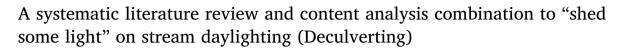
Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

Water Security





connections to transit).



Luna Khirfan*, Niloofar Mohtat, Megan Peck

School of Planning, University of Waterloo, Ontario, Canada

ARTICLEINFO	A B S T R A C T
<i>Keywords:</i> Stream daylighting Deculverting Systematic review Content analysis	Since the start of stream daylighting (deculverting streams buried to make way for urban development) in the 1970s, several case study/project-based reviews emerged. Yet, there is a need for literature-based reviews that identify the literature's themes, interconnections, pressing issues, and knowledge gaps. Therefore, we combine the systematic review and content analysis methods to investigate 115 peer-reviewed and grey literature publications on stream daylighting. Our findings reveal temporal shifts in the multi-/inter-disciplinary clustering patterns of the identified nine themes and 53 sub-themes. Furthermore, there is a dearth in this literature on 'built form and urban design', 'inclusive planning', and on case studies from the Global South. Last, the connections are absent between stream daylighting and nature-based solutions and climate change adaptation (e.g., vis-à-vis stormwater management, urban heat island, and rainwater harvesting) and climate mitigation (decreasing greenhouse gas emissions, such as through enhancing the opportunities for walkability, cycling, and

1. Introduction

The unprecedented urban development since the twentieth century often overlooked urban ecosystems including urban streams and rivers, which have been "diverted, straightened, confined, and channelled beyond recognition" [1: IV]. Environmental awareness brought the moral, ethical, and ecological consequences of development decisions under the limelight [2]. Simultaneously, the adverse impacts of global climate change on cities such as floods, heat waves, and droughts heightened the importance of nature-based solutions¹ (NbS) for ecosystem services [3,4]. Stream daylighting is one such solution that refers to "the practice of removing streams from buried conditions and exposing them to the Earth's surface in order to directly or indirectly enhance the ecological, economic and/or socio-cultural well-being of a region and its inhabitants" [5: 10]. Accordingly, stream daylighting has been ascribed to disciplines like socio-ecology for the ecosystem services that benefit humans (see: [6]) and hydro-ecology for improved water quality and stormwater management (see: [7-10]). Although practiced since the 1970s, daylighting received public attention with the increased interest in lost rivers, including the reintroduction in 2004 of the lost Cheonggyecheon stream in Seoul, South Korea. Since the first peer-reviewed publication in 1992 by Charbonneau and Resh, however, the stream daylighting literature has been dispersed over a wide array of disciplines and fragmented over multiple themes. Furthermore, all existing reviews are case study/project-based (see: [1,11-13]), hence, warranting literature-based reviews that critically examine the literature's trends, intersections, and future research trajectories. More importantly, the contemporary global climate change challenges warrant a review of the stream daylighting literature vis-àvis shifting environmental perspectives and the integration of nature-based solutions within urban areas.

Accordingly, we combine the systematic review and the content analysis methods to unravel the manifest and latent content of the literature on urban stream daylighting. Our findings identify the main themes and sub-themes in the literature, the discussions' geographic scope, and the case studies. Current omissions also provide opportunities for future empirical research, including a need for cross-/interdisciplinary studies and for balancing the emphasis on case studies to present underrepresented cases. Furthermore, there is a need for empirical studies that connect stream daylighting and climate change particularly, its role as a nature-based solution that provides valuable ecosystem services for adaptation (e.g., stormwater management, urban heat island, and rainwater harvesting) and for mitigation (e.g., through walkability, cycling, and transit opportunities).

* Corresponding author.

https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wasec.2020.100067

Received 20 December 2019; Received in revised form 30 July 2020; Accepted 31 July 2020 Available online 24 August 2020

2468-3124/ © 2020 The Author(s). Published by Elsevier B.V. This is an open access article under the CC BY-NC-ND license (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/BY-NC-ND/4.0/).



E-mail address: luna.khirfan@uwaterloo.ca (L. Khirfan).

¹NbS refers to the "use [of] nature in tackling challenges such as climate change, food security, water resources, or disaster risk management" – an overarching term that extends beyond conservation to incorporate the sustainable use of biodiversity [86].

2. The research methodology

To date, there are a handful of case study/project-based reviews that offer important insights. The earliest, Pinkham [1] and Buchholz & Younos [11], are professional reports (grey literature) that: provide valuable insights by experienced professionals, document the stream daylighting projects the then completed in the USA, and evaluate these projects (ecologically and socially). Three are peer reviewed whereby Wild et al. [12] and Wild, Dempsey, and Broadhead [13] review stream daylighting projects globally while Broadhead, Horn, and Lerner [14] investigate lost rivers captured in combined sewers. All these reviews are case study/project-based that discuss best practices and engage practitioners in the collection of data. Thus, while they offer valuable insights, yet, there remains a need for reviews that analyze the literature's manifest data (explicit facts and figures) and latent content (hidden constructs and underlying trends) (see: [15]).

Accordingly, this paper combines the systematic literature review and content analysis methods (Appendix A, Fig. 1). By including all the literature that tackles stream daylighting, and which was published between 1992 and 2018, the systematic review facilitates an understanding of the discourse's general scope and nature [15,16]. Also, by scrutinizing the subject matter of the publications, the content analysis facilitates an understanding of critical themes and the derivation of rich insights [17–22]. Our combined method followed four steps beginning with identifying the research questions and study objectives, namely: what are the dominant themes and sub-themes in the stream daylighting literature? And, to what extent does the stream daylighting literature tackle climate change adaptation and mitigation?

Second, the literature research sought all the literature on stream daylighting using search engines like Primo (an academic search engine) supported by Google Scholar and Google. The Boolean search commenced with the following keywords: 'stream', 'river', 'creek', and 'brook' combined with one or more of the root words 'daylight' and/or its synonyms 'deculvert' and 'uncover'. We also used the keyword 'Cheonggyecheon' - the well-known lost stream that had been reintroduced in Seoul's urban landscape. Based on the careful reading of these sources' contents, we observed that they referred to the Cheonggyecheon as a 'restoration' not as a 'daylighting' project because the water was pumped from the nearby Han River and from underground sources as opposed to being released from a culvert [23]. Subsequently, the Boolean search terms expanded to include the root words: 'bury'; 'deculvert'; 'establish'; 'naturalize'; 'open'; 'reclaim'; 'recover'; 'regenerate'; 'rehabilitate'; 'renovate'; 'restore'; 'resurface'; 'revitalize'; 'uncover'; and/or 'unearth'. Concurrent with the Boolean search, we also supplemented our data collection by investigating the references cited in the yielded sources for their relevancy to stream daylighting.

As the sources accumulated, priority was given to English-language peer-reviewed sources (journal articles and university press publications), however, these were few. Therefore, we expanded the search to the grey literature while assessing its quality through careful reading of each source's contents and scrutinizing the authors' expertise and institutional affiliations. Resultantly, the search yielded 115 sources that were published between 1992 and 2018 (Table 1). All these sources are in English except one German-language² professional report on the City of Zürich's (Switzerland) unique stream daylighting policy adopted since 1986 that, thus far, ensued in daylighting nearly 24 km - [24].

Third, we extracted, organized, coded and recorded the data in two files: an Excel document that recorded each source's manifest data (i.e., explicit characteristics like title, year, type, and location) and a Word document that open coded the latent content (henceforth referred to

Table 1						
The types and quantities of	of sources	included	in	this	study.	

Publication Type		The quantity of sources
Peer reviewed	Journal articles	80
	Books and edited volumes	2
Grey literature ⁶	Books and edited volumes	4
•	Book chapters	1
	Institutional reports	12
	Conference paper	1
	Supervised students' work	14
	Workshop proceeding	1
Total		115

⁶ This study is restricted to these types of grey literature and excludes multimedia sources, media reports, and social media.

simply as 'content'). The latter took the form of a standardized format for an annotated bibliography that organized thorough notes under headings (i.e., a rule-guided technique that controlled for researchers' bias) (Appendix A, Table 1) [19,20,25].

Last, we coded the headings from the Word document (latent content) and combined them with the manifest data in the Excel document in order to facilitate relational analysis, distill grouping (through sorting and collapsing (dis)similar headings), and identify (sub-) themes. This combination of both datasets in one Excel document increased our methodological rigour by converting the inductive categorization of the (sub-)themes into quantitative metrics [20]. We used Alteryx, a data management software, to clean the Excel document of data entry errors whereby the cleaned data became the analytical backbone of a database (dashboard) produced in Tableau³.

Our method capitalizes on the combined strengths of the systematic literature review and the content analysis methodologies [26]. The former summarizes and absorbs vast amounts of data [27] while the latter suits rigorous qualitative and quantitative analysis of textual data, hence, facilitates in-depth understanding of multifaceted and multidisciplinary phenomena [17] and longitudinal analyses [17,19,28]. Yet, both methods face inconsistencies in the literature's inclusion and exclusion criteria [29] while the substantial number of publications yielded by systematic literature search [30] renders the content analysis effort and time intensive (see: [17,20,22,28,31,32]). We overcame these challenges through a clear, replicable, and user-friendly protocol that ensured credibility (truth value and objectivity), transferability (applicability and replicability), and dependability (consistency and accuracy). The protocol included: individual and team verification (of notes, extracted themes, organization, and coding), categorization and careful documentation (Appendix A, Table 1) that collectively ascertained the presence of an audit trail and reduced researcher's bias (see: [17,19,22,32,33]).

3. Data analysis

Beginning with the manifest data, the publication year analysis confirms the relative nascency of the literature on stream daylighting. Although the first documented project (Napa creek, USA) dates to the 1970 s [34,35], the first peer reviewed journal article was published in 1992 (by Charbonneau and Resh) and it took another decade for publications to gradually increase (Fig. 1). Three points in 2004, 2012, and 2016 mark an increase in the number of publications. From only two sources in 2003, 2004 saw seven new publications: a) two on the Cheonggyecheon stream [36,37]; b) two on Zürich's policy [38,39]; and c) three on North American case studies [40–42]. In 2012, twelve new publications marked a threefold increase from 2011 while 19 new publications in 2016 marked nearly a fivefold increase from 2015. It is difficult to conclusively pin down the reasons behind these sudden

² The principal investigator translated this report from German into English due to its relevance and significance especially, given the dearth in sources on Zürich's unique stream daylighting initiative.

³ A software for visualizing data trends and streamlining analytical querying.

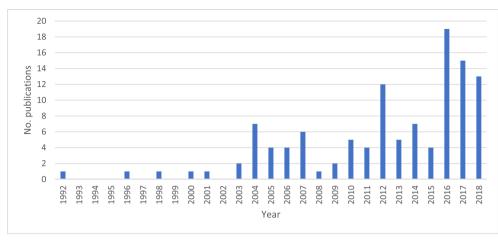


Fig. 1. The number of stream daylighting publications per year.

surges, but it is possible to correlate the number of publications per year (Fig. 1) and the publication year for the most cited sources (Table 2 and Appendix A, Table 2). These data indicate the possibility that the media attention toward the Cheonggyecheon project (in 2004) combined with influential publications like Kang and Cervero's [43] contributed to this increase. Indeed, 14 of the 21 articles published in the three years between 2010 and 2012 explicitly mention the Cheonggyecheon.

As for the latent content, a hierarchy of themes at two different levels emerged: nine higher-order categories that represented the dominant themes (daylighting, ecology, economy, hydrology, infrastructure, politics and policy, sociocultural, built form and urban design, and inclusive planning) under which 53 second-order categories or sub-themes fell (e.g., a source's stormwater management discussion is coded as a sub-theme under the 'hydrology' theme) (Table 3). The (sub-)themes are collectively exhaustive but not mutually exclusive; in other words, every source tackles at least one theme and may surely tackle additional sub-themes. Our analysis reveals an increase in these themes' diversity over time -indicative of increasing multi-/inter-disciplinary research on stream daylighting from only three themes in 1992 (i.e., sociocultural, ecological, and daylighting) to nine in 2018. The 2004, 2012, and 2016 points (Fig. 1) marked the emergence of new themes. The most frequently tackled themes are: 'ecological', 'sociocultural', and 'hydrological' (discussed in 70%, 69%, and 64% of the sources), while 'inclusive planning' and 'built form and urban design' remain the least discussed (in 42% and 41% of the sources) (Fig. 2).

Since the (sub-)themes may coexist within each source, we analyzed their overlaps. Interestingly, two clusters emerged (Fig. 3), the first includes ecology, sociocultural, hydrology, infrastructure, and economic that are simultaneously highly correlated to each other and are the most frequently discussed in the literature. For example, 80% to 90% of the sources that discuss stream daylighting through the lens of ecology also address hydrology; likewise, 70% to 80% of the sources that address hydrology also discuss infrastructure. The second cluster consists of correlations among the themes discussed in less than 50% of the sources: daylighting (in 46%), politics and policy (in 43%), and inclusive planning (in 42%). For example, more than 60% of the sources that delve into stream daylighting's 'inclusive planning' processes also discuss 'politics and policy'. The 'built form and urban design' theme maintains weak correlations with all the other themes except 'inclusive planning', hence, remains outside both clusters. Our analysis also reveals seven sub-themes that warrant further research (Appendix A, Fig. 2).

Overlaying the geographic scope and the themes reveals that the 115 sources exclude Africa and South America and only cover North America, Europe, Oceania, and Asia with variable theme distribution and with North America and Oceania the most and least discussed consecutively. 'Ecology' and 'hydrology' are the most frequently discussed in studies on North America while 'built-form and urban design' is the least tackled. 'Hydrology' recurs in most studies on Europe whereas 'politics and policy' is hardly mentioned. The 'sociocultural' and 'daylighting' themes are, consecutively, the most and least prominent in Asia while 'ecology' and 'inclusive planning' are the most and least addressed in Oceania (Fig. 4).

Our analysis of the case studies'/projects' geographic distribution reveals 74 projects (53%) in North America followed by 59 (42%) in Europe of which 40 (or 29%) are in Switzerland (Fig. 5). These findings differ from Wild, Dempsey, and Broadhead's [13] who report only 51 (28%) projects in North America, 121 (67%) in Europe⁴, two in Asia (compared to four in the literature, including Wadi Hanifah in Saudi Arabia [44], and one in Africa (where none were reported in the literature). Furthermore, our analysis reveals that the locations discussed more frequently do not necessarily contain more daylighting projects, especially in Europe and Asia. Europe's 59 daylighting projects appear in 27 sources while Zürich's 40 projects (nearly a third of all case studies) appear in only four sources [24,38,45,46]. In contrast, 40 sources discuss only four projects in Asia of 36 sources exclusively discuss the Cheonggyecheon (1% of all projects) (Fig. 5).

Lastly, our analysis explored the relationships between the (sub-) themes and climate change adaptation (systems' adjustments) and mitigation (decreasing greenhouse gas emissions). Of the total 115 sources only 16 refer to climate change all of which, with the exception of Richards and Edwards [47], mention it only briefly without offering any detailed analyses. Beginning with adaptation, it was not until the 2007 redrafting of the European Chartered Institution of Water and Environmental Management's (CIWEM) report 'De-culverting of Water Courses' [48] that the limitations of culverts in managing increased flooding brought on by climate change were highlighted (Fig. 6). Generally, our findings indicate that the literature's sources avoid the term "adaptation" in many cases [7,49-52], and mostly discuss how stream daylighting can "mitigate⁵" the impacts of climate change through the lens of five sub-themes: 'stormwater management' ('hydrology'); 'urban heat island'; ('ecology'); 'sustainable development' ('infrastructure'); 'biodiversity' ('ecology'); and 'urban resilience' ('built form and urban design') (Appendix A, Fig. 2). Among these sub-themes, 'stormwater management' appears more frequently in the literature that mentions climate change, whereas 'urban resilience' appears the least (Fig. 7). To elaborate, of the 16 sources that discuss stream daylighting

⁴ The data sources for Wild, Dempsey, and Broadhead's [83] study are based on volunteered data on case studies gathered primarily through engaging practitioners whereas our study extracts the data from the literature.

⁵ Mitigate in this context is used to literally mean "lessen" and not to refer to decreasing the greenhouse gas emissions.

Table 2

A sample from our databas	se of the most cite	A sample from our database of the most cited papers in the literature on stream daylighting.				
Author(s)	Publication year Title	Title	Publication type	Level of detail in discussing daylighting	Total citations ⁷	Citation rank in our database
Pinkham, Richard	2000	Daylighting: New Life for Buried Streams	Report (grey literature)	Very detailed	67	10
Bernhardt, E. S. Palmer, M. A. Allan, J. D. Alexander, G.	2005	Synthesizing U.S. River Restoration Efforts	Journal article (peer reviewed)	In passing (mentions Pinkham's report[1])	1900	-
Barnas, K. Brooks, S. Carr, J., et al.						
Kang, Chang Deok, Robert Cervero	2009	From Elevated Freeway to Urban Greenway: Land Journal article (peer Value Impacts of the CGC Project in Seoul, Korea reviewed)	Journal article (peer reviewed)	Discusses in detail the Cheonggyecheon (Cheong Gye Cheon) restoration in Seoul with a particular focus on the project's impact on land values	87	11
Wild, T. C. Bernet, J. F. Westling, E. L. Lerner, D. N.	2011	Deculverting: Reviewing the Evidence on the 'Daylighting' and Restoration of Culverted Rivers	Journal article (peer reviewed)	Very detailed	64	15
⁷ These total citations were obtained from Google Scholar	rere obtained from	1 Google Scholar				

in relation to climate change adaptation: a) 11 sources connect climateinduced precipitation increases and stream daylighting's capacity to manage the excess stormwater runoff (e.g.: [10,49,53]; b) five sources investigate how uncovered streams facilitate climate change adaptation by improving thermal comfort, hence, alleviate the urban heat island effect [50,54-57]; c) two sources consider stream daylighting as a nature-based solution that enhances urban sustainability, which in turn contributes to climate change adaptation [12,54]; d) two sources emphasize stream daylighting's role in creating habitats and improved biodiversity that alleviate the effects of climate change [7,57]; and e) only one article specifically discusses the Cheonggyecheon project as an example of resilient urban design that reduces the negative impacts of climate change [57].

Similarly, our findings reveal that of the total 115 sources analyzed in this study, only three discuss issues related to climate change mitigation (these sources simultaneously discuss adaptation). This is in line with Kim and Jung's [54] finding that there is a deficit of sources in the literature that relate stream daylighting to climate change mitigation (Figs. 6 and 7). In fact, our content analysis reveals that these three articles do not specifically use the term "mitigation" although they discuss stream daylighting's capacity to reduce greenhouse gas emissions under the 'infrastructure' theme. Specifically, two of these three articles argue that stream daylighting, through creating opportunities for alternative transit options like cycling and walkability corridors (the 'transportation' sub-theme), can reduce the emissions of greenhouse gases [54,56]. The third article referred to stream daylighting as an opportunity for low impact development that, through Carbon sequestration, increases urban sustainability (the 'sustainable development' sub-theme) (Fig. 7) [58].

4. Discussion

Our thematic analysis identifies current trends and omissions in the literature. The trends indicate the inter-/multi-disciplinary nature of stream daylighting research and an increased (sub-theme) diversity over time (Figs. 1 and 2). Notably, 18 of the 19 sources published in 2016 tackle at least three themes each, while each of the 15 sources published in 2017 tackles at least two themes, and each of the 12 sources published in 2018 tackles three or more themes. Additionally, 2016, 2017, and 2018 witnessed a significant increase in the number of sources that simultaneously deal with 'ecology', 'sociocultural', and 'hydrology' and their interdisciplinary connections (Fig. 2 and Appendix A, Fig. 3). This multidisciplinary trend prevails for the 'ecology', 'sociocultural', 'hydrology', 'infrastructure', and 'economics' themes while their connections to the remaining 'daylighting', 'built form and urban design', 'inclusive planning', and 'politics and policy' themes remain relatively weak (Fig. 3). In particular, the most discussed sub-themes in the literature are 'wildlife habitat and connectivity' (under 'ecology'), 'stormwater management', and 'water quality and pollution' (both under 'hydrology'), consecutively discussed in 55, 54, and 44 sources (Appendix A, Fig. 2).

All the research themes persisted albeit with shifts over time. 'Ecology' dominates over three nine-year time periods (i.e., 1992–2000; 2001-2009; and 2010-2018) while 'built form and urban design', 'daylighting', 'hydrology', and 'inclusive planning' are declining. 'Economics', 'infrastructure', 'politics and policy', and 'sociocultural' themes fluctuate where each significantly increased in 2001-2009 but slightly decreased in 2010-2018 (Appendix A, Fig. 3).

In terms of omissions, there is imbalance in tackling the (sub-) themes and their correlations which may be the result of unequal representation of case studies and geographic regions. There is a dearth of stream daylighting case studies from the Global South while the literature's dominant themes emerge from the most discussed case studies. For example, case studies from water-rich countries abound, hence, daylighting's potential to address 'water scarcity' remains unexplored (e.g., through rainwater harvesting). Also, the 'sociocultural'

Table 3

The higher-order headings (the main themes) and the second-order headings (sub-themes) extracted from the contents of the urban stream daylighting literature.

The main themes in the urban stream daylighting literature	The sub-themes (discussed under each of the main themes)	Examples of sources that address each theme ⁸
Daylighting	Daylighting evaluation and monitoring; daylighting impacts and objectives; daylighting methods and management; daylighting typology	[1,11,35,51,54,56,58]
Ecology	Air quality; wildlife habitat and connectivity; bank stability and erosion; biodiversity; climate change; ecosystem function and integrity; ecosystem/bioregional scale; invertebrate/microbial communities; urban heat island effect/microclimate; urban stream syndrome	[12,37,55,57,61–63]
Economics	Cost efficiencies/inefficiencies; daylighting feasibility/valuation; economic development; economic depression; land cost/property value; land ownership	[34,64–68]
Hydrology	Stream geomorphology; stormwater management; water chemistry/nutrient cycling; hydrological connectivity; water scarcity/supply; water quality/pollution	[10,41,52,53,69–71]
Infrastructure	Energy production; channel/treatment design; green infrastructure/sustainable development; wastewater and sewage management; transportation	[12,57,72,73]
Politics and policy	Environmental social justice; law/legal background; politics of place; urban/regional policy	[74-77]
Sociocultural	Cultural revitalization; social consequences; ecosystem services; ecological authenticity; public amenities and aesthetics; public education; public health and safety; public perceptions of daylighting and nature; urban agriculture	[6,7,45,50,58,68,78–80]
Built form and urban design	Urban resilience; landscape design; place making/sense of place; urban form/morphology; urban/village renewal; land use and zoning	[44,81–83]
Inclusive planning	Citizen engagement; cooperation and collaboration; public participation and stakeholder engagement	[40,49,84,85]

⁸ The sources listed in this column may also fall under other themes.

theme dominates the 40 sources on Asia probably because 36 of them discuss the Cheonggyecheon project which is considered an urban revitalization and which relies on pumped rather than natural water flow (hence, whether it actually constitutes daylighting remains controversial) [59]. Interestingly, this single 7 km project (1% of all the literature's projects) received more attention than the City of Zürich's 24 km of daylighted streams attributed to its consistent policy since 1986. Surely, this warrants a shift away from landmark projects to ones that are less alluring but that might offer valuable insights into the (sub)themes identified herewith and into the connections to climate change

mitigation and adaptation.

This imbalance also impacts the (sub-)themes' correlations (Fig. 3). Although the daylighted streams contribute positively to climate change adaptation and mitigation yet, our findings reveal weak connections between 'built form and urban design', 'ecology', and 'hydrology' –providing ample opportunity for new empirical studies in areas like landscape ecological urbanism. For example, sub-themes like 'urban form/morphology' and 'landscape design' (under 'built form and urban design') could explore urban stream daylighting's contribution, as a nature-based solution, to urban hydrology and ecology through:

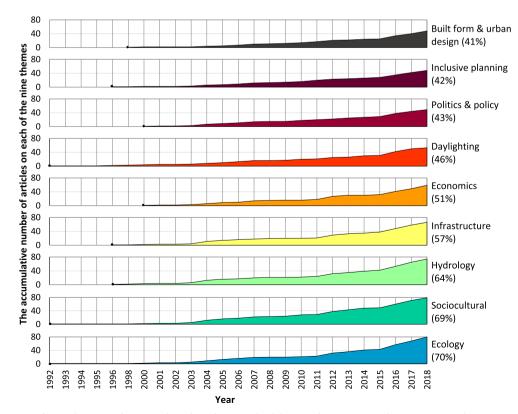


Fig. 2. The accumulative number of articles on each of the nine themes per year between 1992 and 2018.

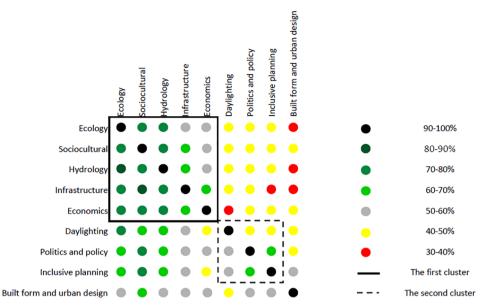


Fig. 3. A matrix showing two clusters of coexisting themes in the literature.

stormwater management and rainwater harvesting; water sensitive urban design that alleviates the urban heat island; and connected and permeable public realm that is conducive to walkability, cycling, and transit. Thus far, only a handful of articles explore these connections like the Navigli canal's (Milan) and the Cheonggyecheon stream's (Seoul) contribution to reducing greenhouse gas emissions, managing excess stormwater, and regulating urban temperature [10,47,57,59].

5. Conclusion

In this paper, we combined the methods of a systematic literature review with those of content analysis to offer a comprehensive review of English-language articles (except one German-language government report by the City of Zürich) on stream daylighting that were published between 1992 and 2018. There has been, thus far, a lack of such a comprehensive effort that identifies, codes, and categorizes the various perspectives and topics in the stream daylighting literature. The comprehensiveness of the systematic literature review combined with the in-depth perspective of the content analysis approach facilitated a better understanding of the current status of research and writing on the daylighting/deculverting of urban streams. Specifically, it facilitated an identification of the themes, their corresponding subthemes, and their correlations to each other. These nine dominant themes are: 'ecology', 'sociocultural', 'hydrology', 'infrastructure', 'economics', 'daylighting', 'politics and policy', 'inclusive planning', and 'built-form and urban design'. Furthermore, the combined methodology allowed for a better understanding of the stream daylighting case studies, the geographical scope covered in the literature, and the connections between stream daylighting and climate change adaptation and mitigation. Accordingly, the analysis revealed the current research trends and the disciplinary connections that could be further enhanced in future studies as well as the current research gaps that warrant further empirical research, namely:

- 50 45 40 35 No publications 30 25 20 15 10 5 0 Built form and urban design Politics and policy Inclusive planning Sociocultural Davientine Infrastructure ECOLOBY Hydrology Economi Europe North America Asia Oceania
- 1. This study covered the peer reviewed and the grey literature but excluded policy documents, multimedia, media reports, and social

Fig. 4. The frequency of stream daylighting themes over the four different geographical areas covered in literature.

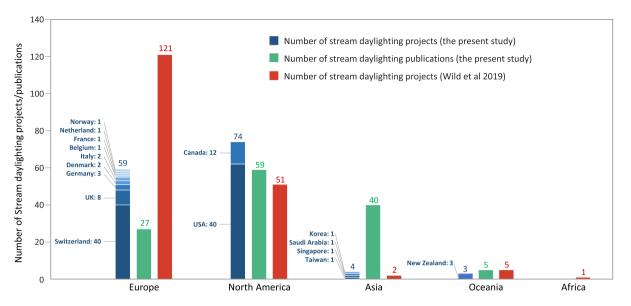


Fig. 5. The distribution of stream daylighting case studies around the world (this study's findings versus Wild et al [13]'s findings) comparing the number of publications discussing these same geographic areas.

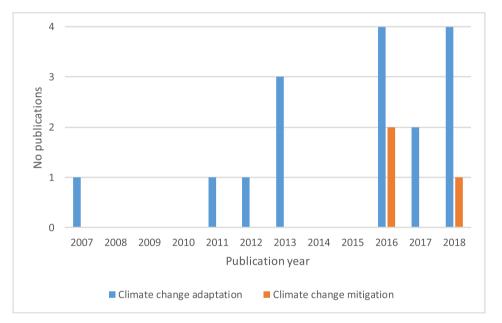


Fig. 6. The number of stream daylighting publications per year that refer (directly and/or indirectly) to climate change adaptation and/or mitigation.

media (e.g., recorded lectures, documentaries, print and online news reports, blogs...etc.). Future reviews that include these sources would enrich our knowledge of stream daylighting.

- 2. The literature on stream daylighting has been, and continues to be, inter-/multi-disciplinary while the diversity of the sub-themes continues to increase over time. The prominence of the themes and their sub-themes, however, continue to shift over time except for the 'ecology' theme, which persisted while its "wildlife habitat and connectivity" sub-theme is currently gaining prominence. There is a need for studies that analyze the reasons behind these shifts.
- 3. There is a lack of disciplinary connections firstly, between 'builtform and urban design' and nearly all of the other themes, especially the 'ecology' and 'hydrology' themes; and secondly, between the more frequently discussed themes in the literature (i.e., 'ecology', 'sociocultural', 'hydrology', 'infrastructure', and 'economics') and the less frequently discussed ones (i.e., 'daylighting', 'politics and policy', and 'inclusive planning').
- 4. While stream daylighting is an intervention that affects land uses, there is still a need for empirical studies that investigate the connections between stream daylighting and the 'built form and urban design'.
- 5. The existing literature has yet to address the involvement of local stakeholders in stream daylighting projects. Hence, the 'inclusive planning' theme warrants explorations of how local inclusion and local ecological knowledge may contribute to planning, implementing, and maintaining stream daylighting initiatives [60].
- 6. There is a need to shift the focus of the empirical studies on stream daylighting from landmark projects like the Cheonggyecheon stream in Seoul, to the less alluring and less well-known initiatives. Among the latter is Zürich's policy, which resulted, thus far, in daylighting over 24 km throughout the city with significant results on a variety of fronts: ecological (e.g., flora and fauna), ecosystem services for climate adaptation (e.g., stormwater management), built form (e.g., public space and neighbourhood design), and cultural (e.g., local

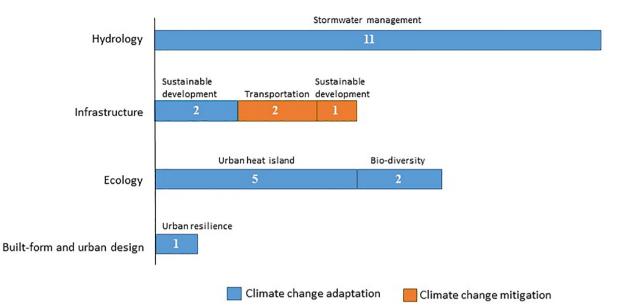


Fig. 7. The (sub-)themes that refer to climate change adaptation and mitigation whereby each source may address one or more (sub-)themes.

participation and the inclusion of the local ecological knowledge) (ERZ [24].

- 7. Building on the previous point, there is a dire need for further empirical studies that focus on the Global South, such as regions where challenges like water scarcity are exacerbated by climate change. Such studies may lead to the emergence of new themes and subthemes like environmental and climate justice as well as more robust correlations among the various themes/sub-themes.
- 8. Finally, and more importantly, there is an urgent need for empirical studies that tackle stream daylighting as a nature-based solution for the challenges that arise from climate change. Specifically, studies should delve deeper into stream daylighting as an action that enhances the resilience of urban form in the face of the changing climate.

CRediT authorship contribution statement

Luna Khirfan: Investigation, Conceptualization, Methodology, Formal analysis, Writing - review & editing, Supervision, Funding acquisition, Project administration. Niloofar Mohtat: Data curation, Formal analysis, Writing - original draft, Visualization. Megan Peck: Formal analysis, Software, Data curation, Validation, Writing - review & editing.

Declaration of Competing Interest

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

Appendix A. Supplementary Data

Supplementary data to this article can be found online at https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wasec.2020.100067.

References

- Richard Pinkham, Daylighting: New Life for Buried Streams, Rocky Mountain Institute, Old Snowmass, Colorado, 2000.
- [2] E. Gómez-Baggethun, M. Ruiz-Pérez, Economic valuation and the commodification of ecosystem services, Prog. Phys. Geogr. 35 (5) (2011) 613–628.
- [3] R. Costanza, R. d'Arge, R. de Groot, S. Farber, M. Grasso, B. Hannon, K. Limburg, S. Naeem, R. O'Neill, J. Paruelo, R. Raskin, P. Sutton, M. van den Belt, The value of

the world's ecosystem services and natural capital, Nature 387 (15) (1997) 253–260.

- [4] Thomas Elmqvist, H. Setälä, S.N. Handel, S. van der Ploeg, J. Aronson, J.N. Blignaut, E. Gómez-Baggethun, D.J. Nowak, J. Kronenberg, R. de Groot, Benefits of restoring ecosystem services in urban areas, Current Opinion in Environmental Sustainability 14 (2015) 101–108, https://doi.org/10.1016/j. cosust.2015.05.001.
- [5] Luna Khirfan, Megan Leigh Peck, Niloofar Mohtat, Digging for the truth: A combined method to analyze the literature on stream daylighting, Sustainable Cities and Society 59 (2020), https://doi.org/10.1016/j.scs.2020.102225.
- [6] Sharon Moran, Meredith Perreault, Richard Smardon, Finding our way: A case study of urban waterway restoration and participatory process, Landscape Urban Plann. (2019), https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landurbplan.2016.08.004.
- [7] R. Blaustein, Urban Biodiversity Gains New Converts: Cities around the world are conserving species and restoring habitat, Bioscience 63 (2) (2013) 72–77, https:// doi.org/10.1525/bio.2013.63.2.3.
- [8] Kristan Cockerill, William Anderson, Creating False Images: Stream Restoration in an Urban Setting, J. Am. Water Resour. Assoc. 50 (2) (2014) 468–482, https://doi. org/10.1111/jawr.12131.
- [9] Platt, Rutherford H. 2006. "Urban Watershed Management: Sustainability, One Stream at a Time." Environment: Science and Policy for Sustainable Development 48 (4):26-42. doi: 10.3200/ENVT.48.4.26-42.
- [10] S. Sibilla, M.C. Sciandra, R. Rosso, C. Lamera, Hydraulic approach to Navigli canal daylighting in Milan, Italy, Sustainable cities and society 32 (2017) 247–262.
- [11] Buchholz, Tracy, and Tamim Younos. 2007. Urban Stream Daylighting: Case Study Evaluations. Blacksburg, Virginia: Virginia Water Resource Research Center.
- [12] T.C. Wild, J.F. Bernet, E.L. Westling, D.N. Lerner, Deculverting: reviewing the evidence on the 'daylighting' and restoration of culverted rivers, Water and Environment Journal 25 (3) (2011) 412–421.
- [13] T.C. Wild, N. Dempsey, A.T. Broadhead, Volunteered information on nature-based solutions—Dredging for data on deculverting, Urban For. Urban Greening 40 (2019) 254–263, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ufug.2018.08.019.
- [14] A.T. Broadhead, R. Horn, D.N. Lerner, Finding lost streams and springs captured in combined sewers: a multiple lines of evidence approach, Water and Environment Journal 29 (2) (2015) 288–297, https://doi.org/10.1111/wej.12104.
- [15] Mark Petticrew, Helen Roberts, Systematic Reviews in the Social Sciences : A Practical Guide, John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated, Williston, UNITED KINGDOM, 2005.
- [16] Okoli, Chitu, and Kira Schabram. 2010. "A guide to conducting a systematic literature review of information systems research." Sprouts: Working Papers on Information Systems 10 (26):1-42.
- [17] J.Y. Cho, E. Lee, Reducing confusion about grounded theory and qualitative content analysis: Similarities and differences, The Qualitative Report 19 (22) (2014) 1–20.
- [18] Vincent Duriau, Rhonda Reger, Michael Pfarrer, A Content Analysis of the Content Analysis Literature in Organization Studies: Research Themes, Data Sources, and Methodological Refinements, Organizational Research Methods 10 (1) (2007) 5–34, https://doi.org/10.1177/1094428106289252.
- [19] Satu Elo, Helvi Kyngäs, The qualitative content analysis process, J. Adv. Nurs. 62
 (1) (2008) 107–115, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2648.2007.04569.x.
- [20] Jane Forman, Laura Damschroder, Qualitative content analysis, in: Liva Jacoby, Laura A. Siminoff (Eds.), Empirical methods for bioethics: A primer, Emerald Group Publishing Limited, Oxford, UK, 2007, pp. 39–62.
- [21] Stefan Seuring, Stefan Gold, Conducting content-analysis based literature reviews in supply chain management, Supply Chain Management: An International Journal 17 (5) (2012) 544–555, https://doi.org/10.1108/13598541211258609.

- [22] Mojtaba Vaismoradi, Hannele Turunen, Terese Bondas, Content analysis and thematic analysis: Implications for conducting a qualitative descriptive study, Nursing
- & Health Sciences 15 (3) (2013) 398–405, https://doi.org/10.1111/nhs.12048.
 [23] Busquets, Joan, ed. 2011. Deconstruction/Construction: The Cheonggyecheon Restoration Project in Seoul. Vol. The Tenth Vironica Rudge Green Prize in Urban
- Design. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Graduate School of Design.
 [24] E.R.Z. Entsorgung, Streams in the city of Zürich: Concept, experiences and examples, City of Zürich, Zürich, Switzerland, 2003.
- [25] L. Haggarty, What is content analysis? Med. Teach. 18 (2) (1996) 99-101.
- [26] Luna Khirfan, Megan Peck, Niloofar Mohtat, Systematic content analysis: A combined method to analyze the literature on the daylighting de-culverting) of urban streams, MethodsX 7 (100984) (2020), https://doi.org/10.1016/j.mex.2020. 100984.
- [27] Cynthia D. Mulrow, Systematic reviews: rationale for systematic reviews, BMJ 309 (6954) (1994) 597–599.
- [28] Berg, Bruce L. 2001. Qualitative research methods for the social sciences. Fourth ed. Boston; USA: Allyn and Bacon.
- [29] Richard Mallett, Jessica Hagen-Zanker, Rachel Slater, Maren Duvendack, The benefits and challenges of using systematic reviews in international development research, Journal of development effectiveness 4 (3) (2012) 445–455.
- [30] Barbara Kitchenham, Procedures for performing systematic reviews, Keele University, Keele, UK, 2004.
- [31] Hsiu-Fang Hsieh, Sarah E Shannon, Three approaches to qualitative content analysis, Qual. Health Res. 15 (9) (2005) 1277–1288, https://doi.org/10.1177/ 1049732305276687.
- [32] N.L. Kondracki, N.S. Wellman, D.R. Amundson, Content Analysis: Review of Methods and Their Applications in Nutrition Education, Journal of Nutrition Education and Behavior 34 (4) (2002) 224–230, https://doi.org/10.1016/S1499-4046(06)60097-3.
- [33] Berg, Bruce L. 2017. Qualitative research methods for the social sciences. Edited by Howard Lune. Ninth edition, global edition. ed. Harlow, England Harlow: Harlow, England : Pearson.
- [34] Meltem Delibas, Azime Tezer, 'Stream Daylighting' as an approach for the renaturalization of riverine systems in urban areas: Istanbul-Ayamama Stream case, Ecohydrol. Hydrobiol. 17 (1) (2017) 18–32, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecohyd. 2016.12.007.
- [35] Caitlin Sinclair, An Exploration of Stream Daylighting and Urban Attitudes Towards the Environment, Trail Six 6 (2012) 68–79.
- [36] Tai Sik Lee, Buried treasure (stream restoration project), Civ. Eng. 74 (1) (2004) 33–41.
- [37] Kee Yeon Hwang, Restoring Cheonggyecheon Stream in Downtown Seoul, Seoul Development Institute, Seoul, Korea, 2004.
- [38] Conradin, Fritz, and Reinhard Buchli. 2004. "The Zurich Stream Day-Lighting Program." In Enhancing Urban Environment by Environmental Upgrading and Restoration, edited by Jiri Marsalek, Daniel Sztruhar, Mario Guilianelli and Ben Ubonas, 277-288. United States of America: Kluwer Academic.
- [39] Schanze, J., A. Olfert, J.T. Tourbier, I. Gersdorf, and T. Schwager. 2004. Urban River Basin Enhancement Methods; Existing Urban River Rehabilitation Schemes. Dresden: Leibniz Institute of Ecological and Regional Development, Dresden (IOER).
- [40] Matthew James Fitzsimmons, Rediscovering Nature—Daylighting an Urban Stream (Gwynns Run, Baltimore, MD), School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation, University of Maryland, Master of Architecture, 2004.
- [41] Rosey Jencks, Rebecca Leonardson, Daylighting Islais Creek: a feasibility study, University of California, Landscape Architecture, 2004.
- [42] Ashley Moerke, Gary Lamberti, Restoring Stream Ecosystems: Lessons from a Midwestern State, Restor. Ecol. 12 (3) (2004) 327–334.
- [43] Chang Deok Kang, Robert Cervero, From Elevated Freeway to Urban Greenway: Land Value Impacts of the CGC Project in Seoul, Korea, Urban Studies 46 (13) (2009) 2771–2794, https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098009345166.
- [44] I. García, Community Engagement in an Urban Daylighting Project: A Case Study of a Salt Lake City Creek, UPLanD - Journal of Urban Planning, Landscape & Environmental Design 2 (3) (2017) 53–63, https://doi.org/10.6092/2531-9906/ 5407.
- [45] C. Catalano, Ecological Design to Shape New Urbanities, Conserv. Biol. 32 (3) (2018) 752–754, https://doi.org/10.1111/cobi.13072.
- [46] Chittoor Viswanathan, Vidhya, and Mario Schirmer. 2015. "Water quality deterioration as a driver for river restoration: a review of case studies from Asia, Europe and North America." Environmental Earth Sciences 74 (4):3145-3158. doi: 10. 1007/s12665-015-4353-3.
- [47] Daniel R. Richards, Peter J. Edwards, Using water management infrastructure to address both flood risk and the urban heat island, Int. J. Water Resour. Dev. 34 (4) (2018) 490–498, https://doi.org/10.1080/07900627.2017.1357538.
- [48] CIWEM. 2007. De-culverting of Watercourses. United Kingdom: Chartered Institution of Water and Environmental Management (CIWEM).
- [49] H. Bae, Urban stream restoration in Korea: Design considerations and residents' willingness to pay, Urban For. Urban Greening 10 (2) (2011) 119–126, https://doi. org/10.1016/j.ufug.2011.02.001.
- [50] Andrew Coutts, Nigel Tapper, Jason Beringer, Margaret Loughnan, Matthias Demuzere, Watering our cities: The capacity for Water Sensitive Urban Design to support urban cooling and improve human thermal comfort in the Australian context, Prog. Phys. Geogr. 37 (1) (2012) 1–27, https://doi.org/10. 1177/0309133312461032.
- [51] Trice, Amy. 2013. Daylighting Streams: Breathing Life into Urban Streams and Communities. Washington, DC: American Rivers.
- [52] Rung-Jiun Chou, Achieving Successful River Restoration in Dense Urban Areas:

- Lessons from Taiwan, Sustainability 8 (11) (2016) 1159.
 [53] Matos Silva, Maria, and João Pedro Costa. 2016. "Flood Adaptation Measures Applicable in the Design of Urban Public Spaces: Proposal for a Conceptual Framework." Water 8 (7):284.
- [54] Kim, Hyungkyoo, and Yoonhee Jung. 2019. "Is Cheonggyecheon sustainable? A systematic literature review of a stream restoration in Seoul, South Korea." Sustainable Cities and Society 45 (Complete):59-69. doi: 10.1016/j.scs.2018.11. 018.
- [55] Kristensen, Esben, Annette Baattrup-Pedersen, Poul N. Jensen, Peter Wiberg-Larsen, and Nikolai Friberg. 2012. "Selection, implementation and cost of restorations in lowland streams: A basis for identifying restoration priorities." Environmental Science & Policy 23 (Part A):1-11. doi: 10.1016/j.envsci.2012.06.013.
- [56] Ann L. Riley, Restoring Neighborhood Streams, Island Press/Center for Resource Economics, Washington, DC, 2016.
- [57] Clarke Snell, Climate Change is the New Gravity, Architectural Design 88 (1) (2018) 6–15, https://doi.org/10.1002/ad.2253.
- [58] Seth P. Tuler, Thomas Webler, Jason L. Rhoades, Stormwater Management in a Time of Climate Change: Insights from a Series of Scenario-Building Dialogues, Weather Clim. Soc. 8 (2) (2016) 163–175, https://doi.org/10.1175/wcas-d-15-0048.1.
- [59] Hyun Kim, David W. Marcouiller, Kyle M. Woosnam, Rescaling social dynamics in climate change: The implications of cumulative exposure, climate justice, and community resilience, Geoforum 96 (2018) 129–140.
- [60] Vesa Yli-Pelkonen, Johanna Kohl, The role of local ecological knowledge in sustainable urban planning: perspectives from Finland, Sustainability: Science, Practice, & Policy 1 (1):3–14 (2005).
- [61] Aude Zingraff-Hamed, Sabine Greulich, Stephan Pauleit, Karl M. Wantzen, Urban and rural river restoration in France: a typology, Restor. Ecol. 25 (6) (2017) 994–1004, https://doi.org/10.1111/rec.12526.
- [62] Newman, Lenore, Ann Dale, and Denver V. Nixon. 2012. "The Frog Dilemma: Urban Stream Restoration and the Nature/Culture Dialectic." Environments: a journal of interdisciplinary studies 38 (1):2.
- [63] R. Charbonneau, V.H. Resh, Strawberry creek on the University of California, Berkeley campus: A case history of urban stream restoration, Aquat. Conserv. Mar. Freshwater Ecosyst. 2 (4) (1992) 293–307, https://doi.org/10.1002/aqc. 3270020402.
- [64] Matjaž Uršič, Blaž Križnik, Comparing urban renewal in Barcelona and Seoul—urban management in conditions of competition among global cities, Asia. Europe Journal 10 (1) (2012) 21–39, https://doi.org/10.1007/s10308-012-0319-1.
- [65] Brooke Ray Smith, Assessing the Feasibility of Creek Daylighting in San Francisco, Part I: A Synthesis of Lessons Learned from Existing Urban Daylighting Projects, *Restoration of Rivers and Streams*. UC Berkeley: Water Resources Collections and Archives, University of California Water Resources Center, 2007.
- [66] Meyer, Judy L, Geoffrey C Poole, and Krista L Jones. 2005. "Buried alive: potential consequences of burying headwater streams in drainage pipes." Georgia Water Resources Conference, Athens, Georgia, April 25-27, 2005.
- [67] Jong Youl Lee, Chad David Anderson, The Restored Cheonggyecheon and the Quality of Life in Seoul, Journal of Urban Technology 20 (4) (2013) 3–22, https:// doi.org/10.1080/10630732.2013.855511.
- [68] E.S. Bernhardt, M.A. Palmer, J.D. Allan, G. Alexander, K. Barnas, S. Brooks, J. Carr, S. Clayton, C. Dahm, J. Follstad-Shah, D. Galat, S. Gloss, P. Goodwin, D. Hart, B. Hassett, R. Jenkinson, S. Katz, G.M. Kondolf, P.S. Lake, R. Lave, J.L. Meyer, T.K. O'Donnell, L. Pagano, B. Powell, E. Sudduth, Synthesizing U.S. River Restoration Efforts, Science 308 (5722) (2005) 636–637.
- [69] Jones, Scott W. 2001. "Planning for wildlife: Evaluating creek daylighting as a means of urban conservation." Master, Urban and Rural Planning, Dalhousie University (0-612-63529).
- [70] Sharon Moran, Stream Restoration as a Seminar Theme: Opportunities for Synthesis and Integration, J. Geogr. 102 (2) (2003) 67–79, https://doi.org/10.1080/ 00221340308978524.
- [71] Koshaley, D. H. 2009. "Developing Eligibility Criteria For Daylighting Streams As Applied To Dallas' Mill Creek." Master of Landscape Architecture, The Faculty of the Graduate School, The University of Texas at Arlington (UMI Number: 1460708).
- [72] Yong-Ki Lee, Choong-Ki Lee, Joowon Choi, Seol-Min Yoon, Robert John Hart, Tourism's role in urban regeneration: examining the impact of environmental cues on emotion, satisfaction, loyalty, and support for Seoul's revitalized Cheongsyecheon stream district, Journal of Sustainable Tourism 22 (5) (2014) 726–749, https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2013.871018.
- [73] Ekaterina Shafray, Seiyong Kim, "A Study of Walkable Spaces with Natural Elements for Urban Regeneration: A Focus on Cases in Seoul, South Korea." Sustainability 9 (4) (2017), https://doi.org/10.3390/su9040587.
- [74] Ron Love, Daylighting Salt Lake's City Creek: An Urban River Unentombed Environmental Law Journal Symposium Edition: Outside Article, Golden Gate University Law Review 35 (3) (2005) 343–376.
- [75] Jong-Ho Shin, In-Kun Lee, Cheong Gye Cheon restoration in Seoul, Korea, Civ. Eng. 159 (4) (2006) 162–170, https://doi.org/10.1680/cien.2006.159.4.162.
- [76] Vicky M. Temperton, Eric Higgs, Young D. Choi, Edith Allen, David Lamb, Chang-Seok Lee, James Harris, Richard J. Hobbs, Joy B. Zedler, Flexible and Adaptable Restoration: An Example from South Korea, Restor. Ecol. 22 (3) (2014) 271–278, https://doi.org/10.1111/rec.12095.
- [77] Ken Yocom, Building Watershed Narratives: An Approach for Broadening the Scope of Success in Urban Stream Restoration, Landscape Res. 39 (6) (2014) 698–714, https://doi.org/10.1080/01426397.2014.947249.
- [78] Andrew Karvonen, Metronatural: Inventing and reworking urban nature in Seattle, Progress in Planning 74 (4) (2010) 153–202, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.progress. 2010.07.001.

- [79] Kim Nam-choon, Ecological restoration and revegetation works in Korea, Landscape Ecol. Eng. 1 (1) (2005) 77–83, https://doi.org/10.1007/s11355-005-0011-3.
- [80] A. Tidball, "Human Perceptions of Animals in the St, Louis Region: Prospects for a Transspecies City."Master thesis, Geography, Southern Illinois University, 2016.
 [81] Chehyun Ryu, Youngsang Kwon, How Do Mega Projects Alter the City to Be More
- [81] Chenyun Kyu, Youngsang Kwon, How Do Mega Projects After the City to Be More Sustainable? Spatial Changes Following the Seoul Cheonggyecheon Restoration Project in South Korea, Sustainability 8 (11) (2016), https://doi.org/10.3390/ su8111178.
- [82] Adrienne Grêt-Regamey, Bettina Weibel, Derek Vollmer, Paolo Burlando, Christophe Girot, River rehabilitation as an opportunity for ecological landscape design, Sustainable Cities and Society 20 (Complete):142–146 (2016), https://doi. org/10.1016/j.scs.2015.09.013.
- [83] Sally Eden, Sylvia Tunsall, Ecological versus social restoration? How urban river restoration challenges but also fails to challenge the science - policy nexus in the

United Kingdom, Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy 24 (5) (2006) 661–680, https://doi.org/10.1068/c0608j.

- [84] João Paulo Fernandes, Nuno Guiomar, Nature-based solutions: The need to increase the knowledge on their potentialities and limits, Land Degrad. Dev. 29 (6) (2018) 1925–1939, https://doi.org/10.1002/ldr.2935.
- [85] Heejin Han, Authoritarian environmentalism under democracy: Korea's river restoration project, Environmental Politics 24 (5) (2015) 810–829, https://doi.org/ 10.1080/09644016.2015.1051324.
- [86] Kabisch, Nadja, Niki Frantzeskaki, Stephan Pauleit, Sandra Naumann, McKenna Davis, Martina Artmann, Dagmar Haase, Sonja Knapp, Horst Korn, Jutta Stadler, Karin Zaunberger, and Aletta Bonn. 2016. "Nature-based solutions to climate change mitigation and adaptation in urban areas: perspectives on indicators, knowledge gaps, barriers, and opportunities for action." Ecology and Society 21 (2). doi: 10.5751/ES-08373-210239.