Grounds for Play

A non-degree-required thesis submitted to the Master of Architecture Program Department of Architecture

Ьу

Margaret Saunders

advised by

Katie MacDonald

May, 2025

University of Virginia School of Architecture

© Margaret Saunders, 2025

The images used for graphics and CAD blocks in this thesis are either sourced from the public domain or purchased for student usage. Any images not explicitly credited are either original creations or obtained from sources that allow for academic and educational use.

For inquiries regarding the use of specific images or for permission to reproduce any part of this thesis, please contact Margaret Saunders.

ABSTRACT



Final Site Model

Grounds for Play is a thesis project proposing a design for a playfully activated path along the Emmett/Ivy corridor at the University of Virginia. Amidst the current mental health crisis and rising levels of student isolation, many universities across the country are exploring ways to provide playful, restorative, and communal spaces on their campuses. Stemming from research in the fields of history, theory, psychology, urban studies, and design on the role of play in society and the built environment—not just for children but for people of all ages—this thesis presents a contemporary speculation on a play-informed design strategy expanding beyond the typical boundaries of the playground or gameroom for a site well-suited to playful, human-scale intervention.

The thesis investigates two main questions: How can we reframe our social understanding of play to allow adults the same freedom of play that is afforded to children? And how can we use play as a strategy to reimagine the modern university quad?

This thesis begins by establishing a design methodology derived from the research, prompting new forms which break away from the preconceived typological elements that have come to define society's spatial understanding of play. It then applies this investigation to a design strategy within the university landscape. This project seeks to expand the boundaries of what an activated, communal space can be – by setting the ground for play.

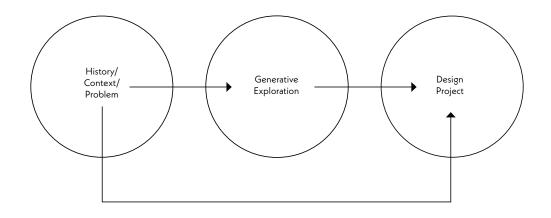
ACKNOLWEDGMENTS

Thank you to my advisor, Katie MacDonald, for your encouragement and inspiration throughout the thesis process. I'm grateful to the UVA Arts Fund for supporting the final models, and to the UVA Center for Global Inquiry and Innovation for supporting this thesis project through travel research. Thank you to Melissa Goldman and Trevor Kemp for your guidance and technical expertise. Thank you to my family and friends for the steadfast encouragement. And thank you to my cohort for the endless support, camaraderie, and joy along the way.

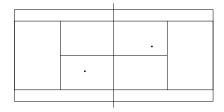
Table of Contents

Research	Texts	9
	Travel	10
	Timeline + Precedents	13
Design	Generative Study	17
	Design Development: Urban Scale + University Context	24
	Design Proposal	32
	Elements	48





RESEARCH



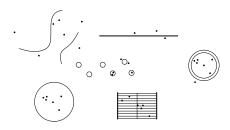


Diagram of Tennis Court and Playspace by Aldo van Eyck

This diagram engages the core research question of the thesis: Why are adults not afforded the same opportunities for free-form play in the built environment as children?

This research began with an investigation into built environments that support play and recreation for adults. Unlike children, who are often afforded space in the public realm to engage in free, expressive behavior such as running, climbing, or shouting, adults are typically offered structured, regulated environments for physical activity. Recreational spaces for adults, such as sports courts and gyms, tend to be governed by rules, schedules, and specific uses. Even public fitness equipment, sometimes accessible 24 hours a day, is accompanied by instructional signage and geared toward goal-oriented exercise.

These observations prompted critical questions: What role does unstructured play have in adult life, and how might design enable spaces supporting spontaneity, movement, and joy without relying on rules or competition? The research recognizes that designing playful spaces for adults cannot rely on scaling children's playgrounds. Instead, it must draw from architectural theory, urban studies, and cultural analysis to explore how play might be integrated into the public realm.

Foundational texts such as *The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces* by William H. Whyte and *Learning from Las Vegas* by Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour informed the analytical approach, particularly through diagramming and decoding urban behaviors. These methods allowed critical examination of how space communicates use and meaning. Additionally, theoretical frameworks such as Johan Huizinga's Homo Ludens positioned play as a fundamental element of culture, extending beyond childhood into the broader social fabric.

Travel research in Copenhagen, supported by grant funding from the UVA Center for Global Inquiry and Innovation, provided precedent studies of playful urban interventions. Projects such as Superkilen and Israels Plads illustrate how design can foster informal interaction, movement, and joy without relying on rigid programming or prescriptive signage. These spaces demonstrate a commitment to inclusivity, experimentation, and embedding play within everyday life.

"Engaging in playful activities helps adults cope with stress and enhances mood. Studies have shown that play positively impacts the brain, triggering the release of endorphins, reducing cortisol levels and fostering relaxation. Playful adults are more likely to employ positive coping mechanisms, such as acceptance and re-framing, in stressful situations.

Moreover, play can mitigate the effects of anxiety and depression. Playful activities like creative writing, board games, or sports help quiet the mind and redirect attention from negative thought patterns. Research also links regular play with increased life satisfaction and overall well-being."

-National Institute for Play

Diagrams - Issues

The following diagrams address issues with existing adult play spaces, including playgrounds (not socially appropriate for adult engagement), gyms (isolated and often linked to memberships), and sports fields (restricted by time slots, team sign-ups, and strict game rules).

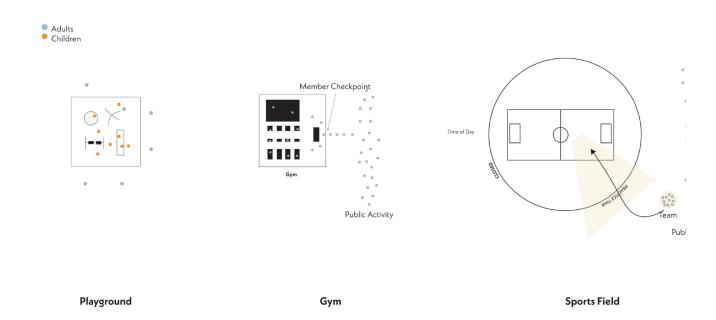
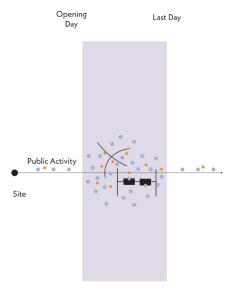


Diagram - Outlier

The below diagram speaks towards an outlier in public, urban, playful design - the ephemeral exhibit. Examples of ephemeral projects have shown that in urban environments adults will engage playfully if the design encourages it. Whether due to its temporary nature or not, these examples break down some of the social standards of how to act in public spaces.

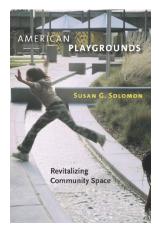


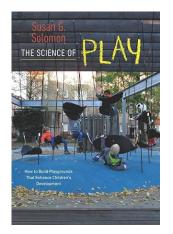
Ephemeral Exhibit

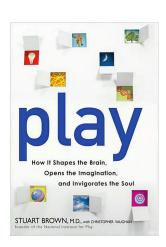
TEXTS

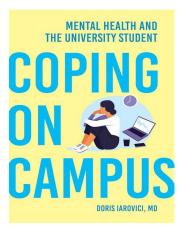
This thesis merged a range of research topics and drew on texts by architects, urban planners, theorists, and mental health professionals. These works informed both the research approach—such as the use of diagrammatic exploration inspired by Learning from Las Vegas by Denise Scott Brown and Robert Venturi—and broader research questions, including the societal role of play as examined in Homo Ludens by Johan Huizinga. As the research and design project developed in tandem towards proposing a playful space on a university campus, further texts were explored that addressed the mental health crisis and issues of isolation and anxiety facing students today, and how design could play a role in encouraging social interaction.

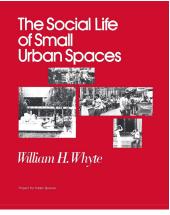
Selected books referenced throughout the research process

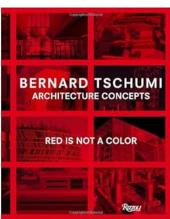


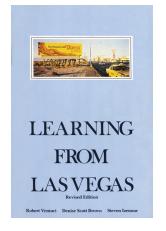














TRAVEL

Grant funding from the Center for Global Inquiry and Innovation at UVA supported travel research for this project to visit sites in Copenhagen, Denmark—a city known for its inclusive, playful spaces integrated on a large scale throughout the urban fabric. This research enabled analysis of urban integration, design strategies, and the quality of public spaces across the city to inform and influence the development of this thesis project. The following pages include excerpts from this research, using photography, diagramming, sketching, and mapping to explore the qualities of play observed at the visited sites. The sites visited were: Kroyers Plads (Vilhelm Luaritzen Architects, Cobe LYTT), Israels Plads (Cobe), Superkilen (BIG, Topotek1, and Superflex), Operaparken (Cobe), Maritime Youth House (BIG), Havnegade Waterfront, Park N Play (Jaja Architects)

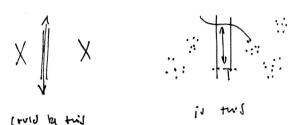


Image + Diagram of Superkillen Designed by Bjarke Ingels Group (BIG), Topotek1, and Superflex















Film photographs from travel research in Copenhagen

Travel funding from Grant through the UVA Center for Global Inquiry and Innovation

Sites Photographed: Superkillen (BIG and Topotek 1), Park N Play (JaJa Architects), Israels Plads (Cobe + Sweco Architects)

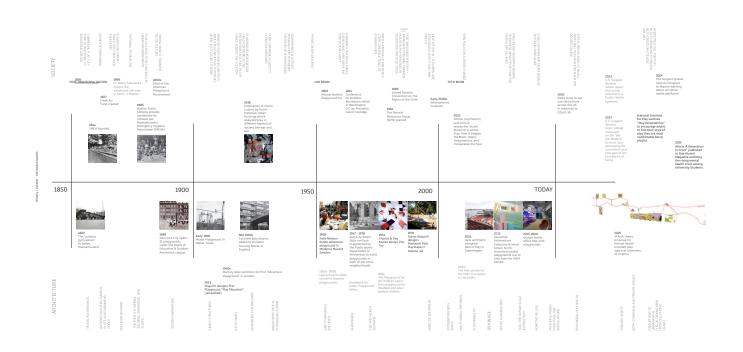




TIMELINE + PRECEDENTS

This project is situated within the historic context of both societal attitudes toward play and architecture's response to it. The following timeline and precedents outline key moments in history that shifted how play has been understood—beginning with its integration into schools, expanding into larger urban projects, appropriated by tech offices such as Google, influenced by design innovations, and shaped by evolving safety regulations. This research allowed for an analysis that led to the design of an open-air, communal, activated play space within the university landscape.

Timeline of play in society + architecture, 1850-Today



Timeline context today: Universities are increasingly responding to the mental health crisis by introducing wellness or play spaces. However, these spaces often fall short of encouraging active, communal play. This project responds to that gap by establishing an open-air, built playspace that is intentionally activated to foster collective engagement and movement.

Association of America is founded

UNIVERSITIES CALL FOR PLAY SPACES TO RESPOND TO MENTAL HEALTH CRISIS ON COLLEGE CAMPUSES

2023

report that social isolation is a Public Health Epidemic

U.S. Surgeon General tours college campuses on the "We Are Made to Connect Tour" advocating for connection as a core part of the foundation of



2025

Article 'A Generation in Crisis" published in Yale Alumni Magazine among University Students.



2022 & 2025

New York Times article highlights "luddite teens" who aim to break the hold of social media on their generation through weekly cell-phone free gatherings.



National Institute for Play outlines "Play Personalities" to encourage adults to find their style of play they are most comfortable being



discussing the lack of play development and increased cellphone usage leading to rising anxiety levels

March 2024

The Anxious

Generation

Jonathan Haidt

The Anxious Generation published

TODAY

UNIVERSITY CAMPUSES + PLAY DESIGNED TO ENCOURAGE BREAK FROM CELL PHONE USE AND IN PERSON INTERACTION

PLAY SPACES DEDICATED ON



2025 M.Arch Thesis Proposal for play oriented campus quad space for University of Virginia

COMMUNAL SPACES

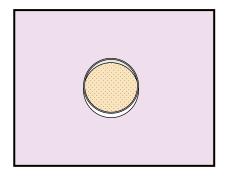
INTERACTION WITH NATURE

INTERACTIVE

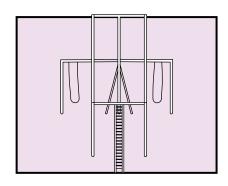
SENSORY SPACES

DISRUPTIONS TO URBAN PATHS (VISUAL DRAWS AWAY FROM CELL PHONE USAGE)

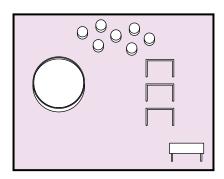
ARCHITECTURE OF ATTENTION + DISRUPTION



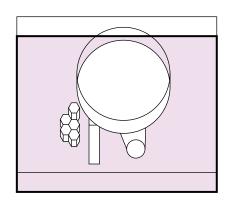
Sandpit



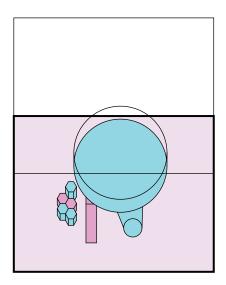
Model Playground



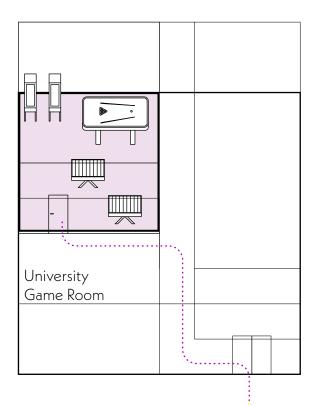
Aldo Van Eyck Playground



Brutalist Playground



Remake of Brutalist , RIBA Exhibit



DESIGN



Pieces of Final Model Construction

Following the research phase of this thesis, which explored the issues of public, playful spaces and recognized the opportunity for such spaces within the university landscape to encourage free-form play and social interaction for students and the surrounding community, the design phase began. The design addressed play at multiple scales—both as an urban project and as an individual structure. This portion of the thesis, as a formal design project, also introduced the site: the Emmett/Ivy Corridor at the University of Virginia. This site is currently being developed by the university with multiple large-scale buildings, including a new School for Data Science, a Center for Performing Arts, the Karsch Institute for Democracy, and future student housing. The goal for this zone of campus was to link the North Grounds and Main Grounds of UVA, but the current planning did not address the need for public urban space, especially small-scale design for individuals.

The first part of the design phase involved a generative study exercise that extracted ideas of play design to create a series of 1/2" = 1'-0" models. These models explored ideas of playful architecture that encourage discovery, disrupt normative modes of movement, are interactive without a prescribed set of rules, and allow opportunities to overcome fear—which, for adults, acting playfully in a social space often entails.

These studies were considered in various ways as the design scaled up to the campus site. Within the context of this project, the play space needed to act as a disruptor, breaking people out of their typical paths of movement. The design aimed to draw people's attention away from their cell phones and toward zones of gathering.

The final design was a path system running through the entire Emmett/Ivy Corridor, with one centralized park zone. The path's goal was to draw people toward this part of campus, where the ground conditions, play elements, and scattered site features would encourage social interaction and, at the very least, inspire someone to look up from their cell phone and engage with the unique environment on UVA's grounds.

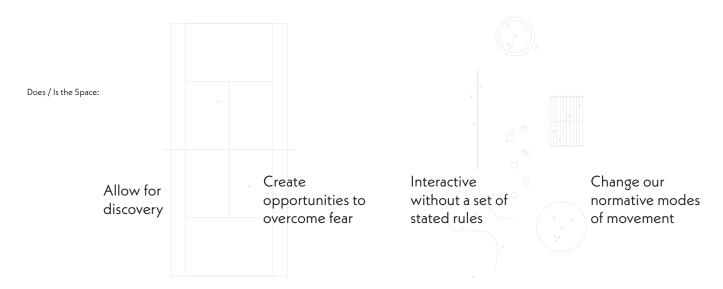
GENERATIVE STUDY

In order to design a new type of space for free-form play for adults, this thesis explores how to extract the underlying goals of playful forms to generate new ideas about what play spaces can be. This portion of the thesis establishes a design methodology derived from research, prompting the development of new forms that break away from the preconceived typologies that have come to define society's spatial understanding of play. This exploration was carried out primarily through generative model-making and some material exploration

Slide excerpt from thesis presentation -Methodology for designing new play spaces

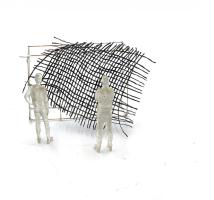
Problem

Is it possible to break from the established typologies of play spaces?



Interactive Facade

Metal Frame + Malleable System



Interactive Facade

Slots + Removable Objects



Continuous Wall + Inverted Passageways

Recognizable forms inverted



Curved Crawl Space

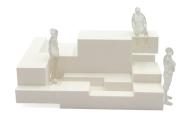


Seating and Climbing Structure

Metal frame with mesh net system



Orthogonal Grond Work/ Extrusions



Ruins

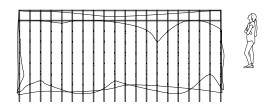
Embedded objects to explore + broken structure to climb, sit, and jump



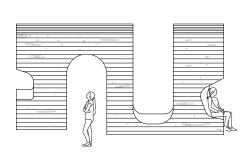
"Labyrinth"

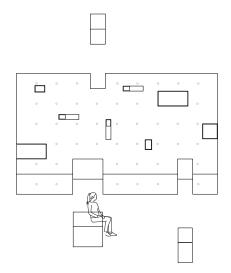
Seating pathway with net system for resting or climbing













Interactive Facade - Slots + Removable Objects

The concept for this study model was to use two material systems to create a simple wall structure with movable and removable parts. Users could engage simply by pushing the blocks back and forth on the wall, more actively by removing and stacking and arranging blocks, or more long term by resting on the larger blocks. This type of play thing is more subdued and less overtly active than what we typically considered for play, but it encourages play nonetheless - and more subtly for adults to digest - through its capacity for discovery, change from a normative mode of interaction with a wall, and intrinsic nature of interaction through its lack of stated rules.





Continuous Wall with Inverted Passageways

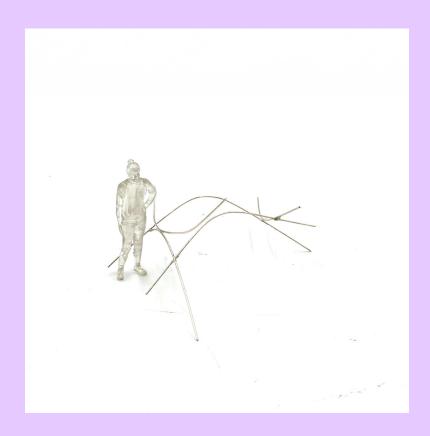
This study model explored the idea of taking a recognizable form that an adult understands as something they can move through (i.e. a doorway), then manipulating it in various ways. The initial arch form may drop someone in, but the manipulated forms could encourage moving through the wall in new ways - exploring, stepping, climbing, jumping, leaning, and resting.





Structure for Sitting + Climbing

This wire model explores a play element at the scale of furniture that can be manipulated by the user to become either a seating element or a climbing structure. From a distance it is sculptural. Its form curves to the body and creates a space for laying or leaning, but can also be for climbing or jumping.





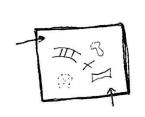
Material Explorations – Brick + Plaster Composite Re-imagining the use of UVA's campus brick to promote discovery

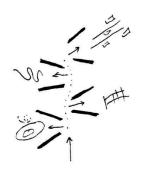


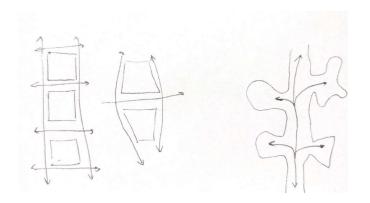
DESIGN DEVELOPMENT: URBAN SCALE & UNIVERSITY CONTEXT

This portion of the thesis explores the potential of expanding playful spatial strategies to the urban scale, focusing on how a playfully activated zone can be integrated into an institutional campus plan. It examines iterative design approaches for extending an urban footprint while maintaining key tenets of play—discovery, non-normative movement, and openended interaction. These principles are tested through a layered design vocabulary of shifting ground conditions, play zones, landscape elements, and structural interventions. Situated within the context of the University of Virginia's Emmett/Ivy Corridor, the work engages the legacy of the Lawn and considers what it means to design a contemporary campus plan today.

Diagrams explaining the urban strategy this project explores in context with typical playdesign and university quads



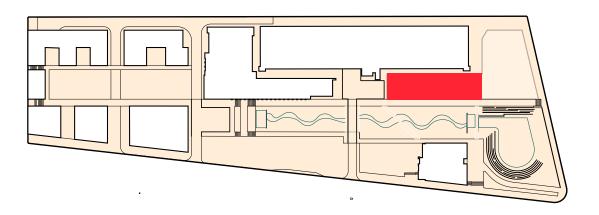




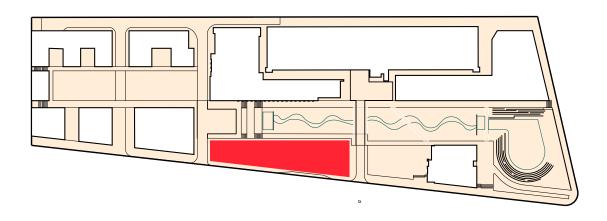
Typical Playground vs. Play along Path

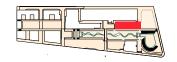
Typical Quad vs. Actively Disrupted Quad

Initial site selected for design of central park zone. Some initial design development was explored on this site, but ultimately was adjusted to the site below based on conversations with the university architects.



Adjusted site based on conversation with university architects. The initial site considered is now under development for a performing arts center. The new site is master-planned as buildings, but the office of the architect does not have plans for them, and after our discussion noted that a park space would be welcomed in that zone to create more green space for the university as well as the neighboring community

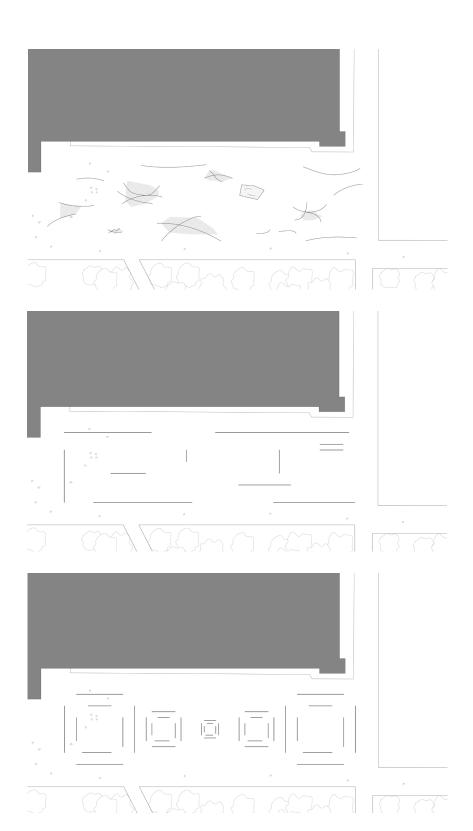




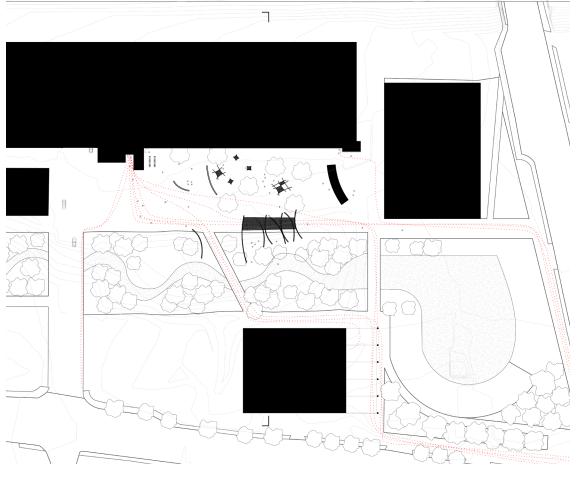
Scattered arch concept based on generate study of wire + net playthings

Orthogonal Concept based on generative study of malleable and porous walls

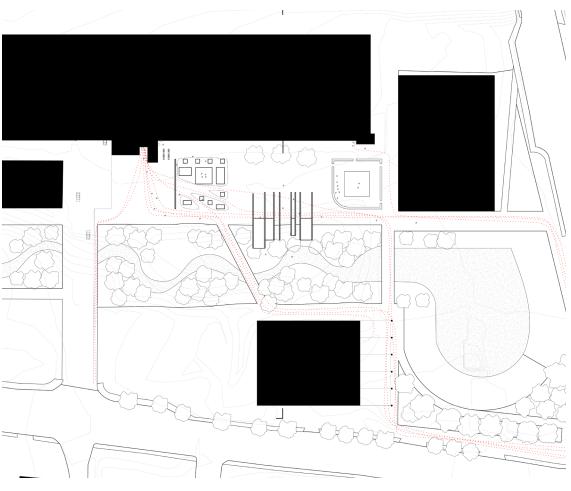
Labyrinth/ Square concept based on orthogonal study models as well as consideration of typical campus planning at UVA



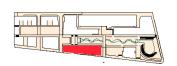
Further exploration of scattered arch concept on the initial site. This study starts to consider how playful elements can disrupt the walking path of passerby to encourage them to interact.



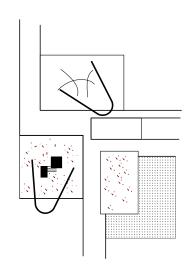
Further exploration of orthogonal wall concept on the initial site. This study starts to consider how playful elements can disrupt the walking path of passerby to encourage them to interact.



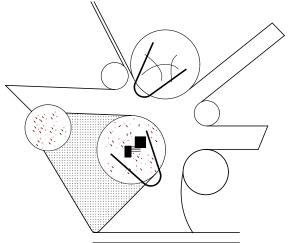
Once the final site was selected, further design development was done to explore the relationship between path, built ground, landscaped ground, structures, and playthings that could expand to the scale of the site. These pattern studies explore the formal quality this path + park system could take towards the site.



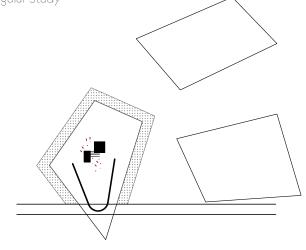
Orthogonal Study



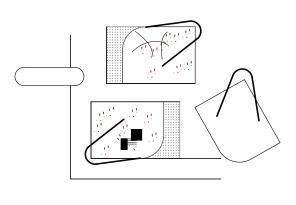




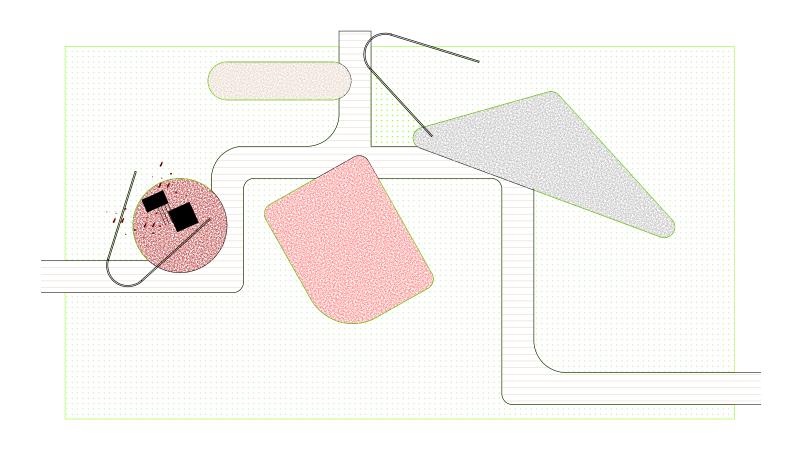
Angular Study



Composite Study



The expanded composite study was used to inform the final design



Study model of updated site selection

1/16" = 1'-0"



Play zones scattered into landscape



View from the bottom of the park. Play zones scatter the landscape, structures disrupt sidewalk and guide towards communal play and rest zones



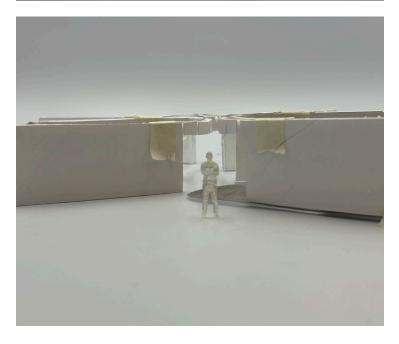
Study model exploring relationship of structures to disrupt pathways and guide towards playthings

Walls that guide towards playful elements, visually disrupt pathways, and allow for adults to engage with different types of playful spaces depending on their preferences for physical activity level, and type of social interaction.

Walls allow for discovery for those who traverse the path creating a sense of playfulness just by walking through.







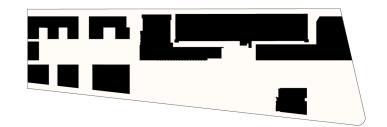
DESIGN PROPOSAL

The final design created a path system running through the entire Emmett/Ivy Corridor, anchored by a centralized park zone. The final models illustrate both the full site plan and a close-up of the main park area. The park is designed to promote disruption and engagement, reimagining "play" not as a prescribed activity or something limited to swings and slides, but as an experience of moving differently through space and discovering unexpected moments along the way.

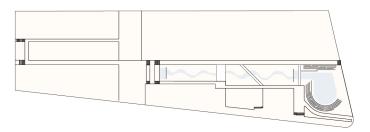
Perspective from the base of the final model showing the centralized park zone.



UVA Master Plan -Buildings

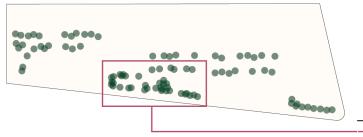


UVA Master Plan -Sidewalks + Storm Water Management Stream

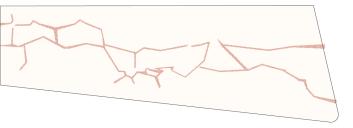


UVA Plans for Development -Emmett/Ivy Corridor

Canopy



Path Through Site



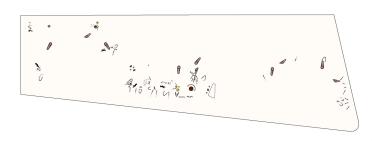
Designed Ground Zones - Wood, concrete, and rubber.



Grass Zones

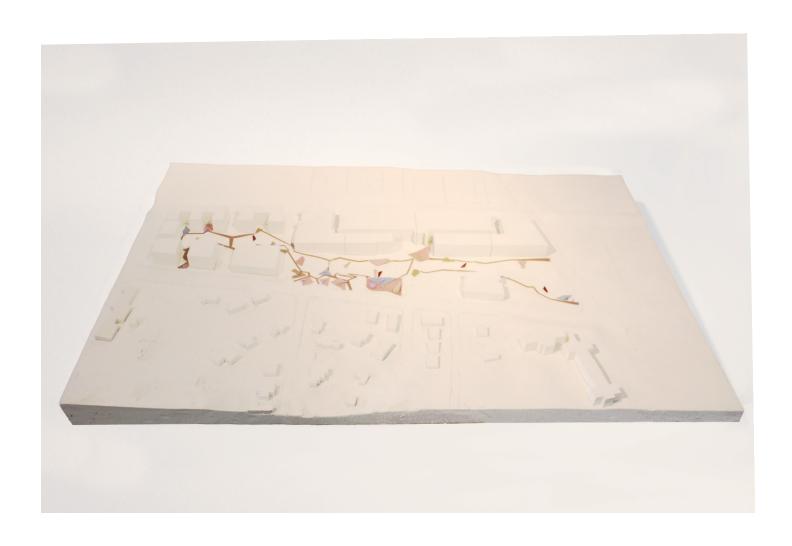


Elements + Playthings

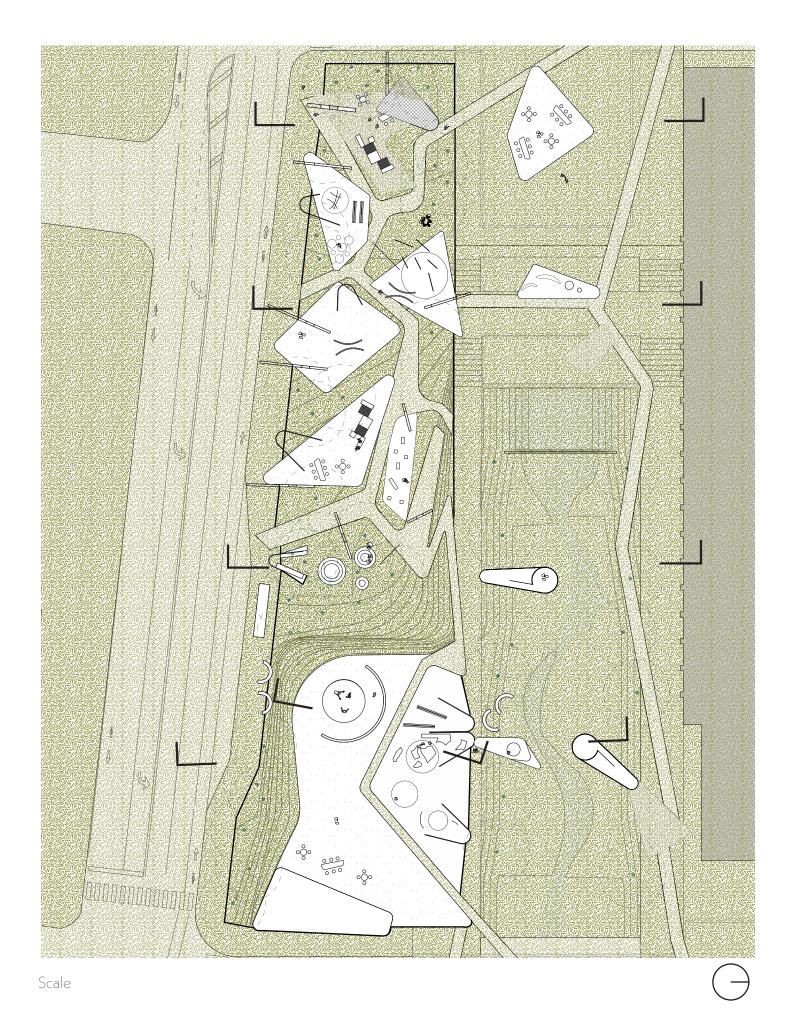


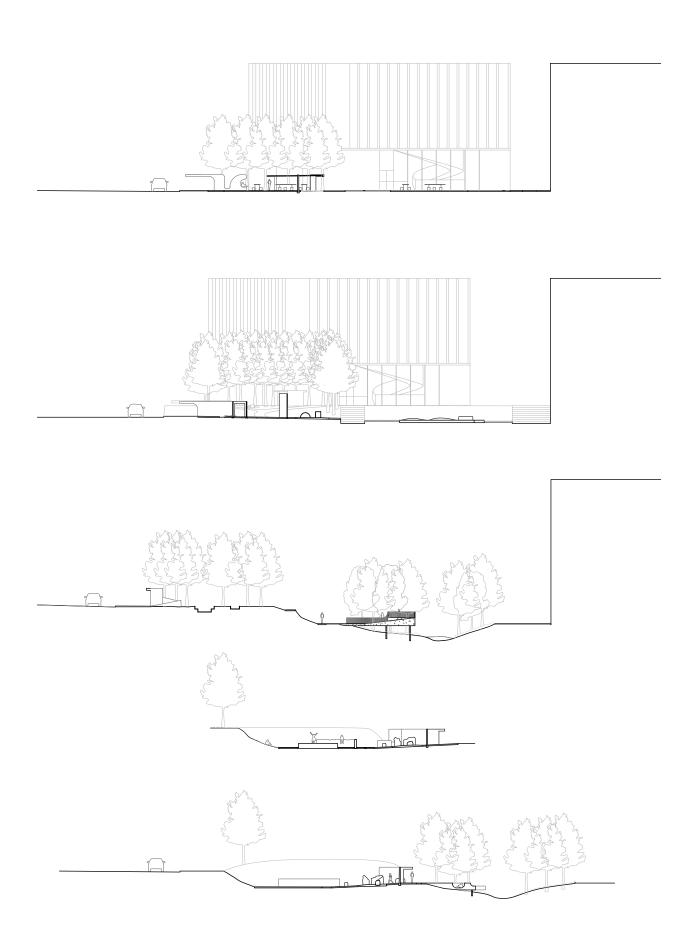
"Grounds for Play"Design Proposal

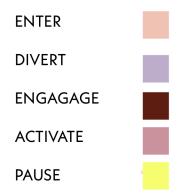


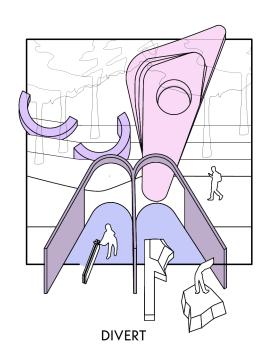


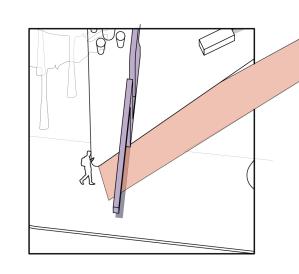




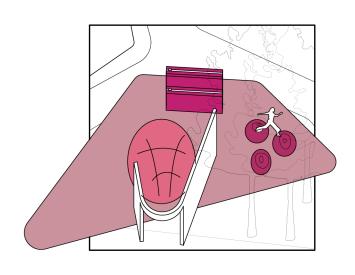


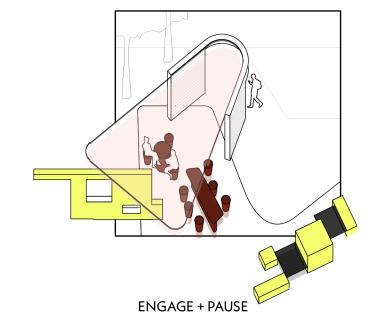




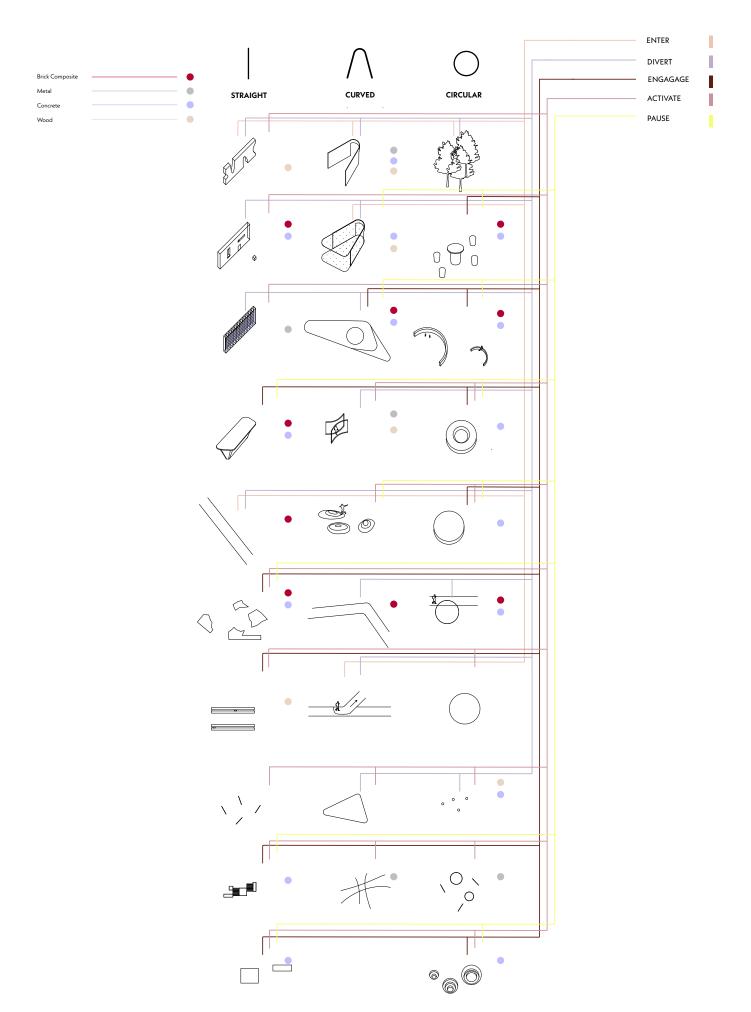








ACTIVATE



View from street



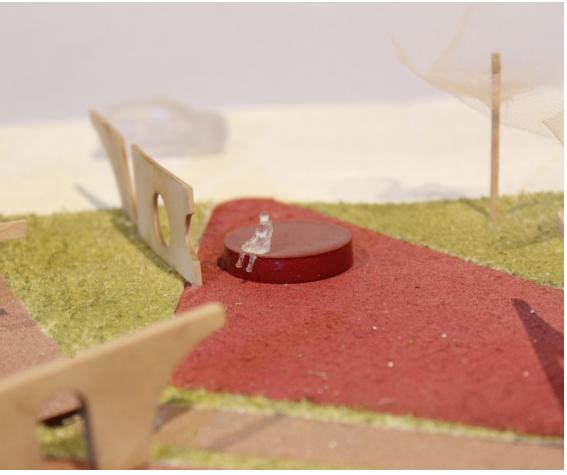
Aerial view of western side of park



Aerial view of main park zone



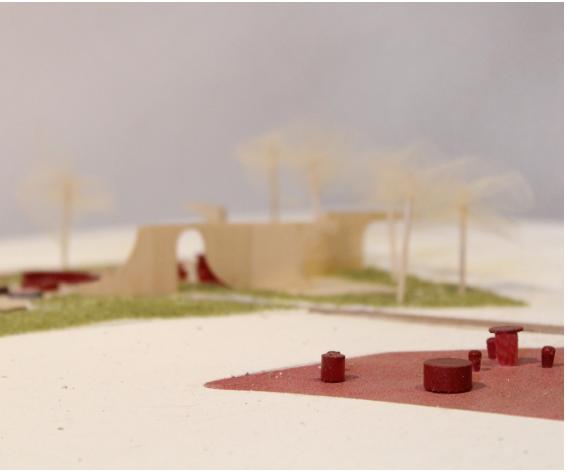
Play + Rest Zone in park



View of path up hill



Furniture on Plaza and view towards park east park



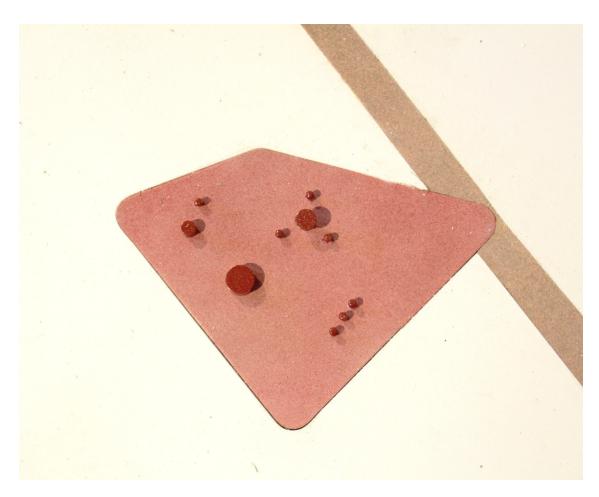
View from top of park



Ground zones interrupting path



Plaza space in front of Karsh Institute for democracy with seating



Stage and wall zone framed by light hill for viewing



View from main grounds

Aerial view of pocket parks for future student housing

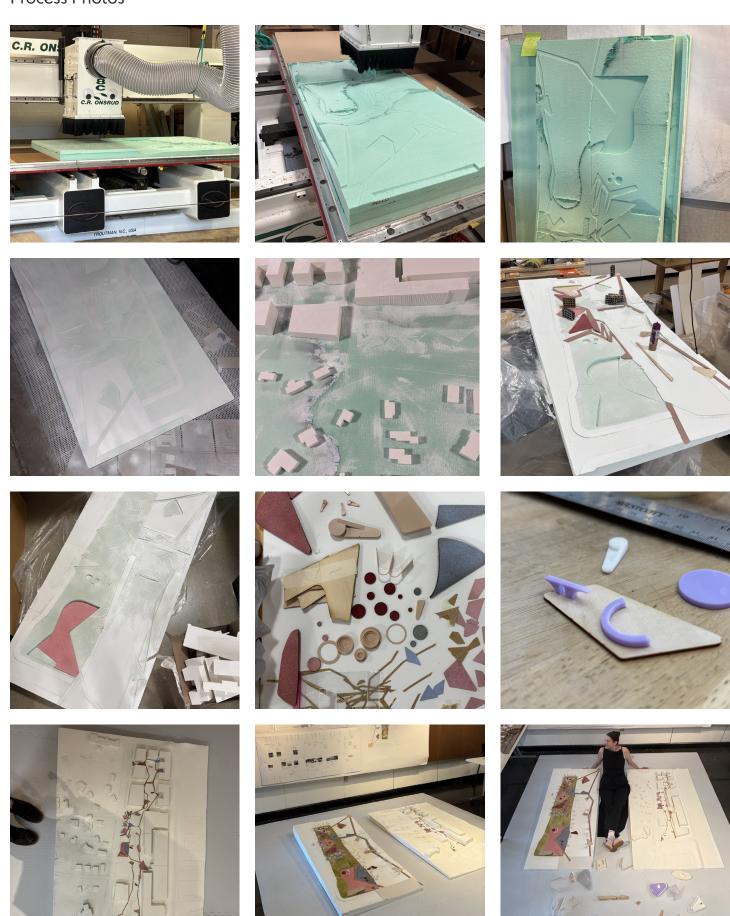






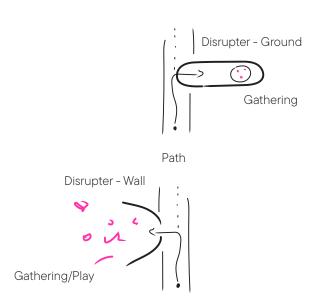


Process Photos

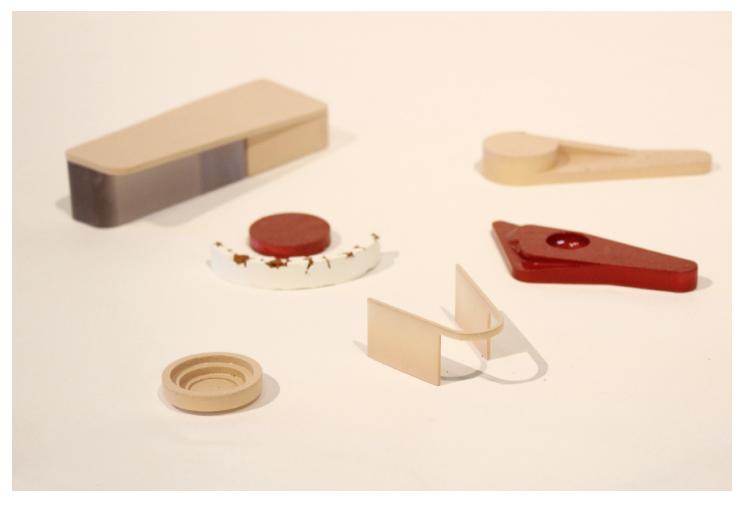


ELEMENTS

Beyond "play things" the design portion of this thesis explored how to activate a park space through a series of elements that encourage one to move away from their original path. These elements encourage engagement by guiding towards spaces for conversation, active play, and rest.

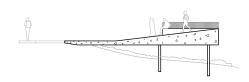


The Decks, Pits, Stages, Frames, and Buildings that scatter the site.



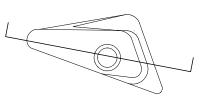


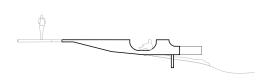




Deck with raised stage platform

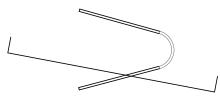






Deck with lowered step path and pit

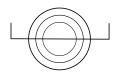






Curved guiding walls

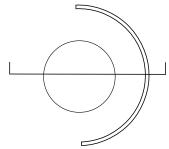






Lowered pits

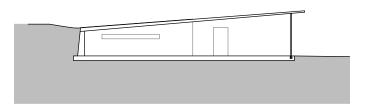


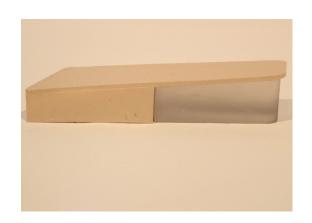


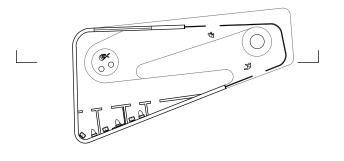


Stage with surrounding curved wall











BIBLIOGRAPHY

Auchterlonie, Reid. 2021. "Guiding the Design of Inclusive Playgrounds Through Needs Assessment and Materials Selection; Technological Politics & the Marginalization of Users Through Playground Design." University of Virginia.

Arovici, Doris. 1992. Coping on Campus: Strategies for Managing the College Experience. [Publisher info if available].

Bodrova, Elena, and Deborah J. Leong. 2003. "The Importance of Being Playful: With the Right Approach, a Plain White Hat and a Plateful of Yarn Spaghetti Can Contribute to a Young Child's Cognitive Development." Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.

Brown, Stuart. 2009. Play: How It Shapes the Brain, Opens the Imagination, and Invigorates the Soul. New York: Avery.

Brunelle, Sara, Susan Herrington, Ryan Coghlan, and Mariana Brussoni. 2016. "Play Worth Remembering: Are Playgrounds Too Safe?" Children, Youth, and Environments 26 (1): 17–36.

Cohen, A. Deborah, Bing Han, Stephanie Williamson, Catherine Nagel, Thomas McKenzie, Kelly Evenson, and Peter Harnik. 2020. "Playground Features and Physical Activity in U.S. Neighborhood Parks." Preventive Medicine 131 (February).

Cohen, David. 2018. The Development of Play. London: Routledge.

Dahl Refshauge, Anne, Ulrika K. Stigsdotter, and Nilda G. Cosco. 2012. "Adults' Motivation for Bringing Their Children to Park Playgrounds." Urban Forestry & Urban Greening 11 (4): 396–405.

Ergler, Christina. 2020. The Power of Place in Play: A Bourdieusian Analysis of Auckland Children's Seasonal Play Practices. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag.

Galindo, Michelle. 2012. Playground Design. Braun Publishing.

Gill, Tim. 2021. Urban Playground: How Child-Friendly Planning and Design Can Save Cities. London: RIBA Publishing. https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/mono/10.4324/9781003108658/urbanplayground-tim-gill. Gibson, Eleanor. 2024. An Ecological Approach to Perceptual Learning and Development. Oxford University Press.

Grosch, Leonard, and Constanze A. Petrow. 2016. Designing Parks, Berlin's Park Am Gleisdreieck or the Art of Creating Lively Places. Jovis Verlag GmbH.

Halak, Jan. 2016. "Beyond Things: The Ontological Importance of Play According to Eugen Fink." Journal of the Philosophy of Sport 43 (2): 199–214.

Hahn, Jennifer. n.d. "Yaara Nusboim Designs Therapy Dolls for Children Struggling with Emotional Trauma." Dezeen. Accessed June 6, 2025. https://www.dezeen.com/2019/11/18/yaara-nusboim-alma-therapy-dolls-design/. Hendricks, Barbara E. 2001. Designing for Play. New York: Ashgate Publishing.

Hogan, Paul. 1982. The Nuts and Bolts of Playground Construction. West Point, NY: Leisure Press.

Lange, Alexandra. n.d.-a. "The Story Behind Isamu Noguchi's Playscapes in Atlanta: The Revival, and Influence, of an Icon of Modern Playground Design." HermanMiller.com. Accessed June 6, 2025.

Lester, Stuart, and Wendy Russell. n.d. "Children's Right to Play." Bernard van Leer Foundation Working Paper no. 57. https://ipaworld.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/BvLF-IPAWorkingPaper-Childrens-Right-to-Play-Dec2010f.pdf.

Lima, Marybeth. 2013. Building Playgrounds, Engaging Community. Louisiana State University Press.

Lynch, H., A. Moore, C. Edwards, and L. Horgan. 2020. "Advancing Play Participation for All: The Challenge of Addressing Play Diversity and Inclusion in Community Parks and Playgrounds." British Journal of Occupational Therapy 83 (2): 107–17.

Mitchell, Val, Edward Elton, Laurence Clift, and Hannah Moore. 2007. "Do Older Adults Want Playgrounds?" Royal College of Art "Designing with People" (April): 1–4.

Norman, Don. 2007. Emotional Design: Why We Love (or Hate) Everyday Things. New York: Basic Books. Ogata, Amy. 2013. Designing the Creative Child: Playthings and Places in Midcentury America. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Potter, Garry, dir. 2014. Pierre Bourdieu: Habitus, Field, and Capital. Directed by Garry Potter.

Russell, Wendy, and Emily Ryall. 2019. The Philosophy of Play as Life. London: Routledge.

Scott Brown, Denis, and Robert Venturi. 1972. Learning from Las Vegas. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Solomon, Susan G. 2005. American Playgrounds. Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England.

Solomon, Susan G. 2014. The Science of Play. Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England.

Talarowski, M., D.A. Cohen, S. Williamson, and B. Han. 2019. "Innovative Playgrounds: Use, Physical Activity, and Implications for Health." Public Health 174 (September): 102–9.

Tonkin, Alison, and Julia Whitaker. 2016. Play in Healthcare for Adults Using Play to Promote Health and Wellbeing across the Adult Lifespan. London: Routledge. https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/edit/10.4324/9781315679846/play-healthcare-adults-alison-tonkin-julia-whitaker.

Tschumi, Bernard. 1994. Red is Not a Color. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

U.S. Consumer Product Safety Commission. 1977. "'Play Happy, Play Safely': Playground Equipment Guide for Teachers, Park and Recreation Directors, Parents, Youth Leaders, and Other Concerned Adults." University of Minnesota. https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=umn.31951d00272369d&seq=1.

Warsh, Mary. 2019. Central Park's Adventure-Style Playgrounds. Louisiana State University Press.

Whyte, William H. 1980. The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces. Project for Public Spaces.



