Leaky Sensor Fields: Deviating, Accelerating, and Restraining the Smart Home

Abstract: This project examines the proliferation of leaky sensor fields by studying and redesigning smart home security cameras. This work begins with a set of close-based design explorations that accelerate, diverge, and restrain smart cameras, then explores scenarios to help us speculate about the future of smart homes and as ways of understanding the present.

Keywords: Internet of Things (IoT), privacy, security, speculative design, critical design, design research, smart home, smart city
Frictions and Shifts in RTD

Introduction

In 2010, when asked about the possibility of a Google “implant” technology, then CEO Eric Schmidt responded by stating that “Google policy ... is to get right up to the creepy line—but not cross it” (Cole, 2012). In formulating this response, Schmidt sketches the contours of an important concept for engaging with social and ethical issues bound up with technolo-

g—including many topics that have become important sub-
jects of design research, such as privacy and security (Shklovski et al., 2016), technology anxieties (Pierce and DiSalvo, 2018), civic IoT (Jenkins, 2017; Davoli and Redstrom, 2015) and design methods for engaging with smart things (Giaccardi et al., 2016, Wakkary et al., 2018).

Creepiness is not merely a useful and commonly used term for expressing the social and ethical implications of new technologies. Creepiness also functions as a device for registering social and ethical concerns about new technologies. Whereas creepiness is felt, murmured, or shouted out loud, we are sure to find complex social and ethical problems, issues, and dilemmas. Creepiness is intriguing in part because it is felt before it is re-

flexively articulated or intellec-
tually argued. The affective feel-
ing of creepiness experienced at the personal, bodily level is often delayed and broadcast through news headlines, social media, and cultural touchstones such as science fiction films and litera-
ture. Within Human–Computer Interaction (HCI) and Design Research, Shklovski et al. have drawn attention to the signifi-
cance and prevalence of users’ experiences of creepiness when tracked by their smartphones (Shklovski et al., 2016). Based on interview data, Shklovski et al. observe that “despite potentially positive outcomes of this kind of tracking, the public response

remains negative often because people simply find it creepy. At the same time, people continue to use the technologies ... even as they express outrage” (2347). Building on this work, Pierce and DiSalvo isolate creepiness as a pivotal “network anxiety” and use it as a “central node through which to connect and route other more troubling effects” (Pierce and DiSalvo, 2018, 4). This research follows these tingly sensations and intel-

tlectual reflections on creepiness, taking Schmidt’s creepy line as a preliminary point of departure. The key question guiding this inquiry is twofold. First, in what ways is the smart home creepy: Where and how are the cur-

rent lines of creepiness drawn? Second, how does design work to manage creepiness and achieve social acceptance of technology—often by mitigating or suppressing fears, anxieties, and harms? In partial answer to the big questions, this design research project develops the concept of digital leakage as the propen-
sity for digital information to be shared, stolen, and misused in ways unbecknownst or even harmful to those to whom the data pertains or belongs. This paper begins by looking closely at the lens and sensor data of smart cameras, tracing the effects of leaky sensor fields. The project

delves in controversial applications and possible future trajectories of smart cameras. This paper concludes by re-

vealing an underlying frame-

work guiding this inquiry. The major cases studies presented here proceed along three key reductive design: divergently and devi-
dionally into the absurd and exaggerated, accelerated pace, and/or forced near-term projections, and productive retraining and reversing the ratcheting up effects of technological advancement. This work extends and am-

plifies the author’s prior work focused on verbally articulating the concepts outlined above (Pierce, 2019, Pierce and DiS-

alvo, 2018). This paper offers many new and expanded design proposals and prototypes and focuses on the details, process, and uses of the designs.

In addition to “physical 3D” prototyping, this research fol-

ows a long tradition of design proposals, sketches, diagrams, and montages. The prototypes presented in the final pages of this paper are not the final results of the process, but rather focal points amid a constellation of visual/textual studies and explorations (a selection of which are presented here). The totality of this work will be exhibited at RTD—including print and screen-based artifacts.

Focusing on Smart Cameras

The much-hyped emerging landscape of an IoT (Internet of Things) has already introduced many consumers—often of affluent and tech-savvy demographics—to novel modes of interac-
tion and smart functionality. While there are many fascinating new devices to consider, this research focuses on one: smart home security cameras. These devices exemplify a new con-

sumer technology delicately, if not precariously, balanced along a creepy line. On one side, these devices offer security against old and new threats to the home. On the other, they introduce new vulnerabilities by subjecting the most private and intimate interior spaces to tracking and surveillance. Hanging in the balance along this secure/creepy line, smart home security cam-

eras are striking instances of and metaphors for the contem-

porary growing pains, tradeoffs, and anxieties that accompany bringing smart surveillant de-

vices into the most personal and private spaces of the home. The poetic valence is greatest with indoor smart security cam-

eras, as Amazon’s Indoor Cloud Cam and Google’s Indoor Nest Cam. Here, with the smart camera gaze literally pointed at the self within the home, a user may willingly subject oneself to 24-hour surveillance—and all for the ostensive purpose of increasing home security.

More Than a Camera, More Than a Security Device

Reviewing the emerging land-
scape of smart security cameras through the concepts of digital leakage, hole-and-corner appli-
cations, and foot-in-the-door devices reveals two key trends. First, smart security cameras are technically much more than cam-

eras. Today’s smart security cameras automatically alert users when motion or people are detected, they allow homeowners to view live camera feeds from their phones, and some even identify individual faces. And as with many smart products, security cameras such as Nest Cam collect environmental data, including device temperature and ambient light. Cloud-based subscription services such as Google’s Nest Aware offer copi-

ous data storage and sophisticat-
ed data analysis. The most recent innovation is the Nest Cam’s familiar face alerts, which comes with the caveat that “Depending

on where you live, you may need to get consent to scan the faces of people visiting your home”. Users may think they are buying a better security camera but are actually getting much more.

Second, smart security cameras offer more than security. Smart security cameras may be sold as a security camera, but marketing materials often suggest they are lifestyle or entertainment device-

es with analogies to social media and handheld digital cameras. For example, Nest users are invited to submit their favorite video captured with the smart security cameras. Selected vid-

eos are posted on the Nest Videos webpage under categories that, in addition to “Security”, include “Mystery Solved”, “Family Mo-

ments”, “Pets”, “Nature”, and “Timelapses.” The best user sub-
mitted content is honored with “Nestie Awards” for categories such as “Best Dog in a Lead Role” and “Best Fail”. Nest advertise-
m ents frequently feature pets and kids, suggesting a radically inclusive notion of “security.” Users may think they are buying a camera simply for security, but ultimately it fulfills social, playful, and reflective functions.
Frictions and Shifts in RTD

Leaky Sensor Fields

“Information wants to be free,” goes the saying famous saying often attributed to Internet pioneer Steward Brand. Years later—with the Internet thoroughly privatized and financialized—the corollary to Brand’s famous claim is that digital data wants to leak. Digital leakage names the propensity for digital information to be shared, stolen, and misused in ways unbecnownst and possibly harmful to those to whom the data pertains, originates, or belongs. Through processes of digital leakage, seemingly private or secure digital information is surreptitiously collected, shared with additional parties, and used in unexpected and unsolicited ways. Digital leakage occurs both accidentally and intentionally, as well as both openly and secretly. Examples of leakage are diverse, and include the use of personal data for targeted third-party ads, large-scale data breaches, illegal law enforcement surveillance of smart phones, and sharing sexually explicit personal content without consent. As Shklovski et al. have note, leakage is a common metaphor used in privacy and security discourses.

The design studies and explorations that follow develop the metaphor of digital leakage by focusing on specific sites and processes. This research highlights three key sites at which digital leakage occurs: leaky sensor fields, leaky data pipelines, and leaky data analytics. The following studies and explorations focus on the proliferation of leaky sensor fields created with smart home security and other smart devices.

Leaky Sensor Fields form where the sensing capacities of smart cameras and similar devices exceed socio-technical thresholds such as property lines, political boundaries, windowpanes, fences, and doorways. The inevitably pervasive leakiness occurring within neighborhoods and cities awash with smart cameras will provide ample opportunities for casual peeks into the lives of others, and for both open, feigned, and genuinely accidental surveillance of neighbors, friends, family, strangers, and ourselves. These design explorations aim to architectural- ly catalog and represent the emerging world of smart, leaky sensor fields. Consider, for example, the window breach where a smart camera is pointed at the window of a neighbor. The smart camera window breach does not simply allow someone to surreptitious-
Leaky Applications. Leaky sensor fields expand the range and context of what data are collected, stored, shared, and analyzed. The following design studies consider ways that applications capitalize on digital leakage. The leakiness of digital applications if oftentimes by design. In other cases, the question of strategic intent is unclear and contentious. An illustrative example of a hole-and-corner application is when reports surfaced in 2017 that the domestic robotic vacuum cleaner Roomba was generating maps of users homes (Aston, 2017). This led to speculation that the iRoomba company might sell these maps to advertisers or other third parties. This possible scenario was reported with alarmist headlines such as “Roomba’s Next Big Step Is Selling Maps of Your Home to the Highest Bidder” even though iRoomba assured customers it would not do so.

As a way to concretely consider emerging applications of smart leaky cameras, five adversarial application areas for smart cameras are presented below: Neuromarketing, Big Data Policing, Deepfakes, Social Credit, and Quantified Self-Surveillance. In curating these examples of actual smart camera applications, attention is given to both the visual aesthetics of tracking and surveillance and to the sensationism and controversy of these applications. Following Pierce and DiSalvo, this section elevates sensational, outlier examples—what they refer to as “troubling edge cases” (4-5). Pierce and DiSalvo articulate a tactic of “drawing lines between center and edge” as way of connecting the mainstream with marginal and outlier concerns.

The emerging visual aesthetics of surveillance, tracking, and machine learning represented below (Figure 7) provide inspiration for subsequent design proposals presented. Some proposals reference these aesthetics while others explore alternatives.

Catching the nanny being sad

A domestic childcare worker is surveilled by her employer. Her behavior and emotions are monitored for erratic activity, signs of depression or anxiety, and job satisfaction. Even though she appears to be smiling, deep learning artificial intelligence closely monitors her facial expressions and determines she is actually unhappy and is likely clinically depressed. This scenario highlights a general hole-and-corner application area of emotional domestic surveillance.

Speculative Hole-and-Corner Scenarios

How might the troubling edge case applications areas outlined in Figure 8 play out in the future smart home? The following design explorations demonstrate a method of developing speculative scenarios by taking existing applications in areas such as Big Data Policing and Neuromarketing and applying them in domestic contexts with consumer IoT smart cameras. Figure 8 considers a scenario where a domestic worker is surveilled by her employer who uses smart cameras with machine learning to assess her mental health and well-being, her levels of fondness of the children she cares for, and her job satisfaction. Beyond User Profiles: Interior, domestic, household, activity, and place profiles. The scenarios above further bring into focus a new development in the evolution of the user profile. User profiles are collections of data associated with a person that are used to construct models that can predict behavior. The speculative scenarios and subjects above highlight the emergence of domestic profiles, household profiles, activity profiles, and place profile. The design scenarios presented here foreground the ways in which smart home devices may work their way into the most intimate corners, hidden crevices, and darkest closets of people’s lives. As one reporter writes, “the [smart home] race is not just about selling fancy appliances. It’s also a fight for which company coordinates smart homes and collects data about the habits of those who live inside.” (Kopytoff, 2018).

These scenarios also foreground the involvement of unwitting, uniformed, or coerced subjects. A particularly illuminating user profile to consider is a domestic worker such as nanny, caregiver, or housecleaner who, in many countries, are excluded from worker protection laws. Oftentimes it is a subject, rather than an informed, consenting, and benefiting user, who stands to lose the most or suffer the greatest harms resulting from creepy, leaky applications.

Figure 7.
Leaky Smart Camera Edge Case Examples. Upper left to lower right: Realeyes webcam-based emotion tracking for neuromarketing (See Clifford and Hardy, 2013); RetailNext’s consumes retail tracking system (Ibid); Unilever eye-tracking visualizations; Figures from Wu, Xiaolin and Zhang, Xi “Auto-tuned Intensity on Criminality using Face Images.” (Wu and Zhang, 2014b); Feed-Pol!” predictive policing interface; Deepfake altering the face of US President Bill Clinton in an actor Nicolas Cage; China docking credit scores of jaywalkers; “Google Maps Has Been Tracking Your Every Move, And There’s A Website To Prove It” (Flus, 2017); French Sociologist Paul-Henry Chombart de Lauwe’s (1952) study outlining the movements of a female student living in Paris during the course of a year (Pinder, 1996); Inspired by de Lauwe’s map, a father manually mapped the movement of his daughter, son, and cat by carefully reviewing video footage over a period of 1 hour on Christmas 2006. (See Kelly, 2008).

Figure 8. Catching the Nanny Being Sad. Example design scenario where smart home cameras are used to monitor and potentially reprimand or fire a domestic worker who is not covered by worker protection laws. (Image credit: James Pierce).
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Among Everyday Things

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and marketing images and video stills for the Nest Indoor Cam and Nest Cam IQ.

Figure 9. The cord subtly gives users a sense of control—like a dog on a leash. The cord provides a simple and effective deterrent against concealment. If a hidden camera is suspected, one can easily verify the suspicion by looking for a cord attached to an outlet and then following it back to its source. Subtly, the cord-as-leash and cord-as-giveaway communicate to camera owners and subjects alike: “I am an open, honest, and safe device—total unlike my distant cousin, the sneaky, conniving spy camera.”

Face-to-Face Domestication as Foot-in-the-Door Devices

Another notable feature of the Indoor Nest Cam is its base and mounting options. The stock base can be mounted magnetically, with adhesive tape, or with screws. However, the simplest way to mount the Nest Cam is to rest it atop a flat surface and adjust to the desired angle (see Figure 9). Whereas video security cameras are typically mounted overhead on walls or ceilings, today’s smart home security cameras are equipped with wide-angle lenses and directional microphones—possibly for a neighborly law enforcement surveillance scenario outlined previously.

Autonomizing

Once un tethered, smart cameras may begin to act autonomously and be easily carried and ready at hand like a flashlight or mobile phone. Sensory amplification can develop in multiple directions: extended view angles, increased resolution, or additional sensor capabilities such as lidar or GPS. Concepts explored include a smart security camera retrofitted with a telescopic lens and directional microphone—possibly for a neighborly law enforcement surveillance scenario outlined previously.

Deep Embedding

When miniaturization and wireless power are combined with un tethering and amplifying, smart camera becomes deeply embedded into surfaces and objects. This embedding creates unprecedented opportunities for concealment, mobility, and extended reach. Concepts explored include smart camera embedded into everyday objects and environments: a pen, a finger, a cat collar, a greeting card, a plumber’s snake, a cockroach.

Speculative Foot-in-the-Door Roadmaps

Longer term, we speculate that the strategic intent of smart security cameras and other IoT is to integrate and normalize sensor devices into the most private and intimate recesses of people’s lives. Security is among the most compelling reasons to invite self-surveilling device into one’s home. Eventually and gradually, a foot-in-the-door analysis suggests that once smart home security cameras have settled in, their uses and configurations will significantly shift and expand, continuing their current foot-in-the-door plot of becoming more than cameras, and more than security devices. Given the shifts and expansions from classic security functions of catching home intruders and delinquent caregivers to capturing videos of pets and kids living among books and furniture, the following exploration imagines a foot-in-the-door roadmap that would extend the reach and functions of smart cameras within the home.

In one particularly clever and intriguing press image for the Nest IQ Cam—an upgraded model with facial recognition technology—the device is placed atop a stack of books. From bottom to top, the titles forming the stack are: The Human Figure in Motion, The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes, The Man Who Knew Too Much, and Through the Looking Glass (Figure 9). This delightful curmilation of titles and the ordering of the stack subtly gestures toward the security camera’s own unfolding foot-in-the-door trajectory, and the anxieties and contradictions lurking beneath the camera that uses must, at some level, grapple with. The Human Figure in Motion: The extraordinary abilities of cameras to see so much more about ourselves and our bodies than the naked eye alone. Sherlock Holmes: Catching criminals, solving mysteries.

Speculative Foot-in-the-Door Roadmaps

Figure 10. Speculative Foot-in-the-Door Roadmap for smart cameras beginning with the domestication of security cameras for safety and culminating in the deep embedding of cameras into pens, fingers, and cockroaches. [Image credit: James Pierce].

Close Interaction Studies and Speculative Roadmaps

The applications scenarios previously considered may operate surreptitiously behind the scenes and out of the spotlight. But un invited or unsolicited applications and features can also emerge slowly over time. This section develops the concept of foot-in-the-door devices—functional offerings and affordances that lay the groundwork for the future adoption and integration of features that might have been rejected previously as unacceptable or unnecessary. An illustrative example of a foot-in-the-door device is how the smartphone created opportunities for mass-scale, and in some cases illegal, surveillance by governments and corporations. Democratic citizens and informed consumers would not voluntarily carry a device in their pockets whose sole function was to track their movement and activity without offering compensation or benefits. However, the form and functions of the smartphone created foot-in-the-door potential—or, in this case, device-in-the-pocket potential—that were later exploited and capitalized upon.

Taking “more than a camera, more than security” as a starting point, the following studies closely analyze specific features of the Indoor Nest Cam. These studies focus on physical features and affordances and how they may knowingly or unknowingly stage foot-in-the-door strategies for integrating and normalizing standalone smart cameras within the home. The selected and highly abbreviated close interaction studies that follow adapt and combine three key methodologies: design critiques [30,34,56], close readings from literary criticism [40], and mediation analysis from philosophy of technology [1,57,65,66].

Tethering as Foot-in-the-Door Devices

Even though the Nest Indoor Cam is WiFi enabled, it still requires a USB cord for electrical power. Out of the box, the device comes with 9.8-foot (29.4 cm) long USB cord. In Nest support and marketing materials, this feature is advertised as unacceptable or unwelcome or unsolicited appearances and features that might have been rejected previously as unacceptable or unnecessary. An illustrative example of a foot-in-the-door device

Figure 9. Analysis of Nest Cam image staging. Analysis excerpts showing annotated press and marketing images and video stills for the Nest Indoor Cam and Nest Cam IQ. [Image credit: Google Nest Cam Press Images]

Figure 11. Clips. [Image credit: Google Press images].

Since this project began in early 2017, Google Clips—a miniature clip-on camera—was released for sale in 2018. Clips represents a clear first step along the above roadmap that begins with stretching and untethering.
Smart Home Redirects

In this section I illustrate the three redirective design tactics devised and applied within the research through design process. These tactics are redirective in the sense of moving beyond near-term incremental improvements that align with status quo or dominant design trajectories. These tactics direct design imagination along three vectors: divergently into the absurd and exaggerated, accelerating past plausible or expected near-term projections, and productively re-straining and reversing the ratcheting up effects of technological advancement. This method is generally useful for considering how smart devices, homes, and environments might unfold. This method has proved particularly useful for considering future design possibilities that lie between the outlandish, the alarming, and the resolving. This approach can be helpful in avoiding the extremes of unwavering criticality and unreflective solutionism.

Smart Home Acceleration

What if today’s speculative hole-and-corner applications and foot-in-the-door trajectories continue to rapidly develop and soon emerge as normal and mundane as leaky, surveillant gazes become ubiquitous smart cameras and their applications and-corner applications and productively re-straining and reversing the ratcheting up effects of technological advancement. This method is generally useful for considering how smart devices, homes, and environments might unfold. This method has proved particularly useful for considering future design possibilities that lie between the outlandish, the alarming, and the resolving. This approach can be helpful in avoiding the extremes of unwavering criticality and unreflective solutionism.

Smart Home Deviations

What if we extrapolate a foot-in-the-door roadmap to absurd endpoints? Showcasing a redirective tactic of playful smart home divergence, this work deliberately dwells upon bizarre and exaggerated scenarios tinged with absurdity and humor. Social media, domestic appliances, and home décor serve as inspirational design metaphors and analogous experiences. A snapshot of divergent scenarios presented below imagine smart camera use cases expanding beyond home security to fulfill playful, social, reflective, and decorative functions—operating as much more than either a camera or a security device.

Smart Home Reversals

What if severe public backlash amid a succession of hole-and-corner and foot-in-the-door家用 devices leads to substantial curtailment, regulation, and increased user control options of smart technologies? These explorations consider increased controls and protections from ubiquitous smart cameras and other leaky technologies. These interventions range in scale from device features to legislation. The redirective design tactic of smart home reatraction is useful to generate counterbalancing forces capable of combating rampant digital leakage pervading things, bodies, homes, and environments. The design metaphors of curtains and shutters figure prominently.

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Jammers

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Ining, along with new modes of roving and autonomous IoT.

Figure 19. What if Future Smart Cameras are as Normal, Ubiquitous, and Useful as Electric Lighting? These proposals explore smart cam configurations based on ambient, accent, and task lighting, along with new modes of zoving and autonomous IoT.[Image Credit: James Pierce.]

**Lamps and Lighting as Design Metaphors for Smart Home Accelerationism**

The scenarios of aesthetic, playful, and social self-surveillance presented previously would require more ubiquitous domestic self-surveillance infrastructure. Here we explore some possible configurations of an expanded domestic camera and sensor infrastructure that would allow smart home camera coverage to spread into the most intimate and private of spaces, such as bedrooms, bathrooms, and closets.

The design explorations below explore lamps and lighting as design metaphors for imagining how smart cameras might practically integrate and socially normalize within daily life. Lamps and lighting offer powerful interactive and architectural metaphor for envisioning a future of domestic surveillance designed to shine onto the most private recesses of our lives and illuminate our most intimate behaviors, thoughts, and desires. Future smart home cameras may operate with similarities to household lamps both in form and function. The diversity of common house lamp forms—from overhead track lighting to arced floor lamps to focused desk lamps—offer ready-made base configurations for smart home cameras that support wall-to-wall and precision camera coverage. Lighting analogies help us think through the ways that self-surveillance of the future may serve illuminating, decorative, and mood-setting functions that demand ubiquitous coverage along with precision placement and directional control.

**Smart Product Collage Kits**

The prior explorations led to the development of smart product collage kits: physical, operational compositions that combined two or more existing off-theshelf consumer products or other discernible cultural or technological forms.

**Curtains and Shutoffs**

As potential antitode to the proliferation of leaky sensor fields as normal and ubiquitous as electric lighting, curtains and shutoffs serves as potent metaphors for designing blindspots, obfuscations, and user controls.

Figure 21. Active, Passive, and Deactive Smart Device Restraints. [Image Credit: James Pierce.]

**Figure 22. Amazon Cloud Cam Curtains Kit.** [Image Credit: James Pierce.]

**Figure 23. Roomba Clips Cam Kit**

**Figure 24. IKEA Arc Lamp Nest Cam Kit.** [Image Credit: James Pierce.]

**Figure 20. Wall-to-wall and Precision Coverage.** If smart home camera surveillance spreads into the most intimate and private spaces such as bedrooms, tabletops, and closets, the physical infrastructure that enables this will likely involve two major categories of lighting-inspired supports. Wall-to-wall coverage provides uniform coverage for entire spaces, similar to ambient light provided by overhead and floor lamps. Precision coverage pinpoints specific areas, activities, and timeframes. It operates like task and accent lighting provided by desk lamps, headlamps, and more novel and sophisticated automated and autonomous lighting devices. [Image Credit: James Pierce.]

**Future smart home cameras may operate with similarities to household lamps both in form and function.** The diversity of common house lamp forms—from overhead track lighting to arced floor lamps to focused desk lamps—offer ready-made base configurations for smart home cameras.

Within these product collages, two design principles are at work:

1. **Conceptual redirection:** Construct product collages that push existing products along alternative developmental trajectories. Accelerate, amplify, restrain, exaggerate, deviate, etc.

2. **Anchored speculation:** Construct product collages that clarify and expose, rather than obscure, the products (i.e., compositional elements) that are being conceptually redirected. This anchors speculation to salient reference points, and draws implicit lines between imagined futures and present actualities.

**Figure 22. Amazon Cloud Cam Curtains Kit.** [Image Credit: James Pierce.]

**Figure 21. Active, Passive, and Deactive Smart Device Restraints.** [Image Credit: James Pierce.]
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Ongoing Field Studies
These prototypes are currently being deployed with participants and used by the designers. Below is a sample of anecdotes that highlight emergent concerns, habits, etiquette, pleasures, obsessions, and other activities. By designing to both accelerate and restrain, we prompt people to examine and explore the positives, negatives, and manifold ambiguities of smart cams.

I put it in my bedroom. It immediately, instinctually shamed me into making my bed.
I put them where my cat naps. I check on her incessantly.
What if it watches me eat breakfast?

The third-party USB power switch means I know for sure it’s OFF.

Figure 24. Ikea Arc Lamp Nest Cam [Image Credit: James Pierce.]

Figure 24. Amazone Cloud Cam Curtains [Image Credit: James Pierce.]

References
Pierce, James, and Carl DiSalvo. "Addressing Network Anxieties with Alternative Design Metaphors.” Proc CHI ’18. 2018