

# Pervasive Human Computing

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## Humans Computing Everywhere

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Humans perform informal computations throughout their daily lives across a variety of localized situations: from the arithmetic of estimating the cost of a purchase at a grocery store, to the calculus of regulating vehicle speed to match surrounding traffic, to executing synchronous scheduling algorithms to make sure that someone picks up the kids from school on time. In this sense, human computation is already a pervasive phenomenon—a process that is performed by a vast number of people in a variety of contexts.

Most prominent human computation systems rely on this pervasiveness in order to enable human-driven problem solving and information processing on a large scale. Human computation is frequently crowdsourced through systems such as Amazon's Mechanical Turk (AMT 2013) in order to either harness the vast quantities of human processing required to make human computation more effective than machine systems, or to enable the benefits of collective intelligence and crowd wisdom (e.g., Lévy 2001; Surowiecki 2005) in solving computational problems. Indeed, the “remote person call” or “human-as-a-service” view of human computation (see Irani and Silberman 2013) relies on such computation to be available at all times; on its home page, AMT describes itself as offering “a global, on-demand, 24 ×7 workforce” AMT (2013). Human computation systems require a near-constant connection between human computers and the mechanical systems that direct Quinn and Bederson (2011) their computing.

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24 This requirement for constant access to computations performed by humans—a  
25 process that already occurs pervasively in a variety of locations—suggests that *per-*  
26 *vasive computing* may offer a suitable interaction paradigm for supporting human  
27 computation-based systems. Pervasive computing<sup>1</sup> is a model of human-computer  
28 interaction (that is, interaction between a human and a computer) that involves mov-  
29 ing away from traditional desktop interaction to focus on computing-in-context,  
30 embedding digital computer systems into the everyday physical world. Such com-  
31 puting systems may be passively embedded in the environment so that users are  
32 only peripherally aware of them (such as with ambient displays Ishii and  
33 Ullmer (1997)), or may represent computing systems with which users actively  
34 engage. One of the most common examples of a shift away from the desktop can be  
35 found in the increasing ubiquity of mobile devices and smart phones specifically—  
36 the mobility and constant network access afforded by such devices allow them to be  
37 integrated into everyday interactions, so that their use becomes “pervasive” in  
38 everyday experience. Research in pervasive computing often focuses on the ideas of  
39 “computing everywhere” and “everything can be a computer.” Indeed, emerging  
40 research and even consumer products that make use of mobile augmented reality  
41 (AR) systems and “wearable computing” Mann (1997) continue to support embed-  
42 ding computers into people’s everyday lives.

43 Pervasive computing thus offers an intriguing interaction paradigm for human  
44 computation. Just as pervasive technologies move digital computation away from  
45 the desktop machine into the everyday physical environments, pervasive *human*  
46 computation emphasizes moving the human computing into a variety of localized  
47 contexts. Indeed, pervasive computing as a form of interaction is highly interested in  
48 the context in which computation is used (e.g., Dourish 2004)—how computation  
49 can be embedded into the everyday lives of users. Such concerns remain valid even  
50 when the computation is performed by humans on the other end of a persistent net-  
51 work, rather than machines. Yet when considering pervasive human computation,  
52 we also need to perform a kind of inversion of this focus, since the human computers  
53 are the “users” of interest. Pervasive computing considers how computation may be  
54 used by humans in an everyday context; pervasive human computing introduces the  
55 question of how computation may be *performed* by humans in an everyday context.

56 In this chapter, I explore some of the uses of pervasive systems as platforms for  
57 performing human computation: porting current microtask-based interaction forms  
58 to mobile devices, and having humans act as computational controllers for mobile  
59 sensors. I discuss how these forms of human computation utilize or respond to the  
60 situatedness of the pervasive context in which they are performed. I follow this  
61 analysis with a reflection on some of the implications of considering human compu-  
62 tation through the lens and goals of pervasive computing, particularly in terms of  
63 the visibility of the humans performing computation.

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<sup>1</sup>Also known as *ubiquitous computing*, or “ubicomp” for short. Although “pervasive computing” and “ubiquitous computing” have been used to imply different emphases, in this article I will be using them interchangeably.

## Mobile Human Computation

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As mentioned above, mobile devices such as mobile phones are one of the most common platforms for moving computation into an everyday context and making it pervasive. Indeed, at a simple level, human computation can be made pervasive by porting existing systems and interaction patterns such as AMT for use on mobile devices. As an example, consider Harvard professor Jonathan Zittrain's vision of crowdsourced human computation combined with pervasive technologies:

One can visualize in the near future a subway car packed with people, each far less attuned to the local environment and to each other than even with today's distractions of newspapers and iPods. Instead, they will stare into screens even for just a few minutes and earn as much money [via systems such as AMT] in that time as their respective skills and stations allow. (Zittrain 2008)

In this scenario, any extra minutes (extra mental "cycles," to use a mechanical metaphor) are devoted towards human computation rather than alternative activities such as media consumption.<sup>2</sup> While Zittrain problematizes this behavior (particularly contrasting for-pay activity with human contact or conversation), such mobile-based human computation need not be entirely profit driven. As a more positively framed alternative, those subway riders could be using their mobile devices to play *Foldit* (Khatib et al. 2011) on their mobile devices instead of *Angry Birds*—performing socially beneficial human computation in a mobile context.

In this way, human computation can be made pervasive by making the context in which it is formed more pervasive, such as through mobile technologies. This strategy has been refined through a number of research projects (e.g., Eagle 2009; Gupta et al. 2012; Narula et al. 2011), enabling human computation particularly in the context of developing countries. A second common strategy for making human computation pervasive applies crowdsourcing techniques for data gathering to pervasive contexts, creating what Zittrain goes on to describe as "distributed human sensors" (Zittrain 2008). These systems have humans act as computer sensors and record information about their localized environment (e.g., Paulos et al. 2009; Tuite et al. 2011). I discuss these projects and methods in more detail in the following sections.

In both of these methods, humans perform computation pervasively in the contexts of their everyday lives—yet such methods may or may not fully utilize the pervasive context in which they occur. Pervasive computing gives computing *situatedness*: the computation occurs within a specific local and social situation, allowing that situation to serve as input to and shape the interaction with the computational system. In pervasive human computation, this situatedness may allow human computers to access localized and contextualized knowledge, actions, or behaviors, thereby influencing the computation they perform. In exploring pervasive human computation systems, it is important to consider the impacts and use of this situatedness: what makes pervasive human computation different from non-pervasive human computation?

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<sup>2</sup>In his novel *Rainbow's End*, Vernor Vinge expands this vision to include cognitive labor performed through mobile, wearable AR systems.

103        Again, note that in this chapter I am interested in how human computers perform  
104 their computation pervasively, not in how human computation as a replacement for  
105 mechanical computation (computation performed by machines) may be used perva-  
106 sively. There has been significant and admirable work in the latter context: for exam-  
107 ple, *VizWiz* (Bigham et al. 2010) uses human computation harnessed through AMT to  
108 perform pervasive image recognition to support blind people in interacting with their  
109 environments. Yet in such systems, the human computation is still performed non-  
110 pervasively—the humans doing the image recognition are likely still using the desk-  
111 top model of interaction, working through AMT using a web browser. Such systems  
112 address problems in pervasive computing using human computation, rather than  
113 making the human computation itself pervasive, which is the topic of interest here.

### 114 *Human Computation Tasks on the Go*

115        One of the simplest and earliest ways to make human computation pervasive is to  
116 have human computers report the results of their computation through mobile  
117 devices. This enables people to perform human computation during their everyday  
118 life, in a variety of different contexts and environments. Such systems must be  
119 enabled by existing infrastructures for pervasive technologies (i.e., ubiquitous net-  
120 work connections,<sup>3</sup> energy for powering mobile devices, etc.)—pervasive human  
121 computing “piggy-backs” off of mechanical pervasive computing systems.

122        Yet despite these requirements, systems for enabling such pervasive human com-  
123 putation have primarily been explored in the context of developing regions. For  
124 example, *txtEagle* Eagle (2009) built on the ubiquity of mobile devices and GSM  
125 reception in East Africa to deliver AMT-style human computation tasks to the  
126 mobile phones of workers in Kenya and Rwanda. These tasks—like those in AMT—  
127 were performed for pay, and offered as a way to supplement the low-income popula-  
128 tions. Indeed, because of infrastructure in place for transferring mobile airtime (and  
129 the popularity of using airtime as a kind of currency), payments in either cash or  
130 airtime could easily be delivered to workers. The system’s use is described with the  
131 following hypothetical scenario:

132        *David, Maasai Herdsman, Kisumu, Kenya.* While David had been unable to complete for-  
133 malized education, he, along with many of his Maasi peers, does own a mobile phone.  
134 David completes voice-tasks, helping Nokia train a speech recognition engine on his native  
135 Maasai dialect. When David wishes to complete a task, he ‘flashes’ the *txtEagle* Asterisk  
136 box that calls him back, asking him to repeat specific key words and phrases. After 30 min-  
137 utes of work, David has earned enough airtime to last him a week... (Eagle 2009)

138        Due to the limitations of available mobile phones (e.g., relying on numeric text  
139 entry), human computation tasks supported by *txtEagle* were primarily text- and

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<sup>3</sup>Though even the computation of transmitting network data could be performed by humans, in what is informally called a “sneakernet”.

audio-based: for example, human computers would perform transcription (of English words for those who were fluent) or translating text between their local languages to support software localization. Other systems have been developed to overcome these mechanical limitations. For example, *mClerk* (Gupta et al. 2012) uses proprietary protocols that predate MMS to send images to low-end phones in semi-urban India. This enables human computers in the region to perform optical character recognition (OCR) on scanned images.<sup>4</sup> Similar to *txtEagle*, *mClerk* pays human computers with mobile airline, administered manually through a “recharge shop.”

Interestingly, in deploying the system, the researchers developing *mClerk* found that potential workers were skeptical of the system (perceiving it as a possible scam rather than a potential source of income). Yet once they overcame their skepticism, most users reported such human computation tasks were good for killing time. This study highlights some of the complications of developing mobile-based human computation systems: *computation activities need to be able to fit into existing activity structures*. For a human computation system to be operated pervasively, it needs to fill the same interaction gaps addressed by other mobile usage (see e.g., O’Hara et al. 2007)—for example, tasks that computers are able to complete in short bursts of time, or that can be performed while engaged in other activities. The micro-tasks common to systems such as AMT are usually suitable for such situations; nevertheless, such a restriction may influence the development of future pervasive computing systems.

The projects sampled here are all systems deployed within developing regions, raising the question of what factors may make such contexts amenable to pervasive human computing. I suggest that the main factor may be the “for pay” nature of crowdsourced human computation systems (such as AMT) that provide an interaction model for use of these systems. Although the economics of such systems are still being researched (see e.g., Horton and Chilton 2010; Silberman et al. 2010; Toomim 2011), in practice AMT-style tasks are performed for a relatively small wage.<sup>5</sup> As payment is the primary motivator in these markets, a low wage may restrict usage to those computers for whom the wage is still “worth the time”: those in developing regions. Even non-pervasive human computation markets such as AMT see more work from lower-income regions such as India than higher-income countries such as the U.S. (Ross et al. 2010).

Thus designing pervasive human computation systems that are deployable in developed regions may require designs beyond “AMT on a cell phone”, offering non-monetary motivations for performing computation. For example Heimerl et al. (2012) describes integrating human computation into a vending machine, using non-vital snacks as a reward instead of monetary payment. This design is exemplary of pervasive human computation, as the human computing is integrated

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<sup>4</sup>*MobileWorks* (Narula et al. 2011) also supports human-performed OCR via mobile phones, but delivers images over a web application that requires a more powerful (and expensive) mobile phone.

<sup>5</sup>In 2009 (Ross et al. 2010) report workers from India make about USD 2.00/h on AMT, while in 2012 (Gupta et al. 2012) report the *mClerk* system payed around USD 2.84/h.

179 into the everyday environment. Other motivation structures may avoid extrinsic  
180 rewards all together, such as by “gamifying” human computation (e.g., von Ahn and  
181 Dabbish 2008; Carranza and Krause 2012). Such efforts can build on research into  
182 pervasive games (Montola et al. 2009) and games for harnessing collective intelli-  
183 gence (e.g., McGonigal 2007) to design interactions in which utilizable human  
184 computation pervades a game activity, which itself can pervade everyday life.

185 Whatever the motivation, while deploying AMT-style human tasks to mobile  
186 human computers does move the computation into a pervasive context, this form of  
187 interaction may not fully utilize the situatedness enabled by pervasive computing.  
188 Classical human computation tasks such as image identification rarely depend on or  
189 consider the context in which the computation is performed: indeed, identifying  
190 images on a mobile phone may even be made more difficult because of differing  
191 environmental lighting conditions! Systems such as *txtEagle* and *mClerk* do con-  
192 sider the social and cultural context of the computers to a small extent (e.g., when  
193 asking for translations between local languages), but these systems fail to consider  
194 the human computer’s *specific* environment. Further research is needed into how the  
195 specific context in which human computation is performed may influence either the  
196 distribution or evaluation of AMT-style tasks in order to more effectively develop  
197 pervasive human computation systems.

198 In sum, the ubiquity of mobile devices offers a suitable platform for developing  
199 pervasive human computation systems—whether they simply provide a method for  
200 participating in existing crowdsourcing markets while on the go, or if they build on  
201 new forms of interaction for motivating contributions during short moments of free  
202 time. Yet motivating adoption of human computation platforms may require moving  
203 beyond the mobile device as a platform, embedding avenues for performing human  
204 computation in the artifacts that fill peoples’ environments. Such embedding may  
205 help systems to better utilize the situatedness of the pervasive human computing,  
206 taking advantage of the computer’s specific local and social context.

## 207 ***Human Sensing of Local Environments***

208 While many existing human computation systems utilize the AMT-style “receive a  
209 task; complete a task; receive a reward” model of interaction, such systems do not  
210 fully utilize the mobile, pervasive nature of the interaction. Other forms of pervasive  
211 human computation work to expand the idea of what it means for humans to perform  
212 computation in order to take advantage of the localized context afforded by pervasive  
213 computing. These systems move beyond asking humans to act as just information  
214 processors, to asking them to emulate other aspects of mechanical computation.

215 The most prevalent of these other aspects is *sensing* the surrounding environ-  
216 ment: in particular, having humans control and direct the use of embedded sensors.  
217 Also known as *participatory sensing*, this mode of interaction emphasizes crowd-  
218 sourcing the use of sensors embedded in mobile devices, thereby enabling large  
219 groups of people to “gather, analyze and share local knowledge” (Burke et al. 2006).

Such interaction can be used to enable citizen science (e.g., Paulos et al. 2009), having humans direct the collection of pollution or noise data to better inform scientific research. Similarly, other systems such as *PhotoCity* (Tuite et al. 2011) have humans direct the use of an even more common type of sensor: the visual sensors that form the cameras found in most smart phones. In this system (framed as a game to motivate participation), humans use the cameras to intelligently provide photos that can be combined to successfully create a 3D reconstruction of a location. Thus rather than performing computation to *process* data, these human computers use their decision making skills to *produce* data that can then be processed.

As Reeves and Sherwood (2010) point out, the decision-making performed by humans in choosing how to direct the sensors is still a valid form of human computation. Such decisions “draw upon human agency and local practices” (Reeves and Sherwood 2010) to produce data more efficiently than may be produced by a fully automated sensor network (à la, Chong and Kumar 2003), much as human computation can be more efficient at the prototypical task of image identification. By putting humans in the loop in these pervasive sensing systems—turning them into pervasive human sensing systems—the computational efforts exerted by humans can outperform the computational efforts of the machines. Thus such human-directed sensing is a form of pervasive human computation: one that effectively utilizes the situated, localized nature of the computation being performed

Beyond simply directing mechanical sensors, pervasive human computation can even involve humans performing the sensing themselves! In this model of interaction, a system may query people for information that they can sense (e.g., “is there traffic?” “how’s the weather?”), and then aggregate that data in order to produce computational models. To ease participation (and make such participation truly pervasive), the aggregating system can rely on reports that humans already produce, such as through social media. For example, people’s reports of earthquakes on Twitter can be used to send alerts and notifications faster than traditional reporting systems (Sakaki et al. 2010), or provide situational awareness to support disaster response (Vieweg et al. 2010) *because* sensed data result from very specific contexts. These applications thus demonstrate how the situatedness of pervasive human computation can enable novel and effective systems.

This view that humans-as-sensors perform computation stretches the traditional understanding of what “human computation” entails (though Reeves and Sherwood (2010) note that even some tasks on the traditional human computation platform of AMT, such as writing product reviews, might not be considered “computation”). Zittrain’s paper *Ubiquitous Human Computing* (Zittrain 2008) even suggests that systems that report biological vital signs from humans can be conceived as a form of human computation—computation that involves humans directly. Indeed, Zittrain suggests that such sensing could be used to support epidemiology—building on existing data mining systems such as Google Flu Trends (goo 2013). Quinn and Bederson (2011) argue that data mining systems are not human computation systems in themselves, but may they not be systems that involve or rely upon human computation?

In order to consider how human computation can best take advantage of contextual information available in pervasive systems, we may need to expand our

265 understanding of what it means for a task to be computational. For example, social  
266 interactions are not normally considered to be computation, yet there may be identifiable  
267 “algorithms” which apply in these situations (such as the scheduling algorithm  
268 of how to plan one’s day). If we want to make human computation pervasive,  
269 we may need to apply technomorphisms<sup>6</sup> to the wide range of actors and artifacts  
270 that exist within pervasive environments—using the lens of computer science and  
271 computation to look at traditionally non-computational systems. Such considerations  
272 can help us to take full advantage of the situated pervasive contexts in which  
273 pervasive human computation is performed.

### 274 *Situating Pervasive Human Computation*

275 Pervasive computing is computing that occurs in a variety of contexts: computation  
276 in the everyday world in which we live. Similarly, pervasive human computing  
277 moves human computers away from the desktop and “into the wild,” allowing that  
278 computation to occur within a particular localized and social context—where and  
279 how the computation occurs matters! But how can we best utilize the contextualization  
280 afforded by pervasive human computing? How can performing human computation  
281 out in the world benefit existing forms of interaction (beyond simply increasing  
282 the availability of human workers), or otherwise enable the development of new  
283 systems? Future research is needed to further study the impacts of pervasive computing’s  
284 situatedness on human computation, and how to best harness local contexts  
285 in human computation systems. Thus the significant open question is: *in what ways*  
286 *does the situatedness enabled by pervasive systems influence human computation?*

287 For one, research needs to explore how location influences computations performed:  
288 do humans tend to perform different types of computation (or perform  
289 computation in different ways) depending on their location? Are there problems that  
290 are dependent on localized computation but may be amenable to completion by  
291 human computers? Are there forms of human computation that could be immediately  
292 applied to problems in a local environment?

293 Second, research might consider how the presence of other nearby actors and  
294 artifacts—human or mechanical—can shape human computation performed pervasively.  
295 For example, research might consider the effectiveness of encouraging  
296 impromptu face-to-face collaborations, either between existing social groups or  
297 between co-located human computers. Other systems might use the pervasive presence  
298 of computers in order to help organize or control devices embedded in the  
299 environment. The question of how human computers may interact with their environments  
300 when computing in a pervasive context—how to best harness the potential  
301 benefits of this interaction—requires further study.

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<sup>6</sup> A play on “anthropomorphism,” referring to the attribution of technological characteristics to non-machines; see e.g., Vertesi (2008).

Finally, what are the influences of different cultural or social contexts? Cultural context is already a factor that needs to be considered when using existing human computation systems: translation tasks may require a certain fluency, or identification tasks may rely on knowledge of particular cultural touchstones. These issues may be further complicated when human computation occurs in a potentially more heterogeneous pervasive context. Similarly, the value or acceptability of systems may be influenced when presented within a social context that is not traditionally understood as computational—such as how the *mClerk* system was viewed as a potential scam (Gupta et al. 2012). The relationship between human computation, the connectivity and attention it requires, its framing of human labor, and other such factors need to be carefully considered in the development of pervasive human computation systems.

These are just some example questions that are ripe for future research; indeed, all these questions will need to be addressed in order to effectively utilize the situational context in which pervasive human computation is performed.

## Invisible Human Computation

The research domain of pervasive computing is significantly based on the vision presented in Mark Weiser's foundational article, *The Computer for the twenty first Century* (Weiser 1995). In this paper, Weiser highlights the "seamlessness" of computer interaction enabled by pervasive computing—computers are so integrated with everyday artifacts and actions, that the computers "vanish into the background" and become invisible. The drive for computing technologies to become invisible, which has motivated large swaths of pervasive computing research, is clearly established from the article's first sentence: "The most profound technologies are those that disappear. They weave themselves into the fabric of everyday life until their are indistinguishable from it." Tolmie et al. (2002) refer to this idea as "unremarkable computing," suggesting that such seamless interaction results not from the design of the technology, but rather from how the technology is utilized in practice. Although there has been some criticism of invisible computing as a model of interaction (especially work on "seamful design" Chalmers and Galani (2004); see also Bell and Dourish (2006)), it has remained the dominant vision of pervasive computing for decades.

But what happens when pervasive computing's idea of invisibility is applied to human computers? What happens when the humans that are doing the work "vanish into the background?" Such vanishing already occurs in non-pervasive human computation systems, such as how AMT obscures worker identities and renders them invisible by framing them as a form of infrastructure (Irani and Silberman 2013; Ross et al. 2010)—a part of the system's API. This obscuring leads to issues such as wage disparity (Silberman et al. 2010) in existing human computation systems—issues that likely would continue with pervasive human computation systems. Moreover, Weiser's vision of invisible computing suggests the idea of "scrap computers" (disposable computers, analogous to scrap paper); could making human computers invisible also cast them as disposable? We need to make sure that such obscuring

343 does not become even more prominent when developing human computation sys-  
344 tems for a pervasive context in which seamless interaction is the norm. While  
345 machines and technology can vanish into the background, we as developers and  
346 researchers have a moral obligation not to let our technomorphism of human com-  
347 puters cause the same to happen to them.

348 Notably, Weiser's goal in making computers invisible was to "make individuals  
349 more aware of the people on the other ends of their computer links" (Weiser 1995):  
350 users would be more cognizant of the others they are interacting with than the tech-  
351 nology. Yet human computation systems—in addition to obscuring the computer  
352 (who happens to be a human)—often work to obscure the "user" of that human  
353 computation. Zittrain argues that obscuring the user (the requester or employer in  
354 for-pay systems) denies the human computers the moral choice about what they do  
355 or how their computational labor is used (Zittrain 2008). Indeed, legitimate human  
356 computation platforms such as AMT have been used for illicit purposes (such as  
357 allowing spammers to break CAPTCHAs), likely without the human computers  
358 being aware (Harris 2011). The problem of computation being decontextualized  
359 may be more significant in pervasive systems, particularly if the computation  
360 involves actions taken within a localized context—a human computer may be asked  
361 to act as a sensor and take a picture of a particular location without knowing the  
362 purpose of that surveillance.<sup>7</sup>

363 In these ways, considering human computation through the lens of pervasive  
364 computing highlights issues in how human computation systems often render the  
365 computer invisible, whether or not that computation is performed pervasively. In  
366 developing pervasive human computation systems, we should adopt a design stance  
367 that acknowledges—even emphasizes—the "seams" in the system. We should sup-  
368 port awareness of the connections between the mobile human computers and the  
369 users of their computation, as well as limitations of the system that may be intro-  
370 duced by a particular localized context. Research should focus on revealing and  
371 harnessing the details of the human computation's context, and not let the comput-  
372 ing fade invisibly into the background.

## 373 Conclusion

374 In this chapter, I have discussed the concept of pervasive human computation: a  
375 mode of interaction in which human computation is performed by people during  
376 their everyday lives in a variety of localized contexts. This form of human computa-  
377 tion can range from current microtask-based interaction forms ported to mobile  
378 devices, to having humans control or act as mobile sensors to provide

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<sup>7</sup>The dangers of crowdsourcing activity without context are effectively dramatized in Bruce Sterling's short story, *Maneki-Neko*.

human-gathered data to computational systems. Pervasive human computation has 379  
 the potential to allow human computers to harness localized or contextualized infor- 380  
 mation from their environment, thereby supporting a greater variety of systems and 381  
 problem solving based on large-scale human-driven information processing. 382

When making human computing pervasive, the differentiating factor is the *context* 383  
 in which the computation is performed: rather than sitting at a desk, human computers 384  
 can be out in the world. It is this situatedness that makes pervasive computing signifi- 385  
 cant—the computation occurs in a particular context. What is important is not that 386  
 pervasive human computing occurs everywhere, but that it can occur *anywhere*—in a 387  
 variety of specific locations and contexts. In developing systems, we need to be care- 388  
 ful to not lose track of the particulars of the computation’s context. Instead, we need 389  
 to harness these specific contexts through systems that respect and make apparent the 390  
 participating human actors (whether the computers or the users of the computation), 391  
 in order to develop the most effective uses of pervasive human computation. 392

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Uncorrected Proof