

# The Power of Play<sup>1</sup>

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Shopping gets all the attention when it comes to public place. Shopping streets and shopping malls are not only the most written about, they are the most built, and they are the most frequented in real life. But there are other, very different kinds of public place. Playgrounds are among them. Not only are they neglected by writers. There aren't enough of them. And many of the ones that do get built become dangerous and abandoned. This is a pity. As I will be arguing in the present book, playgrounds have a great, and as yet untapped, potential. They are good for children, who are systematically overlooked in urban design. They are good for their parents, who are also overlooked. They are even good for cities as a whole, because they provide public place which works better than shopping-driven alternative. This is particularly true in not-so-Richistan. In inner-city neighbourhoods with integration problems, for example, playgrounds can be effective means of enhancing not only public place, but more meaningfully, a sense of belonging. A model for a playgrounds-based urban design is to be found in the Amsterdam postwar playgrounds designed by Aldo van Eyck in collaboration with Jacoba Mulder, Cor van Eesteren and the citizens of Amsterdam, as I have argued in *Ground Up City; Play as a Design Tool*.<sup>2</sup>

## Artists are stealing the Show

A series of extraordinary playgrounds have emerged recently. Most of them have been designed not by the professionals one would expect—architects and urbanists—but by artists. Frank Gehry's playground in Central Park and Miralles and Taglibue's are in the minority. Playgrounds by artists are the rule, Erwin Wurm's *Play Sculpture* (2004), Fischli and Weiss's miniature office building in a parking lot (2000), Dan Graham and Jeff Wall's various playgrounds, Vito Acconci's *Klein Bottle Urban Living Room* in Bleicheli, St Gallen (2005), Nils Norman's *Adventure* for the Financial District in London<sup>3</sup> and Carsten Höller's *Test Site* (2006) at the Tate Modern. There are precedents for playgrounds by artists. Artists Niki de Saint Phalle and Jean Tinguely's *Fontaine de Stravinsky* (1982–1983) Jean Dubuffet's gigantic sculptures like the *Closerie Falbala* (1971–73) and his *Jardin d'email* (1974).

Robert Wilson's first design project, *Poles*, a playground for Loveland, Ohio (1968), consisting of gigantic poles lined up in order to teach children how to count through the dynamic of movement.<sup>4</sup> Isamu Noguchi designed his first playground, *Play Mountain*, in 1933.

There is nothing frivolous about these artist's playgrounds. For Noguchi playground design was a major turning point in his career. He was seeking a way 'to bring sculpture into a more direct involvement with the common experience of living'.<sup>5</sup> For him, children's playgrounds came to symbolize a means of projecting both his social and aesthetic interests without engaging in disturbing public controversy. 'For me, playgrounds are a way of creating the world.' It was an extremely fruitful exercise for him, in the context of his overall development as an artist. And he described his *Play Mountain* as the prototype or 'kernel' for all his subsequent explorations 'relating sculpture to the earth'. Of his initial interest in designing playgrounds and then more ambitious land art, he wrote: 'Brancusi said that when an artist stopped being a child, he would stop being an artist. Children, I think, view the world differently from adults, their awareness of its possibilities are more primary and attuned to their capacities. When the adult would imagine like a child he must project himself into seeing the world as a totally new experience. I like to think of playgrounds as a primer of shapes and functions; simple, mysterious, and evocative.' thus educational. The child's world would be a beginning world, fresh and clear.' Playground design played an even greater role in Robert Wilson's career. It was with *Poles* that he claims he made the transition from architecture to art.<sup>6</sup>

One of the reasons for these artists's interest in playgrounds is their personal inclination towards a general kind of playfulness. Dan Graham, for example, claims that the gradual realization, starting in the 1980s, that children were interested in the playful aspect of his work prompted him reorient it, making it even more playful in order to engage children, pointing out that the Dia Foundation Pavilion was first intended as a playground.

Erwin Wurm and Fischli and Weiss feel, like Freud did,<sup>7</sup> that playfulness causes enjoyment by releasing us from our inhibitions by allowing us to express intentions and thoughts that would otherwise have remained hidden. The stronger the inhibition, the more hilarious our reaction is to sensing it being shattered. In other words, funny things contain a varying potential for subverting rules, and for re-inventing them. Erwin Wurm is equally explicit about the importance of playfulness in his art, as well as art in general. When asked if he agreed with Huizinga's *Homo Ludens*'s theory that play is really the basis of civilization, Wurm could not have been more positive: '... that is (the role of) play.'

Absolutely. Sadness is always presented as having imposing cultural importance and I think it is wrong, it is just wrong. Playfulness should be taken far more seriously'. For the purposes of this essay, in fact, Wurm even provided me with his designs for the playground that are reproduced here. As for Fischli and Weiss, when I interviewed them, Peter Fischli declared that 'If somebody would come and suggest we should design a playground, I would say Yes.'<sup>8</sup> Jerome Sans, former co-director of the Palais de Tokyo in Paris, was the most categorical of all about the general importance of play in art. To him 'all art is a game'.

Artists take play seriously thanks to the long tradition of playfulness, starting with the Dadaist movement, reaching back to the period immediately following the First World War, when many artists—interestingly no architects, except Le Corbusier at the Maison Bestegui or Loos's Josephine Baker's house—sought out the therapeutic, liberating irrationality of play in the wake of the war's deeply traumatic, dehumanizing events.<sup>9</sup> Duchamp's Dadaist works, like the *Urinal* of 1917 and the mustachioed Mona Lisa of *L.H.O.O.Q.* (1919) were the first of these. Similarly, during the 1920s, Arnold Schoenberg invented magic playing cards, a domino set, and a game called *Coalition Chess*, a version of chess for four players instead of two and whose very nature makes it impossible to win.<sup>10</sup> Marcel Duchamp gave up all other activities in 1923 and devoted his life to playing chess. The sculptor Alexander Calder, who had always designed toys as a child for his sister, created his *Cirque Calder* (1926–30), and Kurt Schwitters put together his ticker-tape *Merzbilder*.<sup>11</sup> Famous exhibition in New York in 1944 at the Julien Levy Gallery called *The Imagery of Chess*. Conceived by Levy and the painter sculptor Max Ernst. To Duchamp the connection between art and chess was seamless and he found kindred spirits in Man Ray, Ernst and later Levy. In the show was Calder, Xenia Cage, John Cage, a wine set by André Breton and Nicolas Calas with glasses of red and white wine on a mirror board, Steffi Kiesler, Man Ray, Robert Motherwell, Noguchi, Yves Tanguy.<sup>12</sup> There were also Dada buildings by architects but these were, again, the exception. Playful houses by Le Corbusier for Bestegui and Josephine Baker House by Loos.

The surrealists too made play their main compositional principle.<sup>13</sup> The *Cadavre Exquis* was a game invented by them around 1925. According to the *Dictionnaire abrégé du surréalisme*, it was a game that consisted of generating a sentence or a drawing by several people without them being able to see the previous contributions. The first example was 'Le cadavre—exquis—boira—le vin—nouveau' invented by Marcel Duhamel, Jacques Prevert, and Yves Tanguy. André Breton used this originally purely playful activity, and made it a means of crea-

ting poetic imagery. (*Médium* no. 2, 1954). They turned the city itself into a playground. The automatism of le *Cadavre Exquis* was transposed to the Surrealist concept of *errance*, used in order to transform Paris into a giant gameboard, first in Louis Aragon's in *Le Paysan de Paris* (1927), then with André Breton's wandering through Paris in *Nadja* (1928), and Man Ray's collection of Atget's photography.<sup>14</sup> In all cases, what occurred was an aimless, automatic, good-natured wandering or *flânerie*, away from the bourgeois boulevards and squares, and the discovery of another, more mysterious Paris. Like the later Situationist psycho-geographic *dérive* of the 1950s directly inspired by the *errance*, such exercises were meant to provide an alternative to the oppression of stifflingly conventional bourgeois urban life, of consumer culture and the world of work, and replace it with a strange, unfamiliar, quirky one that allows one to imagine a possible alternative.

In the postwar period of the mid 1940s, playfulness was adopted by yet another artistic movement becoming an object of imitation among the major brutalist, expressionist artists of the immediate post-war period. This is notably true of Jean Dubuffet and Juan Miró in painting. It is well known that Jackson Pollock's paintings were attempts to express primitive, naïve, childlike drives.<sup>15</sup> The COBRA group, too, consisting of Asger Bjorn, Constant, Corneille and Karel Appel among others, began to explicitly imitate child's art in their official magazine (also called COBRA) and devoted the 4th issue of the magazine, which coincided with an exhibition curated by Willem Sandberg at the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam in 1949, to the theme of childhood.<sup>16</sup> This is where paintings such as Corneille's *Les Jeux d'Enfants et Le Grand Soleil* (1948) were presented for the first time. The issue reproduced children's drawings and modern primitive naïve painters. In it, Corneille wrote that 'Aesthetics is a tic of civilization. Art has nothing to do with beauty; imagination is the way to learn the truth.' Constant, for his part, wrote: 'The child knows no other rule but his own spontaneous life feeling, and has no other need but the need to express it.' Why? According to Constant, "It is also this property that lends these cultures such a power of attraction to the people of today who have to live in a morbid atmosphere of falsity, lies, and infertility."<sup>17</sup> The spontaneous art of children inspired us more than the oeuvre of professional artists.<sup>18</sup> Willem Sander, the director of the Stedelijk Museum, organized his first post-war exhibition in 1947 on the theme of Art and the Child at the museum, based on a selection he made of children's paintings that had been organized by the Association Française d'Action Artistique in Paris.<sup>19</sup>

Playfulness appeared once again as a major current in the art of the sixties, this time in the pop

dadaist revival. Again the city served as an medium with artists who participated in the first urban happenings, like Allan Kaprow (who first coined the term in the Spring of 1957), George Segal, John Cage, Robert Rauschenberg, Jim Dine, Carolee Schneeman and Merce Cunningham in the late 1950s.

This time architects also jumped on the bandwagon, setting the tone for the 1960s urban performances such as Hans Hollein's *Mobile Office* (1966), Coop Himmelblau's *Restless Ball* (1971) and Haus-Rucker-Co's *Balloon for Two* (1972)<sup>20</sup> as well as for urban-scale installations like Claes Oldenburg's *Colossal Monument for 42nd street* in the form of a banana (1965), James Wines's *Best Department Stores* (1970s). There have been times when they came up with their share of playfulness in designs of their own, and there have been times when they have come up with inventive, effective designs for public space with the aim of bringing people together—as we shall see further on. The most notable architect of the twentieth century to allow the imperative of playfulness take over in his designs is, no doubt, Cedric Price. The idea for the *Fun Palace* (1959–61), never built, was supposedly first concocted by Price and the theater director Joan Littlewood when walking on 42nd Street on a visit the two made to America. The design reflected the increasing whimsy of post-imperial Britain. A Fun Palace? This was a clear departure from the dullness, conformity and sterility associated with Britain's technocratic welfare state. Price and Littlewood intended the building to be a colossal, Dadaist playground for adults.

### Playgrounds by Architects

Architects weren't always playground averse. After the war the idea of playgrounds gave rise to a wave of interest in the architectural profession. It grew out of what might be termed the post-war phenomenon of 'child empowerment'.<sup>21</sup> The post-war baby boom produced another bottom-up effect. Children, the lowest on the social rung and also the weakest, could no longer be simply dictated to. They became empowered as never before in many arenas of life—political, cultural, economic, domestic. In 1948, the United Nations General Assembly adopted a Declaration of the Rights of the Child. This new attitude toward childhood spread rapidly in the social sciences. Perhaps the first sign of change was Benjamin Spock's revolutionary and epoch-making *The Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care* (1946) that gave more power to the child in the domestic environment.<sup>22</sup> Child psychology became widely accepted in universities, and as a field of psychology in its own right among the general public. Anna Freud, for example, set up the Hampstead Child Therapy Training Courses and

Clinic in 1947. Psychologist Erik Erikson wrote *Childhood and Society* in 1950. In the field of consumption, this was a time when Disneyland and its most effective advertising engine, the Mickey Mouse Show, were created, turning the child into a powerful force of consumption. Early evening television was monopolized by children's shows, laced with advertisements to programme children to become faithful buyers of special brands of breakfast cereals and bubbly drinks while their mothers were encouraged to purchase detergents at the supermarket. In cinema, the theme of childhood becomes the subject of in-depth studies with neo-realist Italian films like Vittorio de Sica's *The Bicycle Thief* (1948) and *Miracolo a Milano* (1950). While English photographer Nigel Henderson's wife was carrying out sociological studies on children in working class areas of Great Britain, he photographed them. Another famous photographer interested in the post-war urban child was Robert Doisneau in Paris.

The baby boom had an impact among urban theorists, most particularly among those who were interested in community. In an article published in 1949, Lewis Mumford pleads for the creation of playscapes in cities.<sup>23</sup> Chicago's *Journal of Housing* of July 1949 also published illustrations of Danish playgrounds. To the American urban theorist Kevin Lynch, the child's perception of urban space is so important that he based much of his research throughout the 1950s on it, and placed a child's drawing on the cover of his famous book, *The Image of the City* (1960).<sup>24</sup> He returned to the theme in a later Unesco-sponsored book on *Growing Up in Cities* (1970).<sup>25</sup>

Regionalism was the characterizing feature of the Hawaiian playgrounds of architect Harry Sims Brent in Honolulu at around the same time. They were implemented, like all his other works, in a style appropriate to the island's tropical vegetation of palm, pineapple and poinsettia trees and indigenous architecture. Playground design also took another regionalist twist with Dimitris Pikionis, the Greek architect and landscape architect responsible for the pathway to the Acropolis and the Philopappos Hill in Athens between 1961 and 1964. He designed a children's playground in a suburb of Athens called Philothei. Here, by means of the construction of a mythological, pre-Homeric past, he sought to enhance a sense of place in children.<sup>26</sup>

Part of the empowerment of the child meant that some of the greatest architects and artists channelled their creativity to the design of playgrounds. Pierre Jeanneret designed one for Chandigarh. And Le Corbusier devoted almost one fifth of his plan for Chandigarh to a recreational area. The so-called 'Valley of Leisure' there is formed by a natural stream and links the lower parts of the town to the upper ones. Footpaths alongside the stream, which has been enlarged by a weir, lead to

an open-air theatre, cinema, rallying centres, platforms for dancing, playgrounds, and other areas for leisure activities.

The most striking playground of the period, however, is the one Le Corbusier designed for the roof of the Unité d'Habitation between 1946 and 1952. The open roof terrace on the 17th floor of the Unité d'Habitation, which contains 337 flats, was arranged as a playground for children with a paddling pool, an outdoor stage, a sports area, and a gymnasium. It also incorporates both a kindergarten and a crèche. Through the functional integration of the whole, a real community centre emerged, which links not only the children of the Unité but also the grown ups in sport, play and special occasions. There was a windbreak on the eastern side, a roof terrace with a stage wall, a flower bed, a gymnasium, solaria, a children's playground, and a wading pool.

When Honolulu Park Commissioner McCoy died, Noguchi took the playground equipment designs to the New York City Parks Department, where they were rejected as potentially hazardous. With characteristic ingenuity, he responded by designing an objectless playground, eliminating sharp projections in favour of curves and limiting the height of his forms to prevent accidents. Nonetheless it was turned down and the city was deprived of two great playgrounds: one for the United Nations in 1952, and another that involved a series of no less than five unexecuted designs for a Riverside Drive park site. In *Art News*, Thomas B. Hess deplored, in justifiable terms of outrage, the rejection of Noguchi's imaginative U.N. design and Moses's opposition: 'The playground, instead of telling the child what to do (swing here, climb there), becomes a place for endless exploration, of endless opportunity for changing play. And it is a thing of beauty ... in the modern world.'<sup>27</sup> The model was later exhibited in the children's department of the MoMA as a protest.

The Adele Levy Memorial Playground for Riverside Drive was a collaboration between Noguchi and Louis Kahn that lasted 4 years, between 1958 and 1962. Kahn's interest in playgrounds went back to 1943, when he had written an article entitled 'Why City Planning is your Responsibility' along with Oscar Stonorov. 'In most urban areas, children play in the streets... There are too many streets anyway. So why not make playgrounds out of unnecessary streets?'<sup>28</sup> He and Noguchi submitted five plans over a period of four years. The main opposition came from the more affluent Riverside Drive community, who feared an invasion of slum children from nearby Broadway.

The project was rejected ultimately, but not before Noguchi and Kahn had declared that 'we have attempted to establish an area for familiar relaxation and play rather than an area for any specific

sport. We have attempted to supply a landscape where children of all ages, their parents and other older people can mutually find enjoyment. The heart of the plan is a nursery building placed as near to Riverside Drive as possible which will supply the functions necessary to lengthy sojourns in the park for little children. The building is shaped like a cup, a sun trap for the winter months, a fountain and water are for the summer. The service and play rooms are built underneath the ramp and under the open-air play and rest area so that the roof has a double function. From this central point the play area radiates with definite but not limiting forms to invite play; first, integral with the nursery, is a play mountain, like a mound of large triangular steps – for climbing, for sitting—an artificial hill. Outside this central core are giant slides built into the topography, areas for home games, things to crawl in and out of. There is also a large, oval sand and pebble area which is criss-crossed by maze-like divisions: a theatre area with a shell for music, puppets and theater.'<sup>29</sup>

Susan Solomon has written at length about another episode in the history of post-war playgrounds: the playground competition organized at the MoMA in 1954.<sup>30</sup> In that same year, *Architectural Forum* ran a brief article on perhaps the most remarkable instance of how all-pervasive the lure of playgrounds could be. In 1950, a professional boxer by the name of Joe Brown added the function of playground designer to his already unusual mixture of associate professor of boxing and sculpture at Princeton University. Students of architecture had been asked to design a playground and he was asked to judge it. He criticized their work as unrelated to human needs, unimaginative and overly imitative of the Scandinavia school of 'play sculpture'. When the graduate students asked Professor Brown for his credentials in this field, he replied 'I was a boy once'. Then he designed his own playgrounds and 4 years later, in 1954, he delivered a paper in St Louis to a meeting of the National Recreation Association and exhibited models which would help 'to prepare children for the struggles of maturity'. Perhaps because he was a boxer, he included an element of danger in the playgrounds. They did indeed incorporate an element of unpredictability. He called his apparatus a play 'community' because 'any child who uses it is forced by circumstance to recognize the vitality of his surroundings. Through experience he is taught to respect the complexity of every situation even though his personal aims might be simple. This respect will be neither unreasonable fear nor a thoughtless sense of security—just an acceptance of the fact that personal designs and social designs are interdependent. The factor of unpredictability—the creative factor—places upon the child the responsibility—at this time in life, the fun—of choosing, of emerging, of choosing again,

of emerging again, ad infinitum.' He even waxed poetic: 'Practice in the art of living, the rare art of accepting each accomplishment as a signpost in a wonderful journey that never ends; a journey made on one vehicle—a mind and body, one and inseparable.'<sup>31</sup>

But it is postwar Amsterdam playgrounds, an exercise in both Dadaist playfulness and civil service, that were the most resounding success of all.

In 1947 there were fewer than 30 playgrounds in the city. This is the same number as in 1929, when Cornelis van Eesteren, the erstwhile new director of the Municipal Department of Public Works, commissioned a series of city maps. One map marked the location of the city's public toilets. Another, its open-air markets. Another, its garages. Another, its public telegraph and telephone booths. The fifth indicated the location of the playgrounds of the city.<sup>32</sup>

Even the most superficial glance at these maps of Amsterdam is revealing. Although playgrounds for children was one of Van Eesteren's five main concerns, the presence of children was minor compared with that of urinating adults, adults shopping for food at market stalls, adults taking care of their cars in garages, and adults calling other adults on public telephones.

But, by 1968, the situation was radically different. Amsterdam had over 1000 playgrounds. This means no fewer than 50 playgrounds were designed and produced every year from 1947 onward—a gigantic number. They spread from the historical centre of Amsterdam to the new towns to the West of Amsterdam—Sloterdijk, Sloterveer, and Geuzenveld. Each playground was individually dealt with by Van Eesteren and his associate Jacoba Mulder. Each was designed by Aldo van Eyck.

Built up over a period of just over 20 years, the post-war Amsterdam playgrounds were a remarkable success story. Indeed, it can be said that they were the first example not only of a new type of playground design, but also, in general, of a new, post-Second World War approach to public space and urban design.

In order to understand what made the postwar Amsterdam playgrounds such a resounding success at the time—as well as argue, perhaps more controversially, that they are even more useful than ever before in some urban environments today, specifically multi-cultural inner-city neighbourhoods—it is necessary to look at the 'Big Picture'. This picture has two very different parts: on the one hand, the cultural value of play, and, on the other, the place of play in the world of urban government.

#### Notes:

- 1 This text uses excerpts from my *Ground Up City*, in *Ground-Up City; Play as a Design Tool*, co-authored with Dollab, Rotterdam, 010, 2007.
- 2 See preceding footnote.
- 3 Nils Norman, *An Architecture of Play: a Survey of London's Adventure Playgrounds*, London, Four Corners Books, 2003.
- 4 See Amanda Otto-Bernstein, *Absolute Wilson*, Munich, Prestel Verlag, 2006, and the movie of the same name, 2006.
- 5 The following discussion is from Sam Hunter, *Isamu Noguchi*, London, Thames & Hudson, 1979, and from Isamu Noguchi, *Isamu Noguchi, A sculptor's World*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1967. See also Ana Maria Torres, *Isamu Noguchi, A Study of Space*, New York, Monacelli, 2000.
- 6 See Amanda Otto-Bernstein, *Absolute Wilson* (movie), see note 4.
- 7 Sigmund Freud, *Jokes and their Relation to the Unconscious*.
- 8 Interview of Peter Fischli and David Weiss by Liane Lefavre, 23 November 2004, Zurich. They allowed me to tape the interview but not to publish it.
- 9 Friedrich Schiller, *The Aesthetic Letters*, Boston, Little Brown, 1920, letter 15.
- 10 Ernst Strouhal, 'Es musste möglich sein...Arnold Schoenberg – Konstruktionen, Modelle, Spieledesigns', *Arnold Schoenberg, Games, Constructions Bricolages*, Vienna, Arnold Schoenberg Center, 2004. See also Allen Shawn, *Arnold Schoenberg Journey*, New York, Farrar, Strauss, 2006.
- 11 See Jacob Baal-Teshuva and Alexander Calder, *Calder: 1898–1876*, Cologne, Taschen, 1998.
- 12 The exhibition was presented once again at the Isamu Noguchi Foundation curated by Bonnie Rychlak October 21, 2005/March 5 2006.
- 13 *Faites vos Jeux. Kunst und Spiel seit Dada*, Ausstellungs-Katalog, Viaduz, 2005.
- 14 Louis Aragon, *Le Paysan de Paris*, 1926; Andre Breton, *Nadja*, 1928; Susan Laxton, *Paris as a Gameboard. Man Ray's Atget*, New York, Wallach Art Gallery, 2002.
- 15 Steven W. Naifeh and Gregory White Smith, *Jackson Pollock: An American Saga*, New York, Harper Collins, 1991.
- 16 *COBRA*, no. 4, 1950.
- 17 *COBRA 4*, 1949. Quoted in W. Stockvis, *COBRA, Geschiedenis, voorspel en betekenis van een beweging in de kunst van na de tweede oorlog*, Amsterdam, De Bezige Bij, 1990, pp. 94–95.
- 18 *Ibid.*
- 19 Willem Sandberg, *Kunst en Kind*, Amsterdam, Stedelijk Museum, 1947.
- 20 The best overview of the Viennese school is to be found in Dominique Rouillard, *Superarchitecture. Le Futur de l'architecture 1950–70*, Paris, Villette, 2005.
- 21 This point is a reiteration of Liane Lefavre, 'Space, Place and Play', *Aldo van Eyck, the Playgrounds and the City*, Amsterdam, Stedelijk Museum, 2003.
- 22 Benjamin Spock, *Baby and Child Care* (New York: Dutton, 1997), 7th edition, first pub. 1946.
- 23 Lewis Mumford, *The American City*, Chicago, Oct., 1949, quoted in *Goede Wonen*, Jan. 1950, p. 63.
- 24 Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, MA.: The MIT Press, 1960).
- 25 Kevin Lynch (ed.) *Growing up in Cities, Studies of the Spatial Environment of Adolescence in Cracow, Melbourne, Mexico City, Salta, Toluca and Warszawa*, Cambridge, MA., MIT Press, 1977.

- 26 Agni Pikioni, Dimitris Pikionis, vol 8: *The Children's Play Garden in Philothei, 1961–64*, Athens, Bastas-Plessas, 1994.
- 27 *Art News*, April 1952, quoted in *ibid*.
- 28 Louis Kahn and Oskar Stonorov, 'Why Urban Planning is your Responsibility', *Revere's Part in Better Living*, 17, 1943, pp. 6–7.
- 29 Isamu Noguchi, *Isamu Noguchi; A Sculptor's World*, London, Thames & Hudson, 1967.
- 30 Susan Solomon, *American Playgrounds, Revitalizing Community Space*, University Press of New England, Lebanon, 2005. The MoMA competition was co-sponsored by Frank Caplan, the founder of a playground furniture company, Creative Playthings.
- 31 "Playground sculpture – for the fun of it," *Architectural Forum*, November 1954, p. 157.
- 32 NAI, Archieff Van Eesteren 1.267-284.

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