffic presence at these areas are actually zero. Previous studies, particularly,
465 Klettner et al., [43] in their EmoMap project supported this claim as they have also found that
466 participants give the lowest positive ratings (in terms of emotional response) when they are in an
467 urban area with heavy traffic.

468 4. Discussion

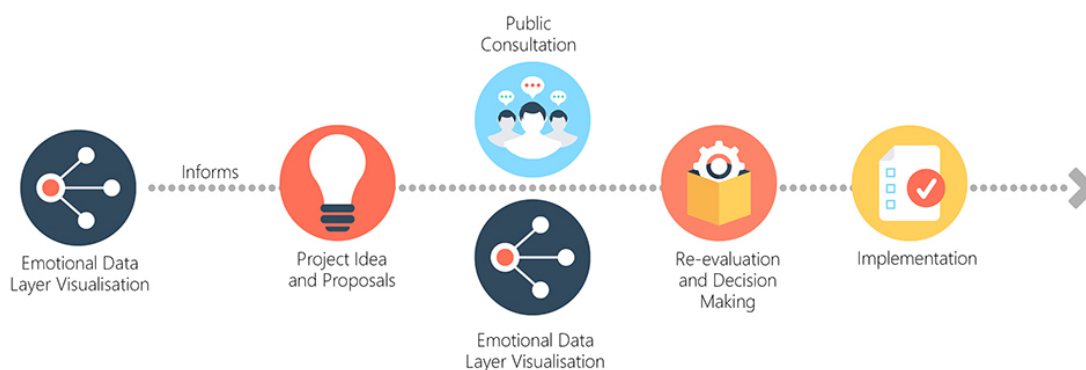
469 As Nold and Zeile et al. have demonstrated [34, 35] emotional data can offer a new layer of data
470 and provide new dimensions for both urban planners and citizens to share understanding of the city
471 they live in. This study identified two potential ways in which emotional data can be used; firstly,
472 through the link between a change in emotions and distinct urban planning features and secondly
473 through the change in process to people gathering their own quantitative emotional data over time
474 and in situ.

475 4.1. Changes in Emotions and the Link with Urban Planning Features

476 The findings show clear links between emotional response and corresponding characteristics of
477 urban spaces as follows:

- 478 • Areas with more green space and natural features result in creating a less stressful environment
479 for the participants (e.g. Plymouth Hoe).
- 480 • Areas with higher levels of urban traffic (more cars) result in creating a more stressful
481 environment for the participants (e.g. North Road East).
- 482 • Road crossings and junctions result in stress 'peaks' or sudden increase in stress level by the
483 participants (e.g. Royal Parade).

484 The study identified a correlation between emotional stress 'peaks' and urban design features
485 and characteristics that could be used as a quantitative input into urban planning discussions. Whilst
486 this study is small scale in terms of the number of participants, the nature of the findings does indicate
487 that the method could be replicated with larger number of participants to increase the level of data
488 and coverage. Shoval et al., [36] recognised that products of such analysis "lead to important insights
489 into how people perceive and interact emotionally with the urban environment; it can therefore be of
490 great use in an improved planning process" [36]. Zeile et al. have acknowledged that their results can
491 be used "as a source of information to help improve bicycle traffic planning and to identify peaks in
492 urban planning deficiencies" [44]. The current model of planning allows for consultation, but this is
493 limited in terms of modes of participation and the information layer (see Figure 1 earlier in this
494 paper). The gathering of emotional data and the subsequent understanding gained from this analysis
495 would help create a readily available layer of shared data (Figure 14) directly inputting into the urban
496 planning process.



497

498

Figure 14. Emotional Data Model of participation in Urban Planning process

499

500

501

502

Whilst this study was undertaken in an existing city space, there is also the potential to draw some more general conclusions that could inform urban design proposals. It could therefore provide better insights of the city and its inhabitants - enabling a new citizen-centered perspective in urban planning processes.

503

4.2. Physiological Data for Citizen-Centric Participatory Planning

504

505

506

507

508

509

510

511

512

513

514

515

516

517

518

519

520

521

522

A shared approach to participation in urban planning processes could involve the provision of a new information layer within urban planning analysis through the gathering of citizens' emotional data through physiological responses methods. Unlike traditional forms of urban planning participation such as public meetings, consultations and hearings, this study suggests that humans, as the users of a city, could share qualitative emotional data. Jacobs [13] pointed out an important change in urban planning procedures which includes bottom up processes of participation that proactively involve citizens in urban change. This study has explored the potential of using physiological sensor technology to directly, objectively and cheaply measure citizens' emotions. Scaled up, this approach would mean that a city could involve citizens in sharing emotional data that would regularly provide new emotional data near real-time and as a readily available information layer to the city council. The model used in this study was for citizens to gather their own data and share it with others in order to understand their experience of the city in a more quantitative manner. However, it should be recognized that there are recognized and valid issues around the ethics and nature of consent around crowdsourcing urban data. For instance Gabrys argues that 'enabling citizens to monitor their activities convert these citizens into unwitting gatherers and providers of data' that can be used for political or commercial purposes beyond that which citizens are aware of [45]. But when used by the citizen for their own benefit Haklay asserts that 'the act of mapping itself can be an act of asserting presence, rights to be heard or expression of personal beliefs in the way that the world should evolve and operate' [46]

523

524

525

526

527

528

529

530

531

532

533

534

535

When reviewed against Arnstein's [17] 'Ladder of Participation', this method of using physiological device to gather citizens' emotional data would still fall under tokenism at either 'consultation' or 'placation' rung of the ladder. This is because participants of this study only provide emotional data input and do not have the actual power to influence how the data will be used in urban planning process. In the end, city planners still play a central role in planning decisions. However, the lack of 'citizen power' in this participatory method could be outweighed by the fact that using physiological sensing technology such as the GSR provides an accurate and objective data resource of citizens' emotions. It could also potentially be done at scale to create a large information database. During a traditional consultation process, citizens would subjectively express concerns about a planning project and the relevant authority would re-evaluate the project based on their feedback. In this citizen sensing participatory planning approach however, there is no need to wait until a planning project is established before actions or decisions could be made. In fact, the collection of emotional data can be continuous and ongoing and can be used at any time to inform any new

536 planning projects. Therefore, for as long as the emotional data inputs from citizens influence the
537 outcome of any planning decisions, even without any exercise of 'power', this form of participatory
538 process could move beyond tokenism towards Arnstein's model of 'citizen power'.

539 5. Conclusions

540 A sharing cities approach can enable citizens to gather, share and analyse urban data which can
541 give them an enhanced understanding and greater accessibility in city planning decisions [47]. This
542 tends to relate to enabling citizens to gain access to self-generated sources of data, which enables a
543 more informed understanding of issues in their urban environment. Digital participation using
544 technologies such as physiological sensing devices, smartphones, and GPS technology present
545 opportunities for a more effective and human-centred approach to participatory planning. This paper
546 explored the potential of citizen's emotional data using digital tools such as the galvanic skin
547 response (GSR) and GPS devices to objectively measure emotional response of people to a geo-located
548 urban space. The study described in this paper extended the work of Nold (2009), Zeile et al. (2015)
549 and Shoval et al., (2017) who found that emotional data mapped against high-resolution spatial
550 analysis can have potential for informing urban planning decision making [36]. The potential of this
551 method was discussed, and future directions for the research would be to replicate the study with
552 larger numbers of participant's and to test a range of different urban settings. In particular, it would
553 be valuable to test whether the findings around green space and busy roads creating different levels
554 of emotional arousal could be replicated in different, but comparable cities. Further, the link between
555 road junctions and stress 'peaks' could have potential to be tested with a range of urban planning
556 features. In terms of participatory methods, these could be used by citizens at both pre- and post
557 implementation stage to quantitatively measure the actual response of people to an urban planning
558 project.

559 The results prove that there is a significant relationship between humans and the physical
560 environments and by objectively measuring and analysing the data, this method provides innovative
561 opportunities for urban planners to understand how citizens relate and interact emotionally to the
562 city's urban environment. The data gathered through this approach could add a new dimension in
563 the form of a new additional layer of information in urban planning analysis to assist urban planners
564 in decision making processes. This has implications for urban planning policy in terms of how they
565 could better incorporate participatory data into their practice, and how citizens could be empowered
566 to share their emotional experiences of the city.

567 Acknowledgments:

568

569 Author Contributions:

570

571

572 References

- 573 1. Willis, K.S. and A. Aurigi, *Digital and Smart Cities*. 2017, London: Routledge.
- 574 2. Cowley, J.E., *Planning in the age of Facebook: The role of social networking in planning processes*. . *GeoJournal*,
575 2010. **75**(5): p. 407-420.
- 576 3. Desouza, K.C. and A. Bhagwatwar, *Citizen Apps to Solve Complex Urban Problems*. *Journal of Urban*
577 *Technology*, 2012. **19**(3): p. 107-136.
- 578 4. McLaren, D. and J. Agyeman, *Sharing Cities: A Case for Truly Smart and Sustainable Cities*. 2015, Cambridge,
579 MA: MIT Press.
- 580 5. Linders, D., *From e-government to we-government: Defining a typology for citizen coproduction in the age of*
581 *social media*. *Government Information Quarterly*, 2012. **29**(4): p. 446-454.

- 582 6. Innes, J.E. and D.E. Booher, *Reframing public participation: strategies for the 21st century*. Planning Theory &
583 Practice, 2004. 5(4): p. 419-436.
- 584 7. Renn, O., et al., *Public participation in decision making: A three-step procedure*. Policy Sciences, 1993. 26: p.
585 189-214.
- 586 8. Wilson, A., M. Tewdwr-Jones, and R. Comber, *Urban planning, public participation and digital technology:
587 App development as a method of generating citizen involvement in local planning processes*. Environment and
588 Planning B: Urban Analytics and City Science, 2017.
- 589 9. Münster, S., et al., *How to involve inhabitants in urban design planning by using digital tools? An overview on a
590 state of the art, key challenges and promising approaches*. Procedia Computer Science, 2017. 112: p. 2391-2405.
- 591 10. Münster, S., et al., *How to involve inhabitants in urban design planning by using digital tools? An overview on a
592 state of the art, key challenges and promising approaches*. Procedia Computer Science, 2017: p. 2391-2405.
- 593 11. Crivellaro, C., R. Comber, and J. Bowers. *A pool of dreams: Facebook, politics and the emergence of a social
594 movement*. in *The 32nd annual ACM conference (CHI '14)*. 2014. New York: ACM Press.
- 595 12. Hasler, S., J. Chenal, and M. Soutter, *Digital Tools as a Means to Foster Inclusive, Data-informed Urban
596 Planning*. Civil Engineering and Architecture 2017. 5: p. 230-239.
- 597 13. Jacobs, J., *The Death and Life of American Cities*. 2002, New York: Random House.
- 598 14. Lane, M., *Public Participation in Planning: an intellectual history*. Australian Geographer, 2005. 36(3): p. 283-
599 299.
- 600 15. Hall, P., *Urban and regional planning (3rd edition)*. 1992, London: Routledge.
- 601 16. Faludi, A., *Planning Theory 1973*, New York: Pergamon.
- 602 17. Arnstein, S., *A Ladder of Citizen Participation*. Journal of the American Planning Association, 1969. 35(4): p.
603 216-224.
- 604 18. Painter, M., *Participation and power*, in *Citizen participation in government*, M. Munro-Clarke, Editor. 1992,
605 Hale & Ironmonger: Sydney.
- 606 19. Raslan, R., K. Al-hagla, and A. Bakr. *Integration of Emotional Behavioural Layer "EmoBeL" in City Planning*.
607 in *REAL CORP 2014 – PLAN IT SMART! Clever Solutions for Smart Cities. Proceedings of 19th International
608 Conference on Urban Planning, Regional Development and Information Society*. 2014. Austria.
- 609 20. Baum, H., *Planning with half a mind: Why planners resist emotion*. . Planning Theory and Practice, 2015. 16:
610 p. 498-516.
- 611 21. Lynch, K., *The Image of the City*. 1967, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- 612 22. Ferreira, A., *Emotions in planning practice: A critical review and a suggestion for future developments based on
613 mindfulness*. Town Planning Review, 2013. 84: p. 703-719.
- 614 23. Porter, L., et al., *What's love got to do with it? Illuminations on loving attachment in planning*. Planning Theory
615 & Practice, 2012. 13: p. 593-627.
- 616 24. Gunder, M. and J. Hillier, *Planning in ten words or less*. 2009, Farnham: Ashgate.
- 617 25. Mislove, A., et al. *Pulse of the nation: US mood throughout the day inferred from twitter*. 2010 [cited 2018
618 March 7].
- 619 26. Tauscher, S. and K. Neumann, *Combining web map services and opinion mining to generate sentiment maps of
620 touristic locations*. , in *Service Oriented Mapping*, M. Jobst, Editor. 2012 JobstMedia Management Verlag Wien. p.
621 277-286.
- 622 27. Resch, B., et al., *Urban Emotions – Geo-Semantic Emotion Extraction from Technical Sensors, Human Sensors
623 and Crowdsourced Data*, in *Progress in Location-Based Services* G. Gartner and H. Huang, Editors. 2015, Springer
624 International Publishing: Berlin, Heidelberg. p. 199-212.

- 625 28. Resch, B., et al., *Crowdsourcing physiological conditions and subjective emotions by coupling technical and human*
626 *mobile sensors*, in *Journal for Geographic Information Science GI_Forum 2015*, T. Jekel, et al., Editors. 2015,
627 Wichmann: Berlin. p. 514-524.
- 628 29. Resch, B., et al., *Citizen-centric urban planning through extracting emotion information from Twitter in an*
629 *interdisciplinary space-time-linguistics algorithm*. *Urban Planning*, 2016. 1(2): p. 114-127.
- 630 30. Hauthal, E. and D. Burghardt, *Extraction of location-based Emotions from Photo Platforms*, in *Progress in*
631 *Location-Based Services*, J. Krisp, Editor. 2013, Springer: Munich.
- 632 31. Aiello, L.M., et al., *Chatty Maps: Constructing sound maps of urban areas from social media data*. *Royal Society*
633 *Open Science*, 2016. 3(150690).
- 634 32. Mody, R., K. Willis, and R. Kerstein. *WiMo: Location-based Emotion Tagging*. in *8th international Conference*
635 *on Mobile and Ubiquitous Multimedia, Cambridge, . 2009*. United Kingdom: ACM Press.
- 636 33. Zeile, P., et al. *Urban emotions—tools of integrating people’s perception into urban planning*. in *REAL CORP:*
637 *Conference on Urban Planning and Regional Development in the Information Society*. 2015. Ghent, Belgium.
- 638 34. Nold, C., *Emotional cartography: Technologies of the self*. 2009, Christian Nold:
639 <http://www.emotionalcartography.net/>.
- 640 35. Zeile, P., et al., *Citizen-centric urban planning through extracting emotion information from twitter in an*
641 *interdisciplinary space- time-linguistics algorithm*. . *Urban Planning*, 2016. 1(2): p. 114–127.
- 642 36. Shoval, N., Y. Schvimer, and M. Tamir, *Tracking technologies and urban analysis: Adding the emotional*
643 *dimension*. . *Cities*, 2018. 72(34-42).
- 644 37. Dawson, E.M., A.M. Schell, and D.L. Filion, *The electrodermal system*, in *Handbook of psychophysiology 2007*,
645 Cambridge University Press: New York. p. 200-223.
- 646 38. Boucsein, W., et al., *Publication standards for EDA*. *Psychophysiology*, 2012. 49: p. 1017-1034.
- 647 39. Kreibig, S.D., *Autonomic nervous system activity in emotion: a review*. *Biological Psychology* 2010. 84(3): p.
648 394-421.
- 649 40. A.N. Rodrigues da Silva, et al., *Smart Sensoring and Barrier Free Planning: Project Outcomes and Recent*
650 *Developments*, in *Technologies for Urban and Spatial Planning: Virtual Cities and Territories* N.N. Pinto, et al.,
651 Editors. 2014, IGI Global: Hershey, PA. p. 93-112.
- 652 41. Bakker, J., M. Pechenizkiy, and N. Sidorova. *What’s Your Current Stress Level? Detection of Stress Patterns*
653 *from GSR Sensor Data*. in *Proceedings of the 2011 IEEE 11th International Conference on Data Mining Workshops*
654 *(ICDMW '11)*. 2011. Washington DC, USA: IEEE Computer Society.
- 655 42. MacKerron, G. and S. Mourato, *Happiness is greater in natural environments*. *Global Environmental Change*,
656 2013. 23(5): p. 992–1000.
- 657 43. Klettner, S., et al., *Crowdsourcing affective responses to space*. *Kartographische Nachrichten*, 2013. 2(3): p. 66-
658 72.
- 659 44. Zeile, P., et al., *Urban emotions and cycling experience—Enriching traffic planning for cyclists with human sensor*
660 *data*. . *GI Forum*, 2016. 1: p. 204–216.
- 661 45. Gabrys, J., *Programming environments: environmentality and citizen sensing in the smart city*. *Environment*
662 *and Planning D: Society and Space*, 2014. 32(1).
- 663 46. Haklay, M., *Beyond quantification: a role for citizen science and community science in a smart city*, in *UCL Urban*
664 *laboratory pamphleteer*, B. Campkin and R. Ross, Editors. 2013: London.
- 665 47. Niederer, S. and R. Priester, *Smart Citizens: Exploring the Tools of the Urban Bottom-Up Movement*. *Computer*
666 *Supported Cooperative Work* 2016. 25(2-3): p. 137-152.

