HUMANIZING THE CITY:
FESTIVALS AS A HUMAN ADAPTATION OF PUBLIC SPACE

by
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ABSTRACT

As currently conceived, the contemporary city will not advance beyond its present level of achievement. This research frames the city within three root values upon which all decisions made in the city are based. The three root values are continuity, connection and openness. Under the present priorities of city making, the contemporary city is heavily biased toward continuity. A paradigm shift is required in the way cities are conceived and developed to rebalance the three root values with the intention of creating cities that are better places for humans to inhabit. This shift is a call for a more human city.

This research investigates a collection of urban design principles that are intended to humanize the city and improve them as settings for human use and occupation. The research utilizes the festival as a temporal moment in the city of uniquely human-centered use. It is a moment in which the human becomes the dominant priority in the organization and occupation of space, while other systems of the city are temporarily interrupted. Through a series of six festival case studies a number of consistent adaptations of space emerge in which the festive events highlight strategies for humanizing space in the city.

The urban design principles highlighted by this research include adapting spatial containment, restructuring movement, exposing meaning and commonality, attracting density of people, removing separation of uses, increasing overlapping activities, and spatially and temporally scripting and choreographing all of these strategies. These principles are then examined through a design test that shows their applicability in making humanizing adaptations of space and ultimately creating more human cities.
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CHAPTER 1

HUMAN CITIES

This thesis positions the festival as an activity in the city that can reveal new methods and ideas to improve the urban environment for the benefit of its inhabitants.

The city today has seen a rebirth in the context of the United States and enjoys relative popularity and prosperity as compared to the recent past. Many of the problems of urbanism, which arose with the development of cities in the past century, have been alleviated to some degree. The era of the human city has seemingly already arrived, but the city is still operating under the guidance of older value systems. Why is the city still lacking as a vibrant place for human habitation and what can be done to improve it?
“How we use the land around us provides a very tangible reflection of our collective priorities. For thousands of years, people have left signs behind that suggest how they used their physical space, and in some cases, why.” (Commers, J., 2008) The city is a reflection of the values prioritized by the society in which it is built. Throughout the history of city making, value systems, which are the collective priorities of a society, have directed the form and design of the city.

The first settlements were primarily city forms based upon the value systems of religion, power, control and security, not necessarily in that order. The origins of city form have been discussed and documented by many authors. These value systems have evolved and changed throughout history and vary by location and culture. For instance, urban issues of the industrial revolution brought about a dominant value system of health and sanitization that led to vast improvements in city infrastructure and zoning laws. The automobile age has brought vast gains in accessibility, mobility and individual choice. At each of these historic intervals of city making, those value systems that prioritize predictability and reliability in the city have been given priority.

Kevin Lynch discusses the values implicit in city design in his Good City Form (Lynch, K., 1981). Lynch offers three values that are at the root of all human settlements and that are still present today: continuity, connection and openness. Lynch states, “So that settlement is good which enhances the continuity of culture and the survival of its people, increases a sense of connection in time and space, and permits or spurs individual growth: development, within continuity, via openness and connection.”

Continuity is closely related to and is generally articulated through form. The form of the city is its built environment, physical systems and patterns that create reliability and predictability in the settlement – in other words, continuity. Continuity and form are the most easily planned for and, as mentioned, often dominate city making decisions, if only by default. This thesis will propose assessing continuity in the city through the metrics of spatial containment and movement.

Connection is often associated with meaning. Connection is bringing any two entities together. This joining is most powerful when involving, and facilitated by, a deeper meaning. In the city, connection occurs not only between people and places, but also between people and other people. A connection between people can be enhanced by the city when an interaction is mediated through a place or an event that is full of meaning. Connection adds a great deal to continuity, in developing form that is not only...
functional, but meaningful as well. This thesis will propose assessing connection through the metrics of common experience and density of people.

**Openness** is revealed through activity. Form and meaning are more tangible and fixed, place-based elements of the city, whereas activity is a dynamic and temporal aspect of the city that is difficult to predict and plan. Therefore activity is often neglected as a tool of city making. Openness attempts to provide a tolerance for this dynamism and fluidity by integrating activity with form and meaning. This thesis will propose assessing openness through the metrics of separation of uses and grain of activity.

The three root values, continuity, connection and openness, are implicit in the city. They may not be directly articulated in the language of city making or utilized as explicit justification, but are inherent in all decisions made regarding the city. As highlighted in their definitions above, the three root values are directly correlated with three more accessible words used often to describe the city, *form, meaning* and *activity*.

Several contemporary value systems are at work in the city and are the modes of thought that direct city making today. They are strong forces for prioritizing decisions and
directing the trajectory of the city. Several of these contemporary value systems will be discussed in greater detail below, including: economic development (i.e., real estate, land use, land value, jobs, business and consumption), transportation (i.e., access, roadways, parking and traffic), efficiency (i.e., land use, commute times and housing), security (i.e., control, order and predictability) and aesthetics (i.e., spectacle, style and beauty). This list may not be exhaustive, but it should provide a range of values at work in the city and suffice in illustrating the argument that the contemporary city is biased toward continuity.

Increasingly, employment of these dominant value systems has been accompanied by the realization that they have not only been detrimental to community and human habitation in the city, but can also lead to diminished returns in the very terms that these value systems hope to achieve. A simple example is that adding more and more vehicular lanes to a street does not in fact reduce traffic, and does in fact create other difficulties in the city. If the current value systems are failing to improve the city, or have at least reached a limit of their individual potentials to improve the city, perhaps another value system could lead to better improvements (i.e., economy, transport, access and efficiency). It remains that while the variety of value systems outlined here may appear different, this thesis will show they are actually quite single-minded and often work in tandem to push the city in a particular direction.

The main difficulty with the dominant value systems is that they do not adequately balance the demands of the three root values. In the contemporary city, the dominant value systems overemphasize the importance of continuity. Connection and openness are equally important as root values in the city, but are neglected. The underrepresentation of connection and openness is easy to understand and difficult to remedy. Continuity is the easiest of the three to plan, to systematically measure, to predict, to understand, to quantify and to value. The opposite is true for connection and openness and they probably suffer for it.

Identifying this imbalance as a current condition of the city, one that may never have been balanced in the history of city making, the goal of this research is to begin to think of ways to address this shortcoming. Critical to this task is beginning to develop a process, a set of tools and a vocabulary to directly address and measure the more intangible aspects of connection and openness, or meaning and activity. By developing analytical tools and metrics for these elements, and beginning to plan for them explicitly, the act of city design could become better balanced. A reliance on the tools already in place and examination of those parts of the city that are more fixed and conventional will ultimately lead back to a focus on continuity and form.

Improvement upon the current value systems cannot be a simple adjustment to the amenities, aesthetics, or other superficial approaches. To truly engage in making a better city for the human, the adjustments made to city making and design must be made at the most fundamental levels of thought. The origins of all decisions of city making must be examined in an attempt to reveal the priorities and value systems in place today.

A small caveat, this thesis is not an attempt to establish a comprehensive theory
of the city, but rather an attempt to explain and describe the value systems creating the built environments of cities today. This will show the deficiency of these value systems in providing cities adequate for human use and habitation. The missing element may be a human value system: a value system that would place human use of space in the city at the center of city making. This system would, at the very least, provide tools by which to plan and design for connection and openness more explicitly. In the best case, adding a human value system to the other value systems acting on the city could provide a new method for reorganizing space to the benefit of all value systems.

Each of the value systems described contains a set of priorities, assumptions or lenses through which the city is viewed. This bias directly affects the way the city evolves. In this chapter, each of the current dominant value systems is discussed. The discussion and description of each may be overly simplistic, but it is an attempt to unpack the priorities and biases that accompany that particular set of values and to connect them to the contemporary conditions of the city. Each description highlights the fact that continuity is the primary root value that is provided for under all of these systems.

None of the value systems is acting alone or as the sole force in the city; ultimately the city is too complex and dynamic to view in such a simplified manner. As the following descriptions of these value systems will illustrate, direct provision for the human in the city is simply not represented within them.
HUMAN VALUE SYSTEM
HUMANIZING VALUES

FOCUS ON:
CONNECTION, OPENNESS
BALANCED WITH CONTINUITY

ARTICULATED THROUGH:
MEANING, ACTIVITY

VALUE SYSTEM:
PLACE PRIORITY ON BENEFITS TO THE
HUMAN INHABITANTS OF THE CITY

The inadequacy of many urban environments to provide space for the human is a symptom of the imbalanced provision of the root values described. The root values of connection and openness directly affect the experience and occupation of space by humans, as expressed through shared meaning and activity in the city. It is not enough to plan only for the root value of continuity and expect that connection and openness will be provided for spontaneously.

As has been established, the city is well designed in terms of the root value of continuity; the lack of spaces in the city that are comfortable for the human is not due to a lack of continuity and form. In this way, continuing to focus adjustments of city making through form alone will not produce dramatically different results in urbanism.

In addition to balancing the root values of the city, a human value system would place people at the center of the processes of city making. Using surrogates and appendages of people (i.e., the automobile) to approximate or plan for human use does not create adequate places for humans. Most city-making processes and mechanisms utilize approximations for the human occupying and using space in the city, like housing units, traffic flows, real estate values, or census tracts, but none of these adequately provides for the actual human occupant of public space, as they experience space, in the city.

A human value system would focus on meaning and activity in the city and would look to enhance the human quality of life by highlighting and facilitating these features of the city. A human value system would recognize that the human is the nexus of the three root values of the city and it is at this intersection of continuity, connection and openness that the city could benefit most from focusing on the human. The human is the most viable interface for the three root values to be engaged. No technological advancement or dynamic process will ever match the ability of the human to fluidly negotiate continuity, connection and openness simultaneously. This is the true value of designing more explicitly for the human. Form, meaning and activity come together in the human and the set of three can only be active simultaneously when brought together through a human acting in space.

A human value system would prioritize the needs of people interacting with the city and with other people. It would design for and focus on the activities that occur in space and would direct design of the city through public space to provide for human needs accordingly. In relation to the other value systems, a human value system is a kind of loosening of the demands of the city to provide flexibility for varied use.
of space, anticipation of the dynamic and unpredictable, enhanced interpersonal socialization, tolerance, free movement for all modes of travel, choice, variety, and a general respect for the scale and measure of the individual human. A human value system would search for synergies and productive overlaps temporally in space to produce more dynamic and fluid environments. A human value system in the city is one that enhances socialization and human connection in the city. A human city does not limit human contact and connectedness—many modern cities do not pass this simple test.

Adequate places for humans must be created by explicitly examining those patterns of use, and behavior of people in space, that could highlight how the current structure and organization of the city is hindering those patterns of city life that humans find desirable. A human value system would consider those city elements that directly benefit the human user of the city, as opposed to an economist's abstract models of a city, an engineer's formulaic best practices for the city, a security consultant's risk management in the city, a real estate agent's profitability index for the city, a transportation engineer's mobility calculations of the city or an architect's aesthetic ideals for the city.

The bias toward continuity in all value systems is not an easy obstacle to overcome. Most tangible and quantifiable measures of the city are representative of continuity and most processes of city making attempt to avoid the unpredictability and dynamism of connection and openness. In developing principles for humanizing the city and balancing the root values, new metrics of city making are necessary and new methods and unconventional examination of the use of city space by people is required.

Additionally, a balancing of continuity, connection and openness would not only benefit the priorities of a human value system in the city, but this balance would enhance the potential of all value systems for new achievements. Tools that could more explicitly design for connection and openness would improve the city and provide more robust methods for city making than currently exist.

The humanizing principles that have arisen from this research are adapting spatial containment, restructuring movement, exposing meaning and commonality, attracting density of people, removing separation of uses, increasing overlapping activities, and spatially and temporally scripting and choreographing all of these together. These principles will be investigated further throughout this thesis.
HUMAN VALUE SYSTEM  
HUMAN CITY

CRITERIA:
Balance Root Value of Continuity, Connection and Openness
Public Spaces Care First for Human Needs
Prioritize Movement of the Pedestrian
Fit Public Spaces to Human Scale and Activity
All Public Spaces in the City are Active and Functional Places
Enhance Opportunity for Social Connection in Public Space
All Public Spaces are Designed to Enhance Human Experience

On some level, all of the value systems discussed are providing for the human in the city. After all, each is a system created by people, presumably for the benefit of other people. However, as will be shown, other motives and priorities direct those value systems and often the needs of a human acting in the city are secondary, or are an afterthought, or are not considered at all.

The human value system justifies actions in the city based upon the needs of the pedestrian, the individual person, the loiterer in a public space, the commuter, the resident, the office worker, the elderly retiree and the child. That is quite a large list of individual stakeholders in the city that can't possibly agree upon specific elements comprising the environment. A human value system endeavors to create a better city for all people and may not provide for each specifically, but in improving the city for the human, all would benefit collectively. This description may now seem vague, but it is the intent of this research to derive principles that would define and make specific the human value system and to test those principles to discover if the result is indeed a more human city.

The citywide scale is not the human scale. Perhaps incrementally the adaptations of a human value system would add up to change at the citywide level, but overall the organization of the city may not change drastically. A human cannot move across the large distances of a city efficiently unaided; this is not a nostalgic beckoning to the past, or a call for walkable distances only. Although not dealing explicitly with the citywide scale, some adjustments at that level may occur. For instance, in the humanized city, no place should be accessible only by automobile. This adjustment would impact a large amount of the way a city is organized.

At the scale of the city block, a human value system has a much greater impact. Foremost, the spaces between buildings, roads, setbacks, and other elements of public space (which are the focus of the other value systems) become secondary, as the focus of the public realm becomes those spaces that are designated for the human. All of the other city structures adapt to the human spaces, instead of the human receiving the leftovers. This would mean that the public spaces of a city would become more human-scaled and fitted to the activity of people. Additionally the openness (activity) and connection (meaning) of interactions between people become another primary concern.

Developing the organization of the city from the perspective of well fitted, functional and activated public spaces could change the form of the city entirely or could have little effect on a particular place. A human value system deviates from the other
value systems in this way; it is not a set of standards and rules that can be applied to every city in the same way. A human value system would provide city spaces for humans depending on the patterns of use and needs of the people of a particular city and mix of cultures. This specificity would not only result in more interesting and varied cities, but also provides the potential to further enhance the city from a human perspective, as well as allows the other value systems to adapt and innovate based upon these new contextual parameters.

The human city is primarily about human experience. This experience is shaped by the physical elements of the city, the activities within the city and the relationships and connections between people and places. The human city places as much importance in narrative and tolerance as it does in beauty and predictability.

FIGURE 2: Diagram of a human value system, placing priority on the design of public space as required for human use and experience.
HUMAN VALUE SYSTEM
BENEFITS OF THE HUMAN CITY

“The issue of “human sustainable city” development becomes more and more relevant worldwide. In our age, in which for the first time in human history most of the world population now lives in cities, the risk is of a world of dehumanizing cities.”

— Luigi Fusco Girard
Evaluation in Planning, 2006

The world has recently passed the threshold of fifty percent of the total population of humanity now living in cities (United Nations, 2008). This fact alone is enough to necessitate new thinking about how the city is explicitly providing, and creating, an environment for the human. Today, the cities may be growing by necessity of growing population and migration to opportunities, or because some view cities as the most sustainable form of human settlement, but the city must be refocused as a place for humans or the massive population of the world that lives in them will be marginalized.

Additionally, after decades of shrinking city populations and suffering city economies, cities have recently enjoyed a new popularity and rejuvenation. This shift is especially tangible in North America, where cities are now seeing rebounding populations, popularity as cultural, economic and consumer centers, and increases in density and in alternatives to automobile transportation. It could be argued that the main attraction of the city center today is the amenity and atmosphere of the environment. Now more than any other time in history, cities are not critical for industry, commerce or business. In fact, many businesses have left urban centers for less costly suburban operations. Recognizing this fact places humanizing the city at the center of those city strategies that are relevant in producing vital and successful places. The era of the human city has seemingly already arrived, but the city is still operating under the guidance of the older value systems.

Most indications point to cities being a vital part of our settlement patterns for the foreseeable future and they will increase in size and density in the years to come. As resources on the planet diminish and populations flourish, the form of the city may have to be adjusted to new realities. It may not be through technological innovations, optimization and improvement of the current city form that pressure on our planet is alleviated, although many of these measures are currently improving the functioning of cities. The true innovations and adjustments to the organization of the city may be found in returning to a design that is more centered on the origins of human settlement to provide a habitat for the human. This shift may be a necessary one from the constant trajectory to move forward and advance. A more human city is not a reversion or a move backward, but more of a move in a different direction. It is a reprioritization that would not eliminate all other systems influencing the city, but it would guide them in a way that places the human at the center.

To provide an overview of the value systems to be adjusted in the humanization of the city, a brief description of these priorities as they operate in the American city follow.
VALUE SYSTEMS

FIGURE 3: Diagram of economic development as a value system, based on the "highest and best use," encouraging maximum building density, building height, and floor plate

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Arguably the most dominant value system in the city today, economic development of the city, is a difficult value system to resist. Motives of profit, economy, job creation, land value or growth are difficult to argue against when used as justification for actions in the city. In this description, economic development entails all of those city issues that relate to, but are not limited to, the following: economy, real estate, land use, land value, job creation, businesses and consumption.

At the city scale, this value system prioritizes continuity above the other root values. Connection and openness are less important when reliability and predictability in the city bring stability to elements of economic development. Predictability is of primary importance to speculation, and the disciplines of economic development depend upon it. Another major assumption of economic development is that growth is always desirable and should be constantly pursued and facilitated.

In this general, citywide context, economic development has very tangible effects at the human scale of the city block and the structure of public space. As shown in the diagram above, the impetus for growth and maximization of land values is motivation enough to maximize building height, density and floor plates. While not the dominant focus, the street network should be adequate to provide a free flow for commerce and access to opportunities. Each of these elements is distilled back to the root value of continuity.

Connection and openness, or meaning and activity, are desirable only if they can be managed and produced in such a way that is predictable and enhances the economic success of the other assets described above. These root values are seldom the focus of economic development, but sometimes utilized as a tool to enhance investments that are more squarely focused on continuity.
FIGURE 4: Diagram of transportation as a value system, encouraging maximum street width and grid, attempting to ensure accessibility, with a modal bias for the automobile

TRANSPORTATION

Transportation is perhaps the second most dominant value system to economic development in terms of impacting the form of the city and is often viewed as facilitating development. Certainly for the past fifty years, transportation, by way of the influences of the automobile, has impacted the organization of the city immensely. Transportation is emboldened by values of individual choice, comfort, convenience, mobility and, some would argue, freedom. In this description, transportation is narrowed primarily to automobile transport, a narrowing commensurate with the single-minded concerns of the disciplines of transportation that focus mainly on the movement of vehicles (although this is beginning to change).

At the scale of the city, highways and parking are two of the most land hungry, modern enterprises to support transportation. The highways and road systems facilitate a dispersal of the city and mandate a size and scale of urbanism that is not complementary to human use. Planning for the automobile has been seen as a surrogate for planning for humans, with a dehumanizing city effect.

The effects of transportation at the scale of the city block are markedly different. The transportation value system advocates for increasing the road network, both in number of streets and in the width of those streets. Each of these desires is an attempt to increase mobility and decrease congestion. The street network is a system of the root value of continuity in the city. Engineering transportation depends on the prediction and reliable forecasting of traffic flow and volume. The effect of transportation at the block scale is favorable to the human, if the street is viewed as public space; thus this value system is a constant advocate for public space in the city.

Connection and openness are not as neglected by the transportation value system, in that a system of mobility is explicitly making connections and generally openly accessible. However, the transportation system is generally devoid of meaning and activity is restricted to that of transport-only within its rights-of-way and tied to a particular technology.
**EFFICIENCY**

A value system that is often present in every decision made in the city, efficiency is highly influential. A legacy of modernism, efficiency is a value system that developed directly from the conception of the city as a machine. Today, efficiency is increasingly important in a time of diminishing resources. This value system includes optimizing land use, commute times, housing and office-building stocks, economy and transportation. Efficiency may apply to many other value systems, but in many ways the fervent pursuit of efficiency in the city has become an end to itself. The efficiencies described in this value system are narrowly focused and produce inefficiencies when the city is viewed more holistically.

At the city scale, this value system prioritizes continuity most directly and endeavors to optimize the features of the city's continuity to bring about enhancements of efficiency. In this manner, efficiency is a dangerous value system, being both the means and the end for itself. Many other important value systems in the city can be harmed in the name of efficient operation. Additionally, when coupled with other complementary value systems, efficiency can inadvertently amplify the harmful aspects associated with another value system. Efficiency coupled with economic development may lead to overscaled and massive building areas or heights. Efficiency coupled with transportation may lead to highways cutting through the center of an urban fabric.

At the block scale diagrammed above, efficiency tends to widen streets, elevate highways above the inefficient mess of the city life, enlarge and heighten buildings and separate uses. A separation of uses allows each use to be optimized and operated efficiently free from other encumbrances. Efficiency does not pause for connection or meaning and is often opposed to openness and activity that is seen to impede the efficient functioning of multiple uses that operate best when separated.

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**FIGURE 5:** Diagram of efficiency as a value system, encouraging maximum infrastructure (as illustrated by the elevated highway), balanced with maximum buildable area.
SECURITY AND CONTROL

Historically, a very strong value system for urban form in creating fortified settlements, security and control has experienced a contemporary revival and exerts a strong influence on urban form today. Today, the threat of terrorism has given rise to a new set of urban concerns and priorities. Security and control includes barricades around public buildings, bollards at streets, security setbacks for buildings, blast-proof ground floors and other measures to protect the city and its inhabitants against attack. Other elements of this value system may not originate from concerns of security, but more from control. Zoning, solar access laws, form-based codes and others measures are examples of a value system of control and, on some level, a value system of security that protects against unpredictability.

At the city scale, this value system places nearly all focus on the root value of continuity. Connection and openness are explicitly avoided, as they may pose a security threat. Continuity, form and predictability are those measures of control that can produce a city that reduces the unexpected and thereby increases safety.

At the more human, block scale of the city, security and control has very real implications that often result in restrictive and stifling spaces. The movement and free flow of people is seen as a threat and is therefore reduced and controlled. Secure access to public buildings reduces the openness and transparency of those buildings; bollards, planters and other protective devices give many buildings an ambience of a protective fortress and the rise of surveillance reduces the likelihood of connection and openness in public space. Many of the priorities of this value system are in direct opposition to providing a place conducive to human use. This particular value system counteracts many of those elements of the city that bring life and vitality to the public realm. In this way, more than the other value systems described, security and control may be the most difficult to negotiate in advocating for a city of connection and openness.
FIGURE 7: Diagram of aesthetics and spectacle as a value system, encouraging maximum separation between buildings and building height to enhance the buildings as an object of art.

AESTHETICS AND SPECTACLE

Perhaps the least dominant of the value systems discussed, aesthetics and spectacle deserves mention for their influence on the organization of the city and ability to obscure some of the other value systems. Largely the purview of the design professions, this value system provides methods of both continuity and connection in the city by bringing people together through the common experience of the physical environment. As such, the value system of aesthetics and spectacle has quite tangible consequences on the organization and experience of the city. The value system can be applied two different ways. Spectacle prefers the building as a stand-alone object that can be designed unencumbered by other artistic visions. Spectacle encourages novel organizations of form and space, with novelty sometimes an end unto itself. Aesthetics can be more generally applied to the city and refers to the city as fabric and a continuous visual background. Framed in this manner, aesthetics fits better within the humanized city, contributing to a harmonious and connective physical environment to frame human use.

At the city scale, this value system places most focus on continuity and form, highlighting the creation of beautiful forms and objects. Depending on the design and the arrangement of space, connection may benefit from this value system through connection to a theme, narrative or meaning in the city. Although, spectacle is usually driven more by ego than shared communal meaning.

At the block scale of the city, a value system that is devoted to the building as an object, such as spectacle, is highly disruptive to the urban fabric. Blocks generally become overscaled and walking distances too long. Buildings may become strange, idiosyncratic shapes or building heights may grow too large in giant sculptural towers.

The value system of aesthetics and spectacle, when applied in tandem with one of the other value systems, may produce brilliant results and enable excellent city making. Aesthetics and spectacle must be harnessed as an enhancement to the other, sometimes less visually pleasing, value systems to be relevant and effective and must avoid becoming too subjective or ego-driven.
The value systems of the contemporary city do not adequately balance the root values of continuity, connection and openness. This thesis narrows the focus from all value systems that influence city making to examining the human value system specifically and its effects on public space in the city.

First, justification is given for focusing on public space in the city as the realm of the human and using it as the territory to investigate the humanized city. Second, a brief overview of the research in the field of human cities is provided. Third, the festival is established as an experimental moment in the city when the human value system is most active in shaping the use of the city. To conclude, the use of case studies in this research is discussed, including their selection, methodology and the analytical framework used to compare and draw conclusions from them.
PUBLIC SPACE

"Everyone in the world use public space: as soon as you leave your home and walk into the street, or square, or path outside, you are in a public space. In this sense, the public realm is one of the few services that every single person benefits from: whether rich or poor, young or old." . . .

This investigation examines public space through the lens of the human and attempts to understand the shortcomings of public space as it is currently provided in the city. A set of principles that can be defended as having a humanizing effect will address these shortcomings.

As has already been shown in the discussion above, this investigation is primarily concerned with cities. While it is hoped that the research and principles discovered could apply to other contexts, like the suburb, this investigation deals primarily with dense the urban core. In the city, the primary locale for human use is public space and any principle that aims to humanize the city will likely be one applied to the design and functioning of public space. More specifically, this research focuses on the use of public space in the city and the adaptation of that use during a festival event. The festival will be discussed in more detail in the sections that follow.

Public space is intended to include plazas, squares, sidewalks, surface streets and roads, and any outdoor space that is left between buildings that is not restricted for heavy infrastructure and is not privately owned. This is the public realm of the city where the public life of citizens is lived and where all public behavior and interactions of humans can be observed.

Public space, especially the street, is a highly contested space in the city. Public space is that portion of the city where all of the root values, continuity, connection and openness, come together creating the most drastic compromises and the most productive synergies. It is the space in the city in which all value systems exert forces upon each other, and position and arrange the city to best serve the needs of their particular priorities.

It should be noted that streets, in terms of surface area, comprise a large proportion of the public space in a city. In addition to this fact, many festivals actually take place in public streets. The differences between the normal and festival conditions of street use are the most dramatic. Accordingly, the street is the primary public space that is investigated in the festival case studies presented here in this thesis.

Framing the investigation in this manner focuses the examination of public space on how well it is serving the needs of those people that use it. This focus is necessary to highlight the needs and demands of humans in space, a sorely underserved element of public space and, more broadly, an underrepresented element in the design of cities. While this focus on humans may exaggerate their priority as a consideration in urban design, this exaggeration is necessary to formulate humanizing principles that are pure and powerful enough to negotiate with the other value systems in the city that dominate today.
... “So what is a good public space? Although good spaces are difficult to achieve, in one sense it is surprisingly easy to know when they are successful. A good public space is one that is full of people, a place that tempts those people to slow down, to stop, to chat, or simply to watch the world go by, a place that enriches the lives of those who use it.”

--Sarah Gaventa
*New Public Spaces*, 2006

In this research, public space is important for several other reasons. It is the primary space that provides the core opportunity for social interaction with the broader public in the city. If the contemporary city is biased toward continuity, these spaces of social interaction in the city are the principal sites for reemphasizing connection and openness. Additionally, humans are not only interacting with each other in public space, but also interacting with the city itself and interfacing with the physical form and other elements of the city. It is in this setting that humans have the potential to influence the other systems of the city. As argued below, the festival is an example of exactly this—people influencing the systems of the city with a temporal event. Lastly, public space is the setting for the festival in the city. The primary feature of this research is the festival; all of the festivals analyzed, and most festivals that exist, take place in public spaces in their respective cities.

By examining the use of public space in this way and through the development of principles for the improvement of public space, a more robust and varied set of tools can be established to provide for the human in the city. This expanded set of principles and tools would provide opportunities to move beyond the typical notion of adding amenity to public space in the way of benches, banners and planters. By fundamentally examining the use and arrangement of public space, the value systems that shape it, and the use and behavior of humans when given a chance to dominate that space, the city can be designed in such a way that values humans in the organization and formulation of public space rather than simply as an afterthought.
PUBLIC SPACE
LITERATURE REVIEW

A substantial amount of writing and research has discussed the benefits of designing places, cities or buildings more directly around the people who inhabit them. Generally, humanism is a well-known subject that has received attention from a variety of disciplines. As discussed in Chapter 1, the root values, upon which the argument for this thesis is based, originate in Kevin Lynch’s *Good City Form*. Lynch himself is regarded as a humanist urban theorist. Curiously, though, a focus on the human in the city does not enjoy wide popularity today. However, there is a lineage of urban thinkers and writers that continue this valuable line of thought upon which much of the research and thinking presented herein is based.

Widely thought to be the originator of this form of investigation into the human use of space was William H. Whyte. Whyte was the director of the Street Life Project in New York City in the 1970’s. The project endeavored to observe and understand how individuals use public space in New York City and resulted in the influential book and film entitled *The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces*. The research was the first to attempt to quantify and measure the ways in which people use space and behave in it. This research provided a basis upon which to design for people and to not allow provision for people to be simply a byproduct of other value systems.

In this same lineage of thinking, Donald Appleyard, a humanist urban planner, wrote much regarding the notion of livable streets and coauthored *The View from the Road* with Kevin Lynch. Appleyard believed that as streets are public spaces they should also be a place for people. Similarly, Allen Jacobs has promoted the notion of streets as vital public spaces for people and has produced a methodology for documenting streets in his widely published reference book *Great Streets*. Amos Rapoport researched the connections between culture, built environment and human behavior; he wrote *Human Aspects of Urban Form: Towards a Man-Environment Approach to Urban Form and Design* and is one of the founders of the field of Environment-Behavior Studies.

The Project for Public Spaces (PPS) is a non-profit organization in New York City advocating for quality Public Spaces in the cities around the world and places emphasis on the needs of people in space. The founder of PPS, Fred Kent, was a researcher with William Whyte on the *Street Life Project*. The organization is making great progress in prioritizing the creation of good public places in the city.

The contemporary leader of this intellectual lineage, and still a highly influential urban design consultant, is Jan Gehl. With his teams from Copenhagen, Gehl has researched the use of public spaces by people and argues for the importance of considerations of public life in the design and organization of cities. Gehl has written numerous books highlighting the importance of designing space for people, beginning with his *Life Between Buildings*. An excerpt from Ralph Erskine’s foreword to that book highlights Gehl’s importance in this realm of thinking, “Jan Gehl was one of those lone protagonists for the humane values that he so excellently studies, formulates and illustrates.” Gehl continues to consult for cities worldwide and advocates for spaces centered on the human.
FESTIVAL
HUMANIZING FESTIVAL

Framed within the context of the humanized city and at the scale of the public space as outlined above, festivals are a relevant moment when the human value system supersedes all other demands on the city. Festivals are a time when people occupy space in the city in a different way than the normal condition. This unique, human occupation of space represents a latent need for prioritizing people in public space, reflecting improvements that could be made to the built environment and shortcomings of the current city in regard to human need and use. In the context of this research, the festival is an opportunity to examine how people occupy space, if given more freedom than ordinarily afforded in the city.

For the purpose of this research, the festival is defined as any event that occurs annually in a consistent fashion, has a fixed history with a continuity of traditions that leave a lasting memory and lend meaning to a place, even when the event is over. Festivals connect a community to historical narratives, commemorative events, or taboo, mythical or fantastical subjects, or simply bring people together in celebration. The festival as a cultural event is an intriguing anthropological and social occurrence, but this research focuses on the festival as an urban event with patterns of use and behavior that have implications on the physical environment.

Festivals have a long history as examples of temporary experiments in urban design and city development and will be viewed in the same way in this investigation. This temporary change is commensurate with the need of a society at that time. The festival may provide a setting to revolt against oppression, express communal or individual desires, revive hidden cultural meanings and values, emphasize power and control, or chart new courses of change.

Festivals provide "gray areas" in cities in which boundaries and territories are normally fixed and well defined. These gray areas provide a space that is more tolerant of varied use. It is the primary mechanism by which the festival disrupts the dominance of the root value of continuity in the city. The festival is a unique moment in that it engages all three root values of continuity, connection and openness. In this way, it departs from the current dominant value systems in the city and rebalances the root values temporarily. A festival may break from continuity by adapting or amending the physical form of the city and may also disrupt or alter the normal patterns and modes of movement in the city. This allows room for connection and openness during the festival event.

The festival is an opportunity for connection to be highlighted in the city. The festival as an event of connection is obvious: the festival connects people to other people, connects people to meaning, to history and to tradition. In addition, the festival connects events, places and meaning to one another. The festival is a unique occasion for connection, especially as it relates to connecting implicit meanings, values and traditions that are made explicit in these celebrations between people. The connections that occur through the festival event can be lasting and influential beyond the scope of the event itself. Often a certain public place in the city, a communal narrative, or source of community pride is formed through this singular event. Connections are evoked each time a memory of the event is sparked.

The festival is also a great occasion for the root value of openness to be expressed.
“Fleeting as it may seem, an annual festival provides a subconsciously experienced time structure that lends a sense of durability and continuity to city life.”

Karin Bacon
The Rhythm of City Life
The City As a Stage, 1983

The festival is, in effect, the temporary creation of spaces of tolerance in cities that are usually intolerant of unconventional behavior. As discussed, many of the value systems depend upon predictability to operate well and this predictability makes openness quite difficult. While the festival is certainly choreographed and predictable, it does create an openness to varied uses of space, to more tolerant social interactions, and to a blurring of traditional boundaries. The openness of the use of space and behavior of individuals that accompanies the festival is the source of its power as a transformative event. The openness is the key to the event as an experimental moment when change can be tested in the city.

FIGURE 8: Diagram of the difference between Normal and Festival conditions, this change in use is investigated through the festival case studies as illustrated here for Macy’s Thanksgiving Day Parade (facing page)

Further illustration for the festival as a humanizing event is found at the intersection of continuity, connection and openness. The human is the interface for the three root values during the occasion of the festival. This positions the human as the most important element of the city temporarily. This positioning is unique among the value systems discussed, which have some other technological appendage, like the automobile, the building or another more predictable and measurable feature as their most important element. In the event of the festival, the human explicitly connects continuity with connection and openness and is at the center of decisions made in the organization of the city.
Examining what it means to humanize the city is far too broad a topic to analyze in depth or to critically test. This research has narrowed the investigation to the festival's human adaptations of public space. It is prudent to briefly note what this research is not attempting to do.

This thesis is not proposing that all public space should be filled with festivals all the time, or that all human interaction and social connection should be made through the festival. In fact, while remaining the subject of the research, the festival is not even the focus. The festival is viewed as a means to examine how people may use space differently, if given more freedom in controlling and changing the way it is organized. With that said, subjects such as the Olympics, World Expositions and Disney World may share certain similarities with the festival, but they are irrelevant to this research. These subjects often occur in isolated areas, separated from the normal functioning of the city and would therefore constitute an entirely different kind of investigation.

The festival case study is used as a tool in this research with great care and it may be helpful to make a few other qualifications upfront. It is understood that people come together to behave differently during a festival; this unusual behavior is sanctioned precisely because it is a special and temporary event. Additionally, festivals are a unique event in bringing people together, but it is often a homogenous group of revelers, with a common background, or the event itself bringing them together. As such, festivals may represent a unique set of culturally specific conditions that originate from escapist desires and are therefore not ideal for deriving universal principles. Lastly, the level of activity and energy of the festival is such that no city could ever sustain that type of behavior perpetually or could function if those temporary celebrations were expanded.

All of these points have been considered and are addressed by the structure of this investigation. These qualifications notwithstanding, the festival remains as a powerful event in which normal patterns in the city are interrupted and those value systems that dominate are minimized as humans control the space. The humanizing principles developed from the festival case studies can produce humanized public space that could potentially be a place of activity or a place of respite, or somewhere in between.
To explore the nature of festival as a force to humanize the city, three sets of case studies were examined with two festivals in each set. Each pair was purposefully selected and coupled to illustrate one of the root values, continuity, connection and openness. The case studies represent a variety of festivals by origin (i.e., secular, religious, commercial), by type (i.e., concentrated procession, concentrated nodal, dispersed procession, dispersed nodal) and by location (i.e., Barcelona, Mumbai, New York City).

Interestingly, all of the host cities for the festival case studies could be considered relatively human cities in the world. The success of the festivals as a humanizing event owes somewhat to the amenability and already humanized nature of the city context. A variety of host cities was desirable in the selection of case studies to illustrate that there are any number of ways to humanize the city. The variety of festivals examined broadens the principles derived from them and allows the principles to be generalized.
RESEARCH TERRITORY
FESTIVAL CASE STUDIES

METHODOLOGY

An observational collection of data and facts was assembled regarding each festival case study to provide a basis for comparison. A mapping of the location of the festivals, in their respective city contexts, examined the amount of the city affected by the festival and its general effect on the city (i.e., road closures, crowd gatherings, the procession route, adaptation of the city and streets).

The analysis of the adaptation of space was built upon an examination of photographs, videos and other accounts of the festival event focusing on the behavior and interactions of festival participants, the use of city space and the change of use or pattern from baseline normal use in the typical public space. The baseline of normal use of space was also established using photographs, videos and written accounts of the city and its operation under normal circumstances.

The primary tool for analyzing the festival was a diagrammatic perspective of the city block. As this research is regarding human experience, this type of diagram is most illustrative of the human perspective and spatial experience.

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

The primary goal of this study of festival is to discover principles to humanize the city. The analytical framework examines how the use of space differs from normal conditions to festival conditions in the city. The normal condition should illustrate a bias toward continuity and the festival condition should illustrate a better balance between continuity, connection and openness.

Each case study was analyzed through a series of diagrams that depict the festival adaptation using the following metrics: Spatial Containment, Movement, Common Experience, Density of People, Separation of Uses and Grain of Activity. These metrics of use of space illustrate the root values and uncover the changes in use that occur during the festival event. Each one of these metrics is associated with one of the root values.

Spatial Containment refers to the volume of space that the street width and building heights create and its fit with the amount of activity and density of people in that space. Spatial containment nearly always changes during the occasion of a festival, either explicitly through the adaptation of form or implicitly through the increase in the number of people and activity in the space. The spatial containment can either increase or decrease depending on the arrangement of the public space and festival. Spatial containment applies to the form of the city and is therefore an illustration of the root value of continuity. As an illustration of continuity, this is a conventional metric in terms of urban design.

Movement is an obvious metric, in this case referring to the patterns of movement of people in public space. Other forms
of movement exist in most of the spaces studied; most public spaces and streets are active with automobile, bicycle and public transit movement. As this research is regarding the humanization of space, and festivals are an event that is centered on the human, movement refers to the freedom of movement for the pedestrian. Freedom of human movement was found to either increase or decrease depending on the situation. Movement is a system of the city that prioritizes the root value of continuity and is a system that dominates current urban design decisions, although not necessarily human movement.

**FIGURE 10:** Diagram of Festival Case Studies Matrix, Root Values and Analytical Metrics

*Common Experience* is a metric that attempts to capture the elements of the urban experience that are the focus of attention for individuals on the street. This metric is closely related to William Whyte's term, triangulation, describing the fact that two strangers can interact more easily when given a third object or event with which to relate. When the focus of attention of all the individuals is on a common element, as during a festival, the likelihood of social connection, shared experiences and meaning are greatly enhanced. The focus of attention on the street in the normal condition is quite dispersed and does not provide much of a common experience for people in a public
space. In the festivals examined the focus of attention is enhanced and concentrated to foster a common experience amongst strangers. Common experience is a measure of the root value of connection. While not as conventional a measure as those above, it is a valid measure to approximate the root value of connection and the presence of meaningful narrative in the city.

*Density of People* is another more obvious metric and refers simply to the amount of people in any given public space. The amount and density of people in a space often increases during a festival. By the very nature of crowds, unplanned and serendipitous contact with other people is increased and enhanced when there are a larger number of people in close proximity. As mentioned above, the density of people also affects the perception of spatial containment. The festival event draws people together and occupies public spaces more with people. The density of people is the other measure of the root value of connection and further ensures that social interaction will occur in a public space.

*Separation of Uses* is an attempt to analyze how the public space is utilized and organized by zones of use. Public spaces generally produce predictable patterns of use and can be divided into zones. The separation of uses and zoning use are concepts that are very familiar to urban planning and organization of the city, but this is an attempt to define zones of activity at a micro-scale on the street level. In the festival case studies examined, the separation of uses both increased and decreased depending on the festival. Separation of uses is a measure of the root value of openness. The festival enhances openness by increasing the tolerant use of public space and blurring the boundaries between uses.

*Grain of Activity* is an attempt to measure the amount of activities and the proximity of those activities to each other. If many activities occur in a space concurrently and close together, that would be a fine grain of activity. If few activities occur over a larger area and are not that close together, it would be a coarse grain of activity. This depiction of grain of activity can get finer or coarser during a festival event depending on the organization of the public space and the festival. The grain of activity is another measure of the root value of openness. The finer the grain of activity the more openness is apparent, implying less control and more tolerance for a varied use of space and an overlap of spatial activity.
CH. 3

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CHAPTER 3

FESTIVAL CASE STUDY ANALYSIS
CONTINUITY (FORM)
PRIMARY FESTIVAL CASE STUDY

FESTIVAL HIGHLIGHTING:
SPATIAL CONTAINMENT
MOVEMENT

FESTIVAL TYPOLOGY:
CONCENTRATED NODAL

FESTIVAL CASE STUDY #1

LA FESTA GRACIA
BARCELONA, CATALONIA, SPAIN

DESCRIPTION

La Festa Gracia is an annual event in Barcelona’s neighborhood district of Gracia. The celebration is the festa major for this neighborhood, originating during Gracia’s time as a rural town independent of Barcelona. The occasion is marked annually by a number of events and celebrations throughout the district, but the highlight of the festival is a contest for the best decorated street. The occupants of different streets in the district compete against each other by decorating their entire street volume according to a theme of their choosing. The elaborate constructions and street decorations are referred to as guarnts. To determine the winner of best decorated street for that year’s festival, each street hosts a party for celebrants and judges. The event is open to everyone and includes many activities that take place simultaneously at various locations throughout the neighborhood. The form and atmosphere of the everyday streets are transformed by the celebration, making this festival an excellent example of a human adaptation of public space.
FIGURE 11: Spain and Catalonia highlighted in global context (41° 23'N, 2° 11'E)

FIGURE 12: Barcelona with the Gracia district highlighted in red

FIGURE 13: Locus map for La Festa Gracia in Barcelona with an aerial photo of the focus area affected with the guarnits highlighted in red; Gracia is identified by its medieval street pattern (facing page)

BARCELONA STATISTICS

| Land area | 38.8 sq mi |
| Population (2006) | 1.67 million* |
| Pop. density (2006) | 40,867 person/sq mi* |
| Other festivals | Dia de Sant Jordi, Festival de Sonar, Festival de Sant Joan, Grec Arts Festival, La Diada, Festes de la Merce |

*according to Barcelona's City Council

FESTIVAL LOCATION

The festival takes place in a neighborhood district of Barcelona, known as Gracia. The boundaries of the festival are well defined, with all of the events concentrated in this neighborhood. The installations of the festival are stationary, with the festival participants circulating throughout the neighborhood while they visit a variety of festival locations and guarnits, or decorated streets. All locations of streets with guarnits are closed for the duration of the festival and accessible only by pedestrians. The majority of festival events take place in public spaces and streets, but a few take place inside neighborhood buildings as well.
FIGURE 15: Use of space and general atmosphere of Barcelona’s Gracia district during normal conditions

FESTIVAL STATISTICS

- date: August 15th to 21st
- duration: 1 week
- origin: cultural/religious, circa 1850 (approx. first appearance of decorated streets)
- festival type: concentrated nodal
- location in city: district of Gracia
- size (attendance): 1 million people
- size (area): 4,500,000 sf (approx)
- general effect: themed streets and squares, decorated streets, themes and other events prepared months in advance, construct guarnits in just 3 days, road closures in district

FIGURE 14: General citywide diagram of the festival centered on the district of Gracia; the activity is concentrated on this node in the city

(Sabate, 2004)
(www.festamajordegracia.cat)
FESTIVAL LOGISTICS

Many different events comprise Festa de Gracia; these range from group dinners, dances, children's games, arts and crafts, parties, musical performances, to fireworks and more. The setting for these activities, and the focus of the festival, are the guarnits. The residents of each participating street choose a theme, construct or direct construction of the temporary environments, and even program and decide upon events to draw people to their street. The festival culminates in the judgement and awarding of the best decorated street.

The street themes, method for implementation and activities are planned many months in advance of the festival by resident groups and neighborhood associations, aided by the Barcelona City Council and the Federation of the festival. Each of the decorated streets is closed to traffic three days in advance of the festival and street decorations are constructed in this short amount of time. The guarnits and the decoration of some larger squares take place throughout the district of Gracia, as do additional festival activities and programs.

Most residents participate in the festival and it draws additional visitors from throughout the region in Spain. The event is open to all, focuses on the connection of places and people in the neighborhood and is undertaken with the modest intention of perpetuating the meaningful narrative and traditions of the community.
FIGURE 17: Barcelona diagram of normal use of space, illustrating Spatial Containment

SPATIAL CONTAINMENT

The normal conditions of spatial containment in the district of Gracia are quite nicely proportioned and human-scaled. The building heights are generally about five stories tall and the street width is modest, with only two lanes of traffic on most non-primary streets throughout the district. The vehicular traffic in the district appears light, with most heavy circulation occurring at its edges. The pedestrian traffic on these streets is also generally light, with the existing sidewalk width providing adequate clearance for walking. The relatively tight spatial volume and sense of enclosure provided by the street is further enhanced by the rhythm of balconies above that create a perception of an implied overhead ceiling plane.

The festival conditions of spatial containment exhibit a further constriction of the already intimate and human-scaled urban street volume. This festival is one of the only examples in which the spatial form of the public space is literally transformed into something altogether different. One of the most effective adaptation techniques employed by the guaritis is the installation of a physical ceiling at a lower height than the perceived line-of-vision ceiling that would exist in the normal conditions of the public space. This lowering of the ceiling and the build-out of the street walls constrict the space of the public street, creating an unmistakably
Beyond the physical adaptations of the space, the streets do become busier during the festival with increased pedestrian volumes, than would otherwise be seen on these streets in the district. This increase in the number of people in the space enhances the feeling of an intimate space that has been spatially constricted. In many ways, it is this very exaggeration of the smallness of urban space that creates the spectacle of the festival. While some of the themes and decorations are quite striking and visualize fantastical and dream-like, ephemeral settings, these stage-sets alone would not likely provide the memorable experiences this event enjoys.

In its exaggeration of spatial containment, La Festa Gracia is an excellent example of engaging and adapting the form of the city, interrupting the dominance of continuity in the city, and subverting often overscaled urban space. Standards of city design regularly encourage ample overscaled solutions over tightly arranged spaces with little tolerance for error. This festival emphasizes the value of the latter.
FIGURE 20: Barcelona diagram of normal use of space, illustrating Movement

MOVEMENT

The normal conditions of movement in the district of Gracia are similar to those conventions of city movement everywhere: streets with cars, sidewalks with people. In its normal conditions, Gracia is pedestrian-friendly in the following ways. Street widths are minimal, usually with only two to three narrow lanes of traffic. Although, the pedestrian has only a narrow, sanctioned right-of-way on the sidewalk, the amount of traffic does not overpower the person in the street space. Crossing the street, due to its narrow widths and light traffic, is not as difficult as in some other places.

However, Gracia is no exception to vehicular dominance and does have a large proportion of its public space and circulation system devoted to the automobile. This bias exemplifies the root value of continuity in the city.

The festival conditions of La Festa Gracia, exaggerate those pedestrian portions of the systems of movement already present in the city. The festival restructures systems of movement to further prioritize the movement of people. This is observed in the temporary constructions of the festival that necessitate the closing of many of the streets and squares to traffic, constricting vehicular movement. In fact, many of the temporal installations constrict the public spaces to such an extent that vehicular movement is impossible. Large
areas of the streets are claimed as human spaces for the duration of the event. Within these temporary pedestrian zones, the human is free to move through the space as they please without fear for safety or consideration of other modes of travel.

The free movement of people brings with it other benefits through this disruption of continuity. When no longer providing for the continuity of other modes of travel, street spaces and squares can become more intimate and human-scaled. The occupation of space can become more social and stationary, encouraging social interaction. Activities occur more closely together, can overlap, and are of a smaller scale. In addition, activities become more dynamic and fluid with less separation between disparate uses. All of these are examples of enhancements in the root values of connection and openness.

La Festa Gracia addresses the dominance of the root value of continuity in the city. Adapting those systems of continuity to a more humanized use, allows the other root values of connection and openness to become more balanced.
FIGURE 23: Barcelona diagrams of normal (left) and festival (right) conditions, illustrating Common Experience

COMMON EXPERIENCE

The normal conditions of common experience in the district of Gracia experience the same difficulties of dispersed attention of most places. However, the proportion and scale of the street allows the district’s public spaces to function with a certain amount of common experience in the homogeneity and order of the environment. The district has a unique atmosphere created by the rhythmic, harmonious and continuous street facades.

La Festa Gracia conditions leave no doubt in the common experience shared by visitors. The temporal installations are coordinated, themed and integrated spectacles that frame and cover the physical form of the normal conditions to a degree that is impossible to ignore.

The common experience is enhanced by those elements of the festival that bring about a disruption in the root value of continuity. In addition, by creating an alternate, absorptive environment for public space, reducing spatial volumes to become more intimate, and prioritizing the movement of people, common experience is enhanced. In this case, common experience comes as a result of the physical adaptations of space.
FIGURE 24: Barcelona diagrams of normal (left) and festival (right) conditions, illustrating Density of People

DENSITY OF PEOPLE

In the district of Gracia, the normal conditions exhibit sidewalks that are comfortably active with people. Though narrow, the size of the sidewalk and street space is amenably fitted to the amount of pedestrian activity. The streets are active and vital, but are not completely filled with people, especially as compared to other dense urban centers.

In the festival conditions, the absolute number of people in space increases, but the amount of space devoted to the pedestrian also increases. While the festival density of people is not extreme, it is enough to increase the intimacy, potential for personal interaction and social connections in public space. In this case, the enhancement of connection through density of people results from the constriction of public space that occurs due to adaptations of the form.

The increased density of people does not have to fill the entire spatial volume with people, because the public space has been adapted and restructured to ensure a human-scaled and intimate social environment.
SEPARATION OF USES

The normal condition of separation of uses in the Gracia district are conventional: the public space is divided into a central vehicular travel zone, flanked by a sidewalk pedestrian travel zone on either side, with an additional zone for occasional pause and other stationary activities along the building frontages. This results in a total of five zones of activity in the public street space that are separated uses. In this context, these zones of use are less rigidly delineated than as will be seen in other case studies.

In the festival condition, the entire public street is devoted to the festival. With the entire street devoted to a single use the space becomes quite homogenous. In addition, all of the festival activities occur at the scale of the individual human. This fact adds a dynamism and fluidity to the activity that occurs. The micro-activities taking place are not separated rigidly; they change dynamically in time and adjust as needed. This improvement in the reduction of separation of uses may be misleading because much of the normal function of the public space has been removed for festival use.
The normal condition of grain of activity follows a similar pattern to that of separation of uses. The street and the sidewalk are the major zones of activity and operate somewhat differently. The street has a coarser grain of activity because it is a space occupied by a single type of activity and the scale of that activity is larger, being devoted solely to vehicular use. The grain of activity of the sidewalk is finer, as several types of activities occupy it and the scale of these multiple activities is smaller being associated with pedestrians.

The festival condition of grain of activity once again adapts the space to allow the street to function as a whole, from building to building. The realm of the pedestrian is expanded to the street, expanding with it the finer grain of activity.

This adjustment in grain of activity is not the focus of the festival, nor the primary element of the event, but it comes as a result of the primary adaptations of the root value of continuity in the city.
CONTINUITY (FORM)
SECONDARY FESTIVAL CASE STUDY

FESTIVAL HIGHLIGHTING:
SPATIAL CONTAINMENT
MOVEMENT

FESTIVAL TYPOLOGY:
DISPERSED PROCESSION

FESTIVAL CASE STUDY #2

CARNAVAL
SALVADOR, BAHIA, BRAZIL

DESCRIPTION

Carnaval is an annual festival event with religious origins that occurs during the four days before Ash Wednesday. It is a time of revelry and feast to mark the beginning of the religious season of Lent, a time of fasting and repentance. The festival takes place in many cities in the world, but Salvador is unique in its lack of differentiation between participant and observer, and in its expansive adaptation of space in the city center. The festival is known for its street processions, samba and samba-reggae dancing, musical performances, giant parties known as barracas and immense crowds in the streets and squares of the city. Salvador has three processions led by a variety of Carnaval clubs, called blocos, and giant amplified music trailers called trio eletricos. Unique to this celebration, anyone can join in the dancing and parading through the streets in celebration. The festival is a great example of an event in which people are the primary mechanism for adaptation of the city, and the focus of the spectacle themselves. The event is open to anyone and marked by huge masses of humanity that disrupt the continuity of the city by sheer human will.
CARNIVAL
SALVADOR, BRAZIL
Carnaval adapts the use of the city in much of Salvador’s center. Activity is concentrated along the three routes of the street processions. These three Carnaval circuits are the Campo Grande to Praca Castro Alves Circuit (also called “Osmar” or “Avenidas”), the Barra to Ondina Circuit (also called “Dodo”), and the Pelourinho Circuit (also called “Batatinha”).

“Osmar” is the original Carnaval circuit from the 1950’s; the procession takes about six hours to complete. “Dodo” was added in 1992 and now competes with the original route in popularity, attracting the large blocos, or Carnaval clubs. The “Dodo” procession is completed in about four hours. Recently added, the “Batatinha” circuit is different from the others, without any trio eletricos playing loud music. This procession has marching bands and costumed people and children.

The three routes are not in direct proximity to each other and each of them has its own atmosphere and ambience. However, all three contribute to the complete occupation of Salvador by the millions of revelers during the festival.
FIGURE 29: Use of space and general atmosphere of Salvador during normal conditions

FIGURE 30: Use of space and general atmosphere of Salvador during the festival conditions of Carnaval

FESTIVAL STATISTICS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Mid to late February, immediately before Ash Wednesday</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Duration</td>
<td>About 1 week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Origin</td>
<td>Religious, circa 1884 (street events begin), 1950 (trio eletricos introduced to street)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Festival type</td>
<td>Dispersed procession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location in city</td>
<td>City center, 3 routes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Size (attendance)</td>
<td>2 million people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Size (area)</td>
<td>Several miles of streets and square miles of city affected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General effect</td>
<td>Massive crowds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spectacle</td>
<td>Massive crowds, open floats, trio eletricos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning</td>
<td>Rehearsals and street closings</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The major elements of the festival are the street processions with the blocos, trio eletricos and the street parties, called barracas. Each of the blocos has a trio, a large trailer with giant speakers, stages and performances, and a large group of people moving slowly with the trio inside of a roped area they carry and form themselves. Most anyone can pay to join a bloco. The crowds, known as pipoca (popcorn), on the other side of the moving roped area are just as involved in the street procession and move and circulate as well, alongside the roped off blocos.

Large police stands and towers are erected along all routes and the streets are heavily patrolled by police officers moving through the crowds in long single file lines. Theft and pickpocketing occurs frequently during the events, as well as other fights and disruptions. Although known for its class equality as a street festival, some avoid the intensity of the crowds in camarotes, private viewing boxes. They are temporarily built, framing the street along portions that do not have proper building frontage, and rented for a view from above the fray.

(www.bahia-online.net/Carnival.htm)
(www.carnaval.com/cityguides/brazil/salvador)
FIGURE 31: Salvador diagrams of normal (left) and festival (right) conditions, illustrating Spatial Containment

SPATIAL CONTAINMENT

The older district of Salvador has low building heights and wide streets, reasonably scaled to the human. Under normal conditions, the street volume’s spatial containment isn’t very constrained or perceived as very well enclosed.

The adaptation of spatial containment during Carnaval is quite different from that described during La Festa Gracia; Carnaval’s adaptation is due to the amount of people in space. However, the adjustments do achieve a similar effect—increasing the perceived enclosure and constricton of public space. Carnaval highlights the adaptation of space explicitly through the patterns of use and domination of people.

In the festival condition of Salvador, the spatial containment of public spaces is severely constricted by huge crowds. This volumetric constriction is compared to spaces in the city under normal conditions that are quite open and sparsely populated. The wide streets of Salvador are quite adequate for the amount of people and activity that they contain normally, but are pushed to their limits during Carnaval.

Carnaval subverts the normal patterns of the city and manipulates the root value of continuity. None of the other predictable systems of the city can operate during the festival condition. Carnaval is one of the festivals that truly shows the power humanity has to temporarily control the organization of the city and completely disrupt those systems of the city that maintain the root value of continuity.
MOVEMENT

The normal conditions of movement in Salvador are a reflection of the city's prioritization of the root value of continuity, allowing for free movement of vehicles and people. In the city center, Salvador reasonably provides for the free movement of people with streets that are not too difficult to cross, mild conditions of traffic and a generally pedestrian-scaled environment. However, those elements of movement devoted to the vehicle and to efficiency are still given priority as evidenced by a large proportion of the public space corridors occupied by street widths and city patterns focused on the quick and easy flow of automobiles.

In the festival condition of Carnaval, movement is completely disrupted. The whole of public space in the city is occupied and dominated by crowds of people. All vehicular traffic is disrupted in large areas of the city center. Efficiency of movement, even for the pedestrian, is not only removed as a priority, but made nearly impossible if moving against the procession. No movement, in any part of the city affected by Carnaval, is quick or purposeful. Carnaval ensures not only a focus on the human, but ensures focus on the human as a mechanism for disruption of continuity in the city.

The realm of movement in the city is taken from the isolated and efficient rights-of-way for travel and given entirely to a form of integrated and slow movements that are connected to the human in pace, scale, and rhythm. The ebb and flow of crowds is dynamic and unpredictable as the festival moves through the city. The patterns of movement have been turned upside down from the predictable and engineered system of continuity.
COMMON EXPERIENCE

In Salvador, the normal conditions of common experience are similar to most other cities, with many demands on a person's attention diffusing any ability to have a discernible shared experience between people in public space. However, one historic district in the center of Salvador, Pelourinho, does perform better than most places in producing a common experience for residents and visitors. This is the historic cultural center of the city, a World Heritage Site, and it derives its enhanced ability to elicit shared experiences through the continuity of its colonial Portuguese architecture. This setting is more amenable to a common experience than the normal conditions of most other case study cities. Creating connections between people with shared meaningful activity can enhance the type of common experience that is elicited from the static form of the built environment.

In the festival condition of Carnaval, bringing people together in meaningful activity enhances the common experience. The celebration and experience of Carnaval lends meaning and shared experience to the built environment. In this case, the event itself is not one of completely common experience. There are distinctions of experience and perception depending on one's location and level of participation in the event. Revelers can pay to walk with the trio eletricos in a bloco, can watch outside of the bloco's rope line for free, or pay the most money for a bird's eye view above the messiness of the celebration from a camarote. Even though, individual experiences may vary, Carnaval remains a shared event for the community, through the power of humanity in the streets and provides a lasting memory in the environment.
FIGURE 34: Salvador diagrams of normal (left) and festival (right) conditions, illustrating Density of People

DENSITY OF PEOPLE

In the normal conditions, the density of people is relatively sparse in Salvador's public spaces. In these circumstances, the density of people does not contribute to connection or enhance the ability for meaning to be shared between people in space.

The primary feature of Carnaval in Salvador is the mass of humanity that participates in the street revelry. In the festival conditions, the density of people is so dense that movement is difficult and connection and contact with other people is unavoidable. Carnaval would not be successful at disrupting the system of continuity of movement, if it was not completely dominant for the week that it occurs. In fact, the density of people and city disruptions are so extreme that many locals choose to leave the city during Carnaval.

Beyond disrupting continuity, the increased density of people also helps to enhance the root values of connection and openness. The number of people in the public spaces necessitates connecting with others and having serendipitous encounters with strangers. Openness is reflected in the behavior of people in the streets, with many of the social norms and conventions of city life temporarily suspended. In achieving all of these effects, density of people is the primary mechanism by which disruption of continuity is occurring. The increased density of people adapts the perception of space, disrupts movement, and fosters common experience.
FIGURE 35: Salvador diagrams of normal (left) and festival (right) conditions, illustrating Separation of Uses

SEPARATION OF USES

In the normal condition, separation of use in the public spaces of Salvador divides typical zones of vehicular and pedestrian use. The zones are more fluid in some areas of the city center. For instance, the public spaces in Pelourinho, the historic center, are quite fluid, with minimal physical demarcation between zones of use. People walk relatively freely across streets. Vehicles also travel on these streets, but remain cautious with the more fluid movement of pedestrians in this area.

In the festival condition, most public spaces and streets are completely overrun for festival use. The separation of use is removed because the entire volume of public space becomes devoted to festival uses. Although the festival activities may be somewhat varied, the festival itself could be considered a singular use in these spaces. Therefore, this is not a great expansion of the root value of openness in the city. Most other normal city functions are removed from public space during the event. For this reason, Carnaval is not a great example of reducing separation of uses; automobiles are simply being replaced by blocos and trio eletricos. In addition, the festival is not able to coexist with many of the regular functions of city life.

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GRAIN OF ACTIVITY

In the normal condition, grain of activity follows a similar pattern to separation of use. The public space of the street volume, especially in Pelourinho, operates as a singular unit with a relatively fine grain of activity occurring throughout. In the same public space, a pedestrian may be free to move about, a car able to cautiously drive through, a food vendor to sell from their cart and a variety of other activities to coexist relatively well. In this way, Salvador’s public realm, in some areas of the city center, operates as a contiguous open space that can be occupied by a variety of types and scales of activities.

However, the festival does increase tolerance for unconventional behavior and produces a loosening of social norms during the event. This more socially tolerant use and occupation of space represents an adaptation in the openness of the city. During Carnaval, the enhancement of openness in the city regards this social behavior of people more than it does their physical use and occupation of space.
Continuity is represented in the portions of the city that are stable and predictable: the built environment, systems of movement, and general structure and organization of the city. La Festa Gracia and Carnaval manipulate physical form and movement in the city, temporarily adapting spatial patterns and use. These festivals directly affect the systems of continuity, adapting them to function differently.

The root value of continuity is the most dominant in the city; accordingly, the festivals exhibiting a humanizing prioritization of continuity are two that subvert its normal, already existent, patterns. These two festivals adapt continuity through quite different means.

The primary case study, La Festa Gracia is a festival that disrupts continuity through a manipulation of form. Unique among the festival case studies, La Festa Gracia is the only festival that explicitly adapts the form of public spaces in the city with temporal constructions that cover building facades, create outdoor rooms and spatially rearrange the public streets and squares. This literal adaptation of form is a direct interaction between the residents of Gracia, who themselves are primarily responsible for the installations, and the built form of the city, often viewed as static and unchangeable. This direct interface between residents and a root value in the city, without any intermediary, is rare.

La Festa Gracia explicitly addresses the root value of continuity in a few ways, using these temporary installations. First, nearly all of the temporal street spectacles and stage sets provide a further enclosure of outdoor space and a reduction of the perceived scale of the volume of public spaces. This effect is achieved primarily through the creation of a ceiling plane above outdoor public spaces. This addition alone has quite an impact on the perception of city form and spatial relationships. Another method to produce this volumetric reduction is the subdivision of public space into smaller outdoor “rooms” and spaces. Both of these strategies highlight the importance of intimate and human-scaled spaces in enhancing the nature of public space for connection.

As a result of the primary adaptation of physical form in La Festa Gracia, is a disruption of the continuity of movement. The temporary installations in the public spaces necessitate each of them becoming pedestrian only. This disruption of continuity allows public space to be inhabited in a manner more conducive to connection and openness.

Other methods for the adaptation of continuity are observed in Salvador, Brazil during Carnaval. Carnaval achieves its disruptions of the root value continuity not through physical adaptations of form, but through the sheer mass of humanity that floods the public spaces during the event. A few major changes do occur in the physical structure and organization of public spaces. Along some of the Carnaval routes, private viewing boxes are temporarily constructed to frame the street along portions that do not have proper building frontages. The street itself is transformed from a conduit of efficient transport to a space for a dynamic
and mobile party with parades, dancers and large trailers with sound equipment. The festival completely disrupts all normal flows rooted in the city’s value of continuity and predictability.

The adaptations that occur during Carnaval at the street level regard the continuities of movement, as opposed to La Festa Gracia’s concern with form. The crowds themselves are manipulating the city’s normal organization for continuity. Masses of people change the nature and atmosphere of public spaces and streets, perceptually and literally reducing the volume and availability of space. Movement is no longer concerned with predictability and continuity, but rather with dynamism, responsiveness and an almost instinctual, herd-like force. While in many ways this type of event does free restrictions on the movement of people compared to other modes in the city, in general movement becomes quite arduous when the spaces in the city grow too crowded.

Through quite different means, both festivals adapt continuity through spatial constriction and the reduction of the perceived volume of public spaces, while also reprioritizing the free movement of people in those spaces. This suspension of the dominance of the root value of continuity allows room for improvements in connection and openness to occur.
CONNECTION (MEANING)
PRIMARY FESTIVAL CASE STUDY

FESTIVAL HIGHLIGHTING:
COMMON EXPERIENCE
DENSITY OF PEOPLE

FESTIVAL TYPOLOGY:
DISPERSED PROCESSION

FESTIVAL CASE STUDY #3

GANESH CHATURTHI
MUMBAI, MAHARASHTRA, INDIA

DESCRIPTION

Ganesh Chaturthi is a Hindu festival that has become one of Mumbai’s most famous and well-known cultural events. The event is a celebration of the Hindu Lord Ganesh’s birthday and the actual procession of large Ganesh idol’s through the streets of Mumbai to the city’s waterfront is the culminating event of a 10 day celebration of the Hindu god. The idols themselves are either small personal idols celebrated by families or large idols that are publicly worshipped. There are about 11,000 of these larger idols throughout the city, most located in the Mill Lands, and they come together in a procession to the nearby Chowpatty Beach and public promenade of Marine Drive. The main event is this procession of the idols to the sea where they are then immersed and destroyed, dissolving into the sea. The most popular procession routes are either fully closed to traffic or partially controlled by Mumbai Police to ensure the smooth flow toward the western coast and to minimize disruption of traffic flow in the city. However, the movement and flow of people and idols throughout the city is quite free and unrestricted.
FIGURE 38: India and Maharashtra highlighted in global context (18°57’ N, 72°49’ E) (left)

FIGURE 39: Mumbai with the Mill Lands, one of the primary locations of the festival, highlighted in red (right)

FIGURE 40: Locus map for Ganesh Chaturthi in Mumbai with an aerial photo of the focus area affected with popular procession routes highlighted in red (facing page)

MUMBAI STATISTICS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land area</th>
<th>233.0 sq mi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population (2008)</td>
<td>13.9 million*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pop. density (2008)</td>
<td>56,669 person/sq mi*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other festivals:
- Holi
- Elephanta Festival
- Maharashtra Day
- Navaratri
- Diwali
- Kala Ghoda Festival

*according to India Census

FESTIVAL LOCATION

The festival takes place in Mumbai, Maharashtra, primarily in the Mill Lands of South Mumbai; however there is no defined route of the processions. The activity of the festival takes place in all parts of the city and quite often affects much of the western coast. The main streets surrounding Chowpatty Beach have the most activity and policed traffic control. Juhu beach, further north, also along the western coast, is another popular immersion location and receives a fair amount of festive attention. The event in its peak will affect much of the city, with many of the streets becoming overburdened with revelers and the procession of idols.
FIGURE 41: General city wide diagram of the festival highlighting the typology of a dispersed procession

FESTIVAL STATISTICS
- date: mid-August to mid-September
- duration: 10 days
- origin: religious (Hindu) and political protest against British, circa 1893 (approx.)
- festival type: dispersed procession
- location in city: many locations, focused in Mill Lands & Chowpatty Beach
- size (attendance): 11,200 Ganesh mandals (in 2008)
- size (area): difficult to measure
crowds & congestion
- general effect: Ganesh idol street procession to the sea
- spectacle planning: idols crafted several months in advance, advanced queuing and traffic planning

(www.discoveringganesh.com)
(www.ganeshfestival.com)
The festival takes place in late August or early September for 10 days. It first began in 1893. The actual immersion procession takes place at the end of the 10 day worship period and the procession lasts all day from morning until night, with crowds celebrating in the street and at the waterfront.

The large number of Ganesh worshippers and other festival revelers overwhelm the city and affect all normal function of Mumbai for that day. The event is not necessarily highly controlled, but it is a well choreographed citywide maneuver of festival crowd flows and normal traffic flows, and the adjustment and accommodation of each dynamically in time.

The city prepares for the event along the primary procession routes, and in general, has an awareness of the event and plans for certain disruptions. The city restrains its normal activity during that day, but unique among the festivals studied, normal activity is not altogether prohibited by the festival. Pedestrian movement is not controlled in any way during the event and freedom of pedestrian movement is enhanced wherever there is a crowd in the city. Generally, the crowds allow many types of behavior that wouldn't otherwise be permitted to occur, mostly due to the anonymity of crowd behavior.
COMMON EXPERIENCE

In Mumbai, the common experience is dispersed with many and varied demands on people’s attention in the public spaces of the city. The diffused common experience is further exaggerated by two elements fundamental to Mumbai. First, there is an extreme lack of public space in the city. This lack of public space sends most activities and forms of public life to the tight public spaces of the streets and sidewalks. Second, the density of the city, both building and population, are intense. These high densities increase the amount of all activities in public spaces and result in increased demands on people’s attention in those spaces.

The festival conditions greatly reduce the demands on people’s attention to focus on one element in public space, the spectacle of the Ganesh idols. By focusing the people on one element in the city, there is a significant enhancement in common experience during festival conditions. This enhancement brings people together and prioritizes the root value of connection in the city.

Ganesh Chaturthi is a festival that is centered on religion. In the city of Mumbai, the Hindu beliefs and meanings made apparent by the festival are not universally embraced. This is significant in a city where religious tensions can be high, especially during events of public display of devotion. In spite of all of the intricacies of religion and
Meaning
common experience

FIGURE 45: Mumbai diagram of festival use of space, illustrating Common Experience

The festival draws giant crowds. The event highlights the religious undercurrents in the city, bringing people together and enhancing common experience. Exposing normally hidden meaning enhances the root value of connection in the city.

The fact that the normal functions of the city occur simultaneously with the festival processions could lead to the conclusion that common experience is further dispersed during the event. However, the festival in the streets creates a common atmosphere of celebration that frames all other city life and activity.

The Ganesh Chaturthi festival is an excellent illustration of an event prioritizing connection as the dominant value in the city, while balancing the function of continuity and openness. This adjustment of priorities in the city is achieved primarily through enhancements in common experience and the exposure of hidden meaning.

FIGURE 46: The root value of connection is articulated by meaning and can be examined through Common Experience

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In the city of Mumbai, whether during normal or festival conditions, there is no lack of people in public space. The density of people in the city is quite extreme at all times. Mumbai has the highest density of people by far of all the festival case study cities. This high population density is further exaggerated by a small proportion of public space in the city devoted to people.

In festival conditions, the density of people is increased several fold, and people dominate all public space in the city, including the portions of public space normally dedicated to the movement of vehicular traffic. The Ganesh Chaturthi festival is marked not only by the spectacle of large Ganesh idols in the street, but also by the overwhelming mass of humanity that accompanies the idols on their processions to the sea. This overwhelming mass of humanity is dynamic, fluid and responsive to conditions of the city. The crowds help direct vehicular traffic, worship the idols, highlight the meaning of Hindu worship and enhance connections among people in public space.

The increase in density of people facilitates the enhancement of the root value of connection. The festival does not eliminate the systems of continuity from functioning (i.e., traffic flow, normal business), but they are certainly disrupted. This disruption highlights the fact that a unique and unusual event is

**FIGURE 47:** Mumbai diagram of normal use of space, illustrating Density of People

**DENSITY OF PEOPLE**

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occurring and that connection has temporarily become the dominant root value of the city.

Allowing the sheer mass of humanity to overtake other value systems in the city reflects an increase in the root value of openness. A tolerant use of space is necessary to allow the city to be disrupted by such a large density of people. In focusing on connection in the city, openness is also given more priority than normally afforded under a bias toward continuity.

The intensity of use and density of people in Mumbai create connections and tensions in the city during normal conditions. Increasing the density of people results in an even greater enhancement of connection.

In these temporal moments, continuity, connection and openness are differentially balanced by giving priority to connection, disrupting continuity and, as a result, benefiting openness.

FIGURE 48: Mumbai diagram of festival use of space, illustrating Density of People

FIGURE 49: The root value of connection is articulated by meaning and can be examined through Density of People
FIGURE 50: Mumbai diagrams of normal (left) and festival (right) conditions illustrating Spatial Containment

SPATIAL CONTAINMENT

In the normal conditions of Mumbai, the spatial containment creates intimate public spaces. The open spaces in the city are not large and the density of people and activity in these spaces are high. Many of the streets have canopies, building signage, other architectural elements or porticoes extended over the sidewalks creating even further enclosure of public space for the pedestrian. The porticoes in particular create unique enclosed and protected public spaces for people. They are usually occupied by informal markets and vendors at the edges of the space that further increase the sense of enclosure. The building heights and street widths add to the perception of nicely enclosed public spaces with continuous street walls, relatively low building heights and modest street widths.

In the festival conditions of Mumbai, these very intimate, enclosed and tightly scaled public spaces are expanded beyond the sidewalk to include the entire street volume of public space. This removes the pedestrian from the small enclosure of the porticoes, causing the entire spatial volume of the street to be perceived.

People in upper story windows, watching and celebrating the event from their view above, reinforce this increase in the spatial volume of the street. This connection of upper levels with the street activity enhances the notion that the entire volume is acting as one space. This adaptation in the spatial containment is a necessary adjustment to accommodate the intense increase in the amount of activity and people associated with the festival. While the actual volume of space for people may increase, the perception of that volume of space remains constant due to the increase in use commensurate with the increase in size.
In the normal conditions of Mumbai, systems of movement are biased toward continuity, predictability and efficiency for vehicles.

In the festival condition, Ganesh Chaturthi subverts this bias toward vehicular movement and greatly enhances the human freedom of movement and territory of use in the city. The streets of Mumbai are regularly frenetic, highly trafficked and dangerous places for pedestrian movement, but while the Ganesh idols process through the streets, it is as though the crowds of humanity overwhelm the traffic flow and the vehicles succumb to the will of the revelers.

The police control certain primary processional roads and festival movement is aided through vehicle restrictions, giving free reign to the crowds. However, in most parts of the city, the mass of humanity controls the city spaces and streets without formal restrictions or regulations. In this way, the movement of the crowds during Ganesh Chaturthi is greatly enhanced. Any observer can join the processions, intentionally or accidentally, depending upon their location in the city. No barriers are placed between event participant and observer.

As could be expected, the crowd itself may become an occasional barrier to free movement. Moving in the opposite direction of a procession can be difficult. Unique to this festival, the systems of continuity of movement are not completely restricted or removed during the festival. Vehicles can be seen traveling, slowly, within the procession crowds on some streets. This complicated and dynamic coordination of the city’s normal value systems with those temporal and more human value systems of the festival juxtaposes the two in the same space; this does not often occur in other festivals.
SEPARATION OF USES

During normal conditions of use, highly dissimilar uses are rigidly separated in Mumbai, while uses that are complementary or similar occur more fluidly in space and are not purposefully separated. The rigid separation of use occurs at the edges between pedestrian and the vehicular zones of the street. Many streets have strategically placed fences or railings to prevent pedestrians from entering and disrupting vehicular flow. Another condition of this zone is the temporary street vendors and hawkers lining the edge between these disparate uses, in the process, making this perceived edge very real.

During the festival conditions of use, public space in Mumbai becomes much more tolerant and varied, with less separation of use occurring. During the event, the crowds are the mechanism that eliminates the separation of use and allows a more tolerant use of space and behavior. The edge separation between pedestrian and vehicular zones is erased opening the entire street volume for human use. Many of the streets also remain open to vehicular traffic, removing another separation of use. A more stationary zone of people, watching the activity and processions, occurs directly adjacent to the building frontages, at the outer edges of the street volume.

In creating a singular public space in the volume between buildings, all activities and uses must act in coordination dynamically with the changing circumstances of the processions. This festival adjustment of blurring the predetermined and static separation of uses is a powerful adaptation of the city. It creates more active and vibrant public spaces that efficiently allocate the resource of public space in the city.
In normal conditions, Mumbai is unique with such a high density of buildings, people and activity, that the small amount of public space is used as efficiently as possible. This efficiency creates a very fine grain of activity, affording the possibility for unique adjacencies, overlapping uses and planning to optimize the varying demands, both spatially and temporally.

The festival conditions operate under these same principles. The festival occurs at varying streets, through varying times in the day, and the city efficiently adapts to the processions as they occur. It would be inefficient to dedicate routes wholly to the festival, so the festival and the normal city operations embrace a very fine grain of activity and intermingle in space until one has moved past the other. The large crowds of people, the cultural spectacle, and the exuberance of varied and increased activities enhance the vitality of the street.

During the festival, the public space of the city, which is in high demand, is expanded as a realm for humanity. The shift in scale of public space that occurs during the festival, biased now toward the human, ensures that activity will also occur at a finer grain. The negotiations in space are now occurring at the level of individual humans. This is observed when people help a car negotiate the festive crowds, as opposed to vehicular traffic flow slowing to let a person cross the street. For this temporal moment, the human acting in space, not vice versa, controls every other system in the city.
CONNECTION | MEANING
SECONDARY FESTIVAL CASE STUDY

FESTIVAL HIGHLIGHTING:
COMMON EXPERIENCE
DENSITY OF PEOPLE

FESTIVAL TYPOLOGY:
CONCENTRATED PROCESSION

FESTIVAL CASE STUDY #4

MACY’S THANKSGIVING DAY PARADE
NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK, USA

DESCRIPTION

The Macy’s Thanksgiving Day Parade is a spectacle that has become a pop culture tradition associated with Thanksgiving and the beginning of the Christmas holiday in the United States, or more notably with the beginning of the shopping season for the Christmas holiday. Thanksgiving is an American holiday celebrating the harvest season. The event is sponsored by the Macy’s department store and originated in 1924 as a European-styled parade. The parade event is a linear procession that primarily features large helium-filled balloons of pop culture characters and icons. The parade also includes elaborate floats, marching bands from across the country, celebrity singers and performances. The parade route is secured by hundreds of police officers and street closings. Many parade observers camp out in one location along the route, while others come and go and move along the parade route and throughout the surrounding area of the city. Additionally, the parade is nationally televised and experienced by millions.
Macy's Thanksgiving Day Parade
New York City
FIGURE 54: United States and New York highlighted in global context (40°43' N, 73°59' W) (left)

FIGURE 55: Diagram of the Midtown New York City with parade route highlighted in red (right)

NEW YORK CITY STATISTICS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Land area</td>
<td>468.9 sq mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population (2008)</td>
<td>8.3 million*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population density (2008)</td>
<td>27,147 person/sq mi*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Patrick's Day</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth of July</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Festival of the Americas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village Halloween Parade</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Year's Eve</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*according to the 2007 U.S. Census Bureau

FESTIVAL LOCATION

The parade takes place in Midtown Manhattan, New York on a defined parade route following Central Park West from 87th Street south to Broadway at Columbus Circle, continuing south on Broadway until the Macy's store at Herald Square, turning onto 34th Street and ending the procession on 7th Avenue near 40th Street. The parade affects a surprisingly limited amount of the city, but does greatly reduce cross-town connections in Midtown. All cross streets, except for 42nd Street are closed at the avenue adjacent to the parade route, converting at least a two block area for festival use the length of the parade route.

Beginning in 2010, the parade route will be adjusted to avoid Times Square. The adjustment of the route is due to difficulties that occur with the street widths and preparation of the parade route in that vicinity. This adjustment is also indicative of the parade's rigidity and controlled nature, compared to most of the other festival case studies.
**FIGURE 56:** Use of space and general atmosphere of New York City's Midtown Manhattan during normal conditions

**FIGURE 57:** Use of space and general atmosphere of Midtown Manhattan during the festival conditions of the Macy's Thanksgiving Day Parade

### FESTIVAL STATISTICS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>4th Thursday of November</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Duration</td>
<td>5 hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Origin</td>
<td>Commercial event, circa 1924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Festival Type</td>
<td>Concentrated linear procession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location in City</td>
<td>Midtown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Size (Attendance)</td>
<td>10,000 parade participants, 3 million spectators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Size (Area)</td>
<td>43 blocks (2.5 miles)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Effect</td>
<td>Crowds &amp; congestion, closed streets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spectacle</td>
<td>Giant helium balloons paraded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning</td>
<td>Floats and balloons up to 1 year before, prepare route, inflate balloons</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(www.macys.com/campaign/parade/parade.jsp)  
(www.nyctourist.com/macys_history1.htm)

### FESTIVAL LOGISTICS

The parade takes place on the Thursday morning of Thanksgiving every year, since it first began in 1924. The event lasts four to five hours with preparation time before and after affecting the city as well. The parade procession officially begins at 9 am and finishes in Herald Square at approximately 2 pm. The city begins to fill with parade onlookers around the route by about 7 am and the crowds will not clear the parade area until about 3 or 4 pm.

The event is highly controlled and choreographed to deliberately and painstakingly eliminate any potential unexpected occurrences. The parade route is prepared by the city a week in advance: removing obstructions, preparing sidewalks, and building seating along some of the route. Along the parade route, other than restricted and regulated movement, the police officers are very tolerant and permissive of most behavior. The general atmosphere is festive, but rather calm and family-oriented.
FIGURE 58: Manhattan diagrams of normal (left) and festival (right) conditions, illustrating *Common Experience*

**COMMON EXPERIENCE**

The festival event enhances connection in a number of ways. The primary method is by providing a center of focus in public space to bring people together. During the normal conditions of the Manhattan, the street is active and draws attention with sudden loud noises, traffic and concern for safety. The activities of the sidewalk draw attention with demands of navigation and the enjoyment of people watching. Lastly, building storefronts and signage demand attention and complete the diffuse nature of common experience in public space.

The Macy's Parade is a spectacle that becomes the singular focus of the crowds of people and frames their common experience. This shared public experience provides a means for connections while enhancing the sociability of public space in the city. Additionally, this catalyst for connection allows meaning in public space to be made more explicit, exposing cultural undercurrents, in this case of commerce and popular culture. This spectacle would not be as uniquely successful if it did not enhance connection in the city. Indeed, the connections expand beyond the city, with millions of television viewers sharing in the same experience.
Manhattan is quite a dense city and has public spaces, streets and sidewalks that are full of activity and people. This level of density ensures that most public spaces in the city are well-used and activated most hours of the day. This intensity of use ensures that serendipitous interactions in public space occur between friends and strangers.

During the festival condition, the density of people in the city is exaggerated. The streets are lined with parade-goers with shoulder-to-shoulder people for the entire depth of the sidewalk. The amount of people inhibits free movement, necessitates social contact with others, and contributes to the achievement of common experience.

Through the increase in density of people connection is enhanced. Meaning is easily communicated to the crowds through the intimacy and close proximity of people. A large amount of people in a public space, devoting attentiveness to a common event, establishes connection, if only temporarily, as a priority of the city. However, the impact of this connection between people is more lasting than the fleeting nature of this spectacle.
FIGURE 60: Manhattan diagrams of normal (left) and festival (right) conditions, illustrating Spatial Containment

SPATIAL CONTAINMENT

In the normal conditions of New York City, the spatial containment of the public spaces and street volumes is perceived as a rather intimately scaled space. Although the buildings are tall in most of Manhattan, storefront canopies, signage and streetlights frame the spatial perception, limiting the full height of the buildings and resulting in nicely scaled and well-enclosed urban spaces.

The Macy’s Parade expands the spatial containment of the street. This expansion is achieved through the location and nature of the spectacle of the parade itself. The giant helium balloons hover above the street at such a height, that the people observing the parade are looking up. The focus of attention upward expands the perceived volume of space to include several more building floors than would otherwise be normally noticed.

This expansion of spatial containment is not an adaptation of the continuity of form in the city. It is only an adaptation of the perception of spatial form. The Macy’s Parade does little to subvert the existing systems of continuity in the city. In fact, when the festival and continuity of the city are at odds, it is the festival that adapts (i.e., the 2010 route change).
FIGURE 61: Manhattan diagrams of normal (left) and festival (right) conditions, illustrating Movement

MOVEMENT

The Macy’s Thanksgiving Day Parade does not improve freedom of movement for people, although it does subvert the continuity of movement in the city. During normal conditions, movement is occasionally free flowing with congestion for people and vehicles alike. The movement of people is constrained to the sidewalk and designated street crossings.

During the festival conditions of the city, at the parade route itself, freedom of movement and access is the most limited. The street, which is the center of the route, is controlled with barricades and police barriers to allow only the movement of parade participants. This severely limits the free movement of parade observers. Due to east-west street closings a block in either direction of the parade route, pedestrian access and freedom of movement just adjacent to the parade route is greatly enhanced compared to the normal use of these areas dominated by vehicles. In these areas people use the street as a public space, temporarily.

Any disruptions to movement are minimized and highly regulated, exhibiting the strength of the root value of continuity in Manhattan.
SEPARATION OF USES

In the normal conditions of Manhattan, the separation of use divides along the structure of the spaces devoted to vehicles and those to pedestrians. The large proportion of public space that is devoted to the vehicle is separated from all other uses through physical devices. The street is a large, single-use area. Within the space devoted to pedestrians, the separation of uses is less defined and the uses more varied.

The conditions of separation of use do not change dramatically for the festival event. The vehicular corridors are changed to festival corridors, more people are added to the sidewalks, and disparate uses remain separated. In fact, disparate uses and nuanced activity on the sidewalks are eliminated as the festival revelers increase.

Interestingly, private property owners have reacted to the influx of people along the festival route by enforcing their own separations of use: boarding up around trees and sides of buildings, and taping off stairs and railings.

The Macy's Thanksgiving Day Parade does not enhance openness by decreasing separation of use in the city.
During the festival, major activities that take place under normal conditions are removed by barring vehicular traffic and sidewalk vendors on the route. However, the grain of activity is not changed drastically from the normal to the festival conditions.

The parade route involves a few levels of observers and participants: the stationary observers camped out in one spot from early in the morning along the parade route, the dynamic observer that prefers a later arrival and moves from place to place along the route, and the observer that is strolling and using the edge spaces created by the event. These elements create a fine grain of pedestrian activity along the length of the route, but all of this activity is related to the festival. The grain of activity during the festival is not much finer than the normal New York street scene, but the event does bias the grain of activity to a more human and pedestrian orientation.

Grain of activity highlights openness, activity and tolerance of space in the city. It would seem that the Macy’s Thanksgiving Day Parade does not improve the blending of activities or tolerance of use.
CONNECTION (MEANING) CONCLUSIONS

FESTIVAL CASE STUDIES:
GANESH CHATURTHI, MUMBAI
MACY'S THANKSGIVING DAY PARADE, NEW YORK CITY

The festival case studies presented here that best illustrate connection and meaning are Ganesh Chaturthi and the Macy's Thanksgiving Day Parade. These two festivals highlight the root value of connection, by providing spectacles in public spaces that bring people together, connecting strangers in an experience, connecting the event to the places it occurs in the city, and connecting people to meaning and cultural traditions that are not normally made explicit in the city.

Both events achieve an experience of heightened connection and meaning, through strikingly similar measures as both use large moving objects, but the effect on the city is different in each. Additionally, the nature of the meanings revealed is different, representing religious and commercial cultural traditions respectively.

In Mumbai, Ganesh Chaturthi improves connection between celebrants by bringing them together in the limited public space, the street. The event connects people through the spectacular procession of Ganesh idols in the street. This procession simultaneously brings huge numbers of people together in space, reveals Hindu tradition and meaning and ignites celebration in the city. The sheer mass of humanity enhances the ability of large amounts of people to move freely and have access to space in the city that is otherwise not possible. While this occurs, freedom of human movement and a tolerable use of space in the city is increased, a disruption of continuity and an enhancement of openness.

The dominance of humanity in Mumbai during this festival is perhaps its most striking element. The overall effect of this dominance is to greatly enhance the sociability of the city for the duration of the 10 day long festivities. The event increases the social connection of strangers joined in a common shared experience. The event may sometimes heighten tensions between different religious groups, a perfect illustration of the power of revealing hidden meanings in the city and making cultural undercurrents explicit. It is hoped that this public display of meaning could provide a moment for disparate groups to come together and, if not to share in some common experiences, than at least to become more tolerating and understanding of the traditions and cultures of other groups in Mumbai, thereby increasing openness.

Similarly, the Macy's Thanksgiving Day Parade allows for connection to occur between large crowds of strangers bonding over a common shared experience. People interact and share spaces closely during this event, while enjoying the parade and general atmosphere of the festival. Unlike in Mumbai, however, due to the restricted access and formal barriers along the parade route, overall movement and freedom in the city is more restricted and controlled. The spectacle of the parade is not religious in nature, but highlights popular culture and makes commercial advertisement and meaning even more overt in the city. This fact may further ensure the ease of a shared common experience between parade-goers. The neutrality of the uncovered meanings and the predictable nature of the event create a family friendly atmosphere with many children and families in attendance.
At the street level, both events enhance the root value of connection, revealing and articulating meaning through some very simple methods. First, the organization and nature of both events ensures that all participants will have a common experience. There is one central focus in both events and a common understanding of what the event is about. This shared common experience is critical to connecting strangers and bringing people together. This is often referred to as “triangulation”, two people interacting and relating through a third object (Whyte, 1980). In both cases, these objects are highly visible and easily elicit interaction.

Second, both events draw large amounts of people to them. This attraction of crowds of people, and subsequent increase in density of people in public space, results in an increase in contact and connection between strangers, reduces the perceived scale of public spaces, and ensures an intimate and convivial atmosphere. The increase of the amount of people in a given space is adds to the spectacle of the event and enhances its ability to connect people, share meaning and increase the vitality and openness of public spaces.

FIGURE 64: The mass of humanity that forms during the Ganesh Chaturthi festival in Mumbai, India at Chowpatty Beach
OPENNESS (ACTIVITY)  
PRIMARY FESTIVAL CASE STUDY

FESTIVAL HIGHLIGHTING:  
SEPARATION OF USE  
GRAIN OF ACTIVITY

FESTIVAL TYPOLOGY:  
CONCENTRATED PROCESSION

FESTIVAL CASE STUDY #5  

VILLAGE HALLOWEEN PARADE  
NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK, USA

DESCRIPTION

The Village Halloween Parade is an annual procession in New York City’s Greenwich Village held on October 31st in celebration of Halloween. The event features costumed participants, giant puppets and masks, marching bands and other performers in a procession through Greenwich Village. The parade route is more than a mile long, following along Sixth Avenue. Participation in the event is open to anyone, attracting approximately 60,000 participants each year. The only requirement is that these participants wear costumes. Each year the costumes push the limits of creativity, imagination, social acceptability and irreverence. Approximately two million spectators watch the parade, many of whom are in Halloween costumes themselves. According to the official website of the parade, it is the largest Halloween celebration in the world, the largest event in the world to occur on October 31st, and the largest nighttime festival in North America. They describe the event as “turning a large complex city into a small town for just one night, the Parade has been a pioneer in the critical movement toward the resurrection and rejuvenation of the City.”
VILLAGE HALLOWEEN PARADE
NEW YORK CITY
FIGURE 65: United States and New York highlighted in global context (40°43' N, 74°00'W) (left)

FIGURE 66: New York City with the Greenwich Village, the location of the festival, highlighted in red (right)

FIGURE 67: Locus map for the Village Halloween Parade in Greenwich Village with an aerial photo of the focus area affected, the route is highlighted in red (facing page)

NEW YORK CITY STATISTICS

| Land area  | 468.9 sq mi |
| Population (2006) | 8.3 million* |
| Population density (2006) | 27,147 person/sq mi* |
| Other festivals |

St. Patrick's Day
Fourth of July
Festival of the Americas
Macy's Thanksgiving Day Parade
New Year's Eve

*according to the 2007 U.S. Census Bureau

FESTIVAL LOCATION

In Greenwich Village, the parade is focused on Sixth Avenue, The Avenue of the Americas. The participants queue south of the route on Sixth Avenue, between Spring Street and Broome Street. Adjoining streets adjacent to Sixth Avenue are used for set-up, larger puppets, floats or other parade spectacles. Cross streets intersecting Sixth Avenue are closed during the event. The entire area fills with parade participants and observers. The parade route continues north on Sixth Avenue for approximately a mile until the end of the parade route at 21st Street. At the end of the route, participants are directed to walk east on 21st Street.
FIGURE 68: General citywide diagram of the festival centered on Greenwich Village, the activity is concentrated on this linear route in the city

FIGURE 69: Use of space and general atmosphere of New York City's Greenwich Village during normal conditions

FESTIVAL STATISTICS
- date: October 31st
- duration: 7-11 pm (nearly all day with prep)
- origin: popular culture & tradition, circa 1973
- festival type: concentrated procession
- location in city: Greenwich Village
- size (attendance): 60,000 participants, 2 million spectators
- size (area): 1 mile route (approx.)
- general effect: open and tolerant behavior along parade route
- spectacle: costumed revelers
- planning: theme selected months in advance, prep for elaborate costumes for weeks

www.halloween-nyc.com
The Village Halloween Parade is a simple event in structure and organization. The route is a straight line on one street; intersecting streets are closed to traffic, barricaded to pedestrians to control the route.

Sidewalks along the parade route fill with parade observers in the afternoon of Halloween. The street closings occur at 6 pm and, by that time, the streets are filled with people for the event. Police regulate the area and control and direct participants to the southern end of the parade route. Police barricades separate the parade route from the normal flow of public space. However, the connections between parade participant and observer are not inhibited by this physical separation.

This is the most unique aspect of the event—the lack of distinction between parade participant and parade spectator. First, being Halloween, many people on the street, observing or participating in the parade are in costumes. Second, anyone wearing a costume is allowed to wait in the parade queue area and walk in the parade as a participant. Finally, all people involved in the event, parade observer or participant, are subject to the same enhancements of openness and tolerance of interaction and social behavior.
Greg Steinbrenner, NYU cultural anthropologist, posted this reflection on the parade’s official website, addressing his experience of separation of use during the event. He writes, “Crowds appear when the Halloween Parade is about to start. Pools and eddies and swirls of people lining 6th Avenue, standing, shifting, rubbing against the blue police barricades... On this night on this street the rules of everyday are set aside. Rules about fitting in, about acting like everyone else to avoid sticking out, rules about assimilation. The margins and center are somehow connected. I see people giving expression to the creative life-affirming parts of their soul. . . In this dark city, in these wearying times, we are still capable of moments of ecstatic freedom.” In the normal condition of the city, not only are uses separated and divided by physical barriers, but there are also mental barriers such as social norms and conventions that separate people.

Although the festival does not reduce the physical separation of uses (the parade
route is lined with police barricades for its entire length), the festival reduces social barriers and encourages an openness of expression and behavior. Also contributing to openness, anyone in costume can participate in the parade. Additionally, although separated, parade spectator and participant are blurred since both are dressed in costume and the openness of expression and behavior occurs on either side of the barrier.

The amount of zones of activity increases in the Sixth Avenue public space.

The street is adjusted from a zone of travel to a more varied zone of festive parade movement and interaction with spectators at its edges. The event creates a tolerant space in the city through costume, behavior of individuals, and accepting attitude; the physical space becomes a setting for this adaptation to occur. This festival reveals that it is difficult to identify those elements of enhanced openness. The metric of separation of uses does not capture differential openness the realm of social norms and conventions.
In the streets and public spaces of Greenwich Village, in New York City, the grain of activity in normal conditions is typical. As such, the grain of activity on the sidewalk is finer than that of the street and these two zones of use are separated.

The festival condition of the Village Parade extends the grain of activity, normally limited to the sidewalk, to the entire street volume of Sixth Avenue. This expansion of the finer grained zone results in a net effect of creating a finer grained public space.

As it applies to the root value of openness, the fineness of the grain of activity is a measure of a tolerant use of space. The increase in a fine grain of activity during the Village Parade results from the adaptation of the street for pedestrian use. The close interactions and intimate nature of the parade enhance the openness of the event. While the festival is a singular use of the space, the amount of varied activity, the quickly changing movement and the dynamic occupation of space results from the fluidity and agility of
Although not a physical adaptation, the costume is a device of the festival that enhances openness. The anonymity of the costume enhances social openness and favors the root value of connection. The variation and scope of human activity is enhanced due to the social freedom of costumed revelers, consequently creating a finer grain of activity. The social intimacy and closeness of the event ensures that all people present are making connections and sharing meaning.

The social openness becomes contagious in this atmosphere. This leads to the conclusion that if you are trying to improve openness and connection, it should be made difficult for people to avoid them.

Openness is the focus of the event, but as mentioned, enhancements in connection are facilitated as well as physical and social disruptions to the continuity of the city.
FIGURE 77: New York City diagrams of normal (left) and festival (right) conditions, illustrating Spatial Containment

SPATIAL CONTAINMENT

In the normal condition of Greenwich Village, perceived spatial containment limited to the domain of the pedestrian, the sidewalk. This sidewalk pedestrian zone has horizontal elements that limit the field of vision vertically, like store signs, canopies and awnings. The field of vision is naturally limited to not include the entire height of the buildings. Streetlights and traffic signals further define the imaginary plane, limiting the perceived street volume to be about one and a half stories tall.

Under festival conditions, the spatial containment perceived volume of public space is marginally increased. The festival allows people to occupy the entire street width, if you are a parade participant. The height of some of the parade spectacles, sculptures and puppets draw the attention of spectators upwards and add to the perception of an increased spatial volume.

As compared to other events, this festival does little to adapt spatial containment.
MOVEMENT

In the normal conditions of Greenwich Village, people are restricted to sidewalks and have designated intersections to cross the street width. A large proportion of public space is devoted to vehicular movement.

The festival conditions prioritize pedestrian movement and expand the territory of the human. However, the movement of the pedestrian is not free flowing or completely open. The police barricades and separation between parade participant and observer disrupts the free flow of pedestrian movement during the festival.

These barriers to complete free movement of pedestrians are the major element detracting from the overall goal of openness in the festival. This regulation reflects the strength of continuity in New York City and the difficulty in the enhancement of openness and connection, if even temporarily.
FIGURE 79: New York City diagrams of normal (left) and festival (right) conditions, illustrating Common Experience

COMMON EXPERIENCE

The eclectic, socially accepting setting that is Greenwich Village is perfect for an event highlighting openness. Under normal conditions, the eclectic setting can be a common experience in and of itself, as the neighborhood of Greenwich Village has a unique atmosphere distinct from other parts of Manhattan. However, being eclectic, the common experience is unfocused and general.

In the festival conditions of the Village Parade, common experience is greatly enhanced. Although the costumes are many and varied, all event participants are drawn together to behave outside of social norms. The fact that the common experience is not only experienced, but also created by a multitude of individuals is a unique part of the event. This authorship of the spectacle points to an enhancement of openness and lack of control. In this festival, the common experience of connection is facilitated by openness.


Normally, in Greenwich Village, the density of people creates vitality, intensity of use, and activation by people that accompanies a high population and building density.

The festival conditions in Greenwich Village increase the density of people even farther. People are attracted to the route and congest the area around it. The density of people is increased even though the amount of area devoted to people also increases. The street, normally dedicated to traffic flow, now becomes an additional territory of pedestrian use.

The increase in density of people facilitates elements of openness. Space becomes more tolerant, open and intimate, in some part due to the increase in number of people in the spaces in which the parade is occurring. The adjustments of space related to connection are also closely related to openness and vice versa, the two are complementary root values.
FESTIVAL CASE STUDY #6

LAS FALLAS
VALENCIA, VALENCIA, SPAIN

DESCRIPTION

Las Fallas is an annual event in Valencia held each March celebrating Saint Joseph. The festivals namesake, a *falla*, is also its main spectacle. A *falla* is a large, temporary, sculptural construction that depicts a scene, set of characters or event, often in a satiric manner. These *fallas* are designed, constructed and paid for by an organized group in each neighborhood of the city, referred to as the *casal faller*. The apex of the event is *la crema*, the final act of the week long celebrations in which the *fallas* are set ablaze and consumed by fire. During the course of the celebration, many other activities and festive gatherings occur, including: parades, fireworks, large firecracker and explosive concussion displays and street parties. Each of the events contributes to the festive atmosphere and centers on the *fallas* in city streets and squares. The events are exercises in tolerance and openness to sometimes destructive acts. The festival contributes to an openness of activity throughout the entire city that is reinforced by the quantity and variety of activities that are associated with the event.
LAS FALLAS
VALENCIA, SPAIN
FESTIVAL LOCATION

The *fallas*, numbering over 700, are constructed throughout most neighborhoods of Valencia's city center; the streets and squares are filled with these temporary sculptures and installations. The *fallas* range in size from a few feet tall to the height of a building. The festival creates a citywide and dispersed effect.

The event is so dispersed and sprawling throughout Valencia that seeing all of the events and installations is impossible. Routes through the city are recommended each year to connect participants to the highlights of the *fallas* and these special routes are dispersed throughout the city. Many of the central, larger events of the city take place in City Hall Plaza near the center of Valencia; this larger open space fills with giant crowds during festival events. Additionally, many of the large fireworks displays take place over the city's river. The event is quite expansive and affects very large swaths of the city.

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**VALENCIA STATISTICS**

- **land area**: 52.0 sq mi
- **population (2008)**: 810,064*
- **pop. density (2008)**: 15,585 person/sq mi*
- **other festivals**
  - Corpus
  - San Vicente Martir
  - Holy Week
  - Our Lady of the Forsaken
  - July Fair
  - 9th October

*National Statistics Institute of Spain
FESTIVAL STATISTICS

date begins first Sunday of May, always ends on March 19th
duration 5 days officially, (in reality, 1 week or more)
origin religious, circa 18th century
festival type dispersed nodal
location in city everywhere
size (attendance) not known
size (area) not known (over 700 fallas)
general effect festival completely dominates city
spectacle giant sculptures, fireworks and fire
planning nearly 1 year in advance for Fallas

www.fallas.com
http://fallas.comunitatvalenciana.com/
www.fallasfromvalencia.com

FESTIVAL LOGISTICS

The collection of events for the festival are so many, varied and dispersed throughout Valencia, that the general effect is one large continuous party that disrupts all other activity in the city. The disruption is so unavoidable that some permanent residents of Valencia leave town during the festival.

A short description of some of the events of the festival reveals the variety and scale of the occasion. *La Desperta* is a small brass band parade that begins each morning of the festival, waking people up. A small crowd follows the band, throwing firecrackers. *La Mascleta* is a huge fireworks, firecracker and rattling concussive display that occurs everyday at 2 pm in front of City Hall. *La Planta* is the day the *fallas* are completed in city squares and streets; this occurs on the 15th of March. On four nights there are fireworks displays over the river that increase in magnitude each subsequent night. The final night, and peak of the festival events, is *La Crema*, when all *fallas* are burned, ignited by fireworks and firecrackers into a huge bonfire in the city’s squares.
SEPARATION OF USES

In the normal conditions of use the public spaces are separated into zones of use for pedestrians and vehicles. The latter receives a disproportionate amount of the public space in Valencia.

In the festival condition, the use of public space, including vehicular streets, is almost solely devoted to the pedestrian throughout the city. The multitude of festival events spread across Valencia, transforming nearly the entire city into a giant festival and street party. While this adjustment does expand the area devoted to the pedestrian in the city, it often separates the normal functions of the city from the festival. Thus, separation of uses in the city remains approximately the same whether during normal or festival conditions.

Although the uses are not mixed (they are all festival-related), the value of openness can be observed in the actual uses allowed to occur in Valencia. First, each of the events exhibits an openness and welcoming social atmosphere that enhances the success of the varied activities. More importantly, the primary events of the festival require tolerance of unconventional and destructive use of space. This tolerance allows for the individuals with firecrackers in the streets, the constant barrage of large-scale fireworks and the culminating event, La Crema, willfully setting large fires in most of the city’s public spaces.
FIGURE 86: Valencia diagrams of normal (left) and festival (right) conditions, illustrating Grain of Activity

GRAIN OF ACTIVITY

Under normal conditions, the grain of activity of Valencia is very similar to the other festival case study cities described.

In the festival conditions of Las Fallas, at the scale of the individual unit of public space (i.e., a plaza or a street with an installation), it is observed that the adaptation of grain of activity is not effective at overlapping uses. The normal city functions are replaced by festival activities and these festive activities are dispersed enough to not often overlap. This complete replacement of certain city functions with festival operations does marginally enhance the grain of activity in space with prioritization on the fine grained and human-scaled activities. The event would enhance openness more if normal city functions intermingled with the festival. The obstructive nature of the fallas in the middle of many public spaces and streets does not allow this type of overlapping use in the city.

At the citywide scale, the festival conditions provide a different perspective. The multitude and dispersion of various activities throughout the city enhances the grain of activity and the root value of openness. Additionally, the mass choreography and coordination of these activities is an impressive display, using the variety of events to build crescendos of frenzy in the crowds at certain key moments of celebration over the course of five days.
**SPATIAL CONTAINMENT**

In the normal conditions of Valencia, the spatial containment of public spaces is well defined and human-scaled. The continuous and relatively homogenous building heights and facade articulations provide the perception of nicely enclosed spaces.

Under festival conditions, the spatial enclosure is adapted through the fallas installed in public space. Except in the area of the large fallas, the perceived volume of space does change. However, in the spaces with larger fallas, the perception of space is adapted in two ways. The tall heights of the fallas expand the spatial enclosure by raising the perceived ceiling plane. In addition, the larger fallas occupy a large area of the public space devoted to the human. This constricts the perceived spatial volume and creates more intimate spaces.

The fallas are constructed completely independently of permanent structures and built at a purposeful distance from them, due to the fact that all of the festival installations will eventually be burned. Particular care is taken in the construction and placement of the fallas to maintain the root value of continuity in the existing, permanent form of the city and to not leave any lasting damages. Lastly, the destruction of the fallas is an awe-inspiring moment and is an extreme constriction of space with the closeness of the heat and flames.
MOVEMENT

Under the normal conditions of movement in the city, the public spaces give priority to the street network functioning efficiently. Sidewalks are the domain of the pedestrian and movement of humans is given secondary status to movement of vehicles.

Under the festival conditions, much of the vehicular access of the city is heavily affected. The space of the pedestrian is therefore expanded and the movement of the pedestrian less restricted. The movement of the pedestrian is not completely unrestricted; barricades surround many of the fallas and many of the larger public spaces for the big events have crowd control devices and barricades to keep the festival under control. However, adjusting the city to become more biased toward free movement of the pedestrian over the automobile acts to balance the root value of continuity to allow for connection and openness.

The continuity of movement is not only disrupted during the festival, but in many areas eliminated altogether. Las Fallas is not a nuanced or negotiated adjustment of continuity of movement. However, a more open type of overlap of festival and normal conditions may not be possible, especially with the fallas occupying large amounts of the center of streets and squares. While a disruption of continuity is necessary to enhance connection and openness, such a clear division of normal and festival may decrease openness.
COMMON EXPERIENCE

Under normal conditions in Valencia, the setting is less demanding on the senses and attention of people in space than some of the other cities studied. As the building frontages along the streets of Valencia are of a scale and proportion amenable to the pedestrian and the architectural features of the buildings are relatively homogenous, a well-coordinated urban background is created. This city setting is more akin to an urban fabric than objects.

In the festival condition, common experience creates a focal point in the city spaces centered on the fallas. The sculptural installations frame social interaction and engagement. The large amount of varied events of this particular festival and the dispersed nature of their location may diffuse the strength of common experience. The festival does deal with this potential shortcoming by choreographing events, forming a hierarchy of events and sequentially building events to a frenetic crescendo. An extreme event such as la crema is a fantastic occasion for common experience and leaves a lasting memory in all observers.

The common experience, and event in general, do contribute to an increase in the root value of connection and meaning. The event brings people together in space, removes them from their normal patterns of life, has a lasting effect on the city, and provides associations with place and event that go well beyond the five days of the festival.

FIGURE 89: Valencia diagrams of normal (left) and festival (right) conditions, illustrating Common Experience
FIGURE 90: Valencia diagrams of normal (left) and festival (right) conditions, illustrating Density of People

DENSITY OF PEOPLE

In normal conditions, Valencia exhibits a moderate density of people in public space. Sidewalks and public spaces are active with pedestrian use, but are generally not overcrowded or congested.

Under festival conditions, the density of people increases in public space. The major events and fireworks displays, especially those in the city hall plaza, attract throngs of people. The important and larger fallas draw many people and create crowded conditions of festival observers. Another peak in density of people occurs during la crema, the culminating event.

The nature of the event as a dispersed nodal festival does spread the crowds throughout the city. However, the large number of people in Valencia for the festival may necessitate this type of event. The city might not otherwise be able to accommodate the influx of people and the festival would likely not be as enjoyable or as easily experienced. While most other festivals have placed value on an indefinite increase in crowd, perhaps Las Fallas suggests a balancing between crowd size and ability for connection. The optimum balance may not be giant crowds, but may simply be enough people in space to activate the event and more people than normal to signify that the event is indeed atypical and requires special attention.
OPENNESS (ACTIVITY)
CONCLUSIONS

FESTIVAL CASE STUDIES:
VILLAGE HALLOWEEN PARADE, NEW YORK
LAS FALLAS, VALENCIA

The festival case studies selected to best illustrate openness and activity are the Village Halloween Parade and Las Fallas. These two festivals are excellent examples of festive events that are built on openness—in terms of culture, social behavior, occupation of space, and unusual and unconventional activity. This openness creates a fundamental change in the city, enabling a truly tolerant space to occur in which most activity and behavior becomes acceptable. Interestingly, these events are not without restrictions and control, but this structure contributes to freedom and openness and ensures some level of tolerance.

While both of these festival case studies exemplify the root value of openness, the two achieve this by different methods: the tolerance of social behavior and the tolerance of physical destruction.

The openness observed in the Village Halloween Parade is focused on expression and social tolerance. Unique among the festivals studied, perhaps joining Carnaval in this way, the event is focused solely on the human in the event; the spectacle is the people. In this way, it is a uniquely human event. The line between performer and audience is blurred, if it even exists, and this openness creates an exuberance and excitement of participation that is not matched by many other festivals. Lastly, the parade creates an openness of use of space in the city. Sixth Avenue, where the parade occurs, is closed to traffic and much of the Greenwich Village neighborhood is occupied by crowds and used differently than normal city operation.

The Village Halloween Parade explicitly addresses openness and activity in a few ways. First, although separated by a fence, there is little distinction between those participating in the parade and those watching the parade. Although certainly more costumed patrons are in the parade itself, a large number of costumed people add to the event on the sidelines. Additionally, anyone can participate in the parade. The street, being occupied wall-to-wall in this way by Halloween revelers, creates an openness of activity. Although this may be viewed a single-use zone, many smaller scale activities are occurring: street hawkers selling Halloween trinkets, standing, sitting, parading, interacting, and partying, among all other activities occurring within one tolerant space. Second, all of this activity in the public space is occurring at the scale of the human; each of these activities is a human interaction or action. This creates a microscopic grain of activity on the street and creates dynamic and synergetic overlaps in activity that otherwise don't occur.

The openness of Las Fallas is also tolerant of abnormal activity and behavior in space, but is focused on elaborate festive sculptures and spectacles rather than on the people themselves. Similar to Ganesh Chaturthi, the true spectacle of this event is not the temporary installments of spectacles, sculptures and statues, but the willful and, in this case, violent destruction of these temporal creations. In this way, the festival is oriented to the root value of openness. An openness is observed in occupying spaces with the sculptures and spectacles for the duration of
FIGURE 91: The mass of humanity that forms during Las Fallas in Valencia, Spain

the event, allowing different activities in these city spaces, allowing these beautiful sculptural creations to be destroyed with a sense of wonder and joy and, finally, allowing the large objects that have been placed in the middle of city streets and squares to be set ablaze directly adjacent to those structures which should remain permanently.

Las Fallas explicitly addresses openness and activity in a few ways. Not only do numerous temporary sculptures and statues occupy many of spaces in the city, but additional parades and processions of people occur each day, marching through the streets of the city. Much of Valencia is subjected to these disruptions and it is only through openness and willingness to tolerate these unique activities that the event is a success.

As observed in the Village Halloween Parade, Las Fallas reduces the grain of activity that is occurring in the city. The event creates an abundance of activity that activates the entire city, creating energy and vitality where the city usually mandates regularity and order.
CH. 4

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HUMANIZING PRINCIPLES

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The festival case study analysis resulted in a set of humanizing principles that can be applied to city making. Utilizing these principles as a guide may help to address the shortcomings of the city as a place built for the human. The principles are organized and presented in pairs that address the three root values of the city: continuity, connection and openness. To be relevant, the humanizing principles are designed to be general across varying city contexts and yet specific enough to achieve tangible results in the creation of more human cities.
HUMANIZING PRINCIPLES

ADAPT SPATIAL CONTAINMENT CONTINUITY
RESTRUCTURE MOVEMENT CONTINUITY

EXPOSE MEANING/COMMONALITY CONNECTION
ATTRACT DENSITY OF PEOPLE CONNECTION

REMOVE SEPARATION OF USES OPENNESS
INCREASE OVERLAPPING ACTIVITIES OPENNESS

TEMPORALLY SCRIPT & CHOREOGRAPH META-PRINCIPLE

The primary goal of the humanizing principles is to create a set of priorities in urban design that will place design for humans and their use of public space at the center of city making decisions. The humanizing principles are seen to have potential in this endeavor in two ways. First, the principles very clearly balance the three root values of the city. This balance is achieved more explicitly through these humanizing principles than through any other of the value systems dominant today. Second, the humanizing principles were derived directly from a very human moment in the city, the human-centered celebration of festivals. By deriving the principles directly from adaptations of space that occur during festivals, the end goal of humanizing space is more achievable and grounded in real human behavior.

Spatial adaptation metrics were used to analyze festivals and reveal the ways in which each festival adapts space. The intent of this thesis is to abstract these findings such that they are no longer specific in their application to the improvement of events, but rather they are expanded as principles of urban design and city making.

The humanizing principles that follow are the primary goal of this research. It is through the principles that city making can be adjusted to remedy some of the critical deficiencies of its current form. The humanizing principles are not only derived explicitly from the festival case studies, but attempt to fit directly into the larger city narrative already at play in city making.

As discussed, the root values of continuity, connection and openness are biased toward continuity in the contemporary city. The humanizing principles outlined in this chapter attempt to realign the three root values and make specific recommendations to achieve the balance apparent in the festival case studies. It is not just one singular dimension that adapts space temporarily, but a pluralistic and intricate set of circumstances that operate in tandem to humanize space. There are a total of six humanizing principles, each of which can be coupled with a root value. Additionally, there is one meta-principle that attempts to bring them all together and ensure the principles work as complements to each other, creating productive synergies.

The principles of Adapting Spatial Containment and Restructuring Movement apply primarily to the root value of continuity. Throughout this analysis, continuity has been framed as the dominant root value in the current city. For this reason, the two humanizing principles regarding continuity are designed to disrupt continuity. This is not an elimination of continuity, but rather a strategic interruption to allow room for the two other root values to affect space.
The humanizing principles of *Exposing Meaning/Commonality* and *Attracting Density of People* apply primarily to the root value of connection in the city. The festival case studies uncover some very specific methods to ensure that connection is a priority in space and these two principles capitalize on that discovery. With these humanizing principles as a focus of urban design, connection will be more adequately provided for in space.

Lastly, the humanizing principles of *Removing Separation of Uses* and *Increasing Overlapping Activities* apply primarily to the root value of openness in the city. Openness is the most difficult of the three root values to assess. These two principles, and some of the specific measures of enhancing openness in the city during festivals, will allow for a more tolerant use of space in the city.

The overall meta-humanizing principle is also derived from the festivals. Every one of the festival studies was subject to intense planning, choreography and coordination between events, places and people. Even the events that appeared the most chaotic or haphazard operated well and smoothly as large-scale events and urban interventions because they had been meticulously choreographed and scripted in space and time. This is a terrific meta-principle. In a city's public space, the humanizing principles will have no effect on improving environments for humans if they are not well-planned, choreographed and coordinated with other forces at work in the city. The set of principles themselves must be coordinated to ensure an optimized balance between the three root values. Lastly, the element of coordination is necessary because the humanizing principles should never be implemented in the same way in two different places -- the existing context must be examined and the final humanizing adjustments of space must be a choreography that enhances existing city functions while engaging a new balance of the root values.
All of the festival case studies adapted spatial containment in some way. The volume of public space, either perceived or actually utilized by people, grew or contracted depending on the conditions of the festival. The adaptation of spatial containment in the festivals was developed through a number of methods: physically building new forms to make space more intimate (increasing spatial containment), opening up the entire street volume to pedestrian use (decreasing spatial containment), or dramatically increasing the amount of people in space (increasing perceived spatial containment). Each of these is either directly adapting the continuity of form or adjusting the perception of form in the city.

The variety of approaches to adapting spatial containment in the city reflects the varying base conditions of the different festivals. The spatial containment expands or contracts based upon whichever adjustment results in a more human-scaled city. If, in the normal condition, a city was overly congested and exhibited a lack of public space, the festival condition usually decreased spatial containment, allowing more space for people and thus humanizing the city. If, in the normal condition, the spaces of a city are too expansive and large to create intimate places for social interaction, the festival condition usually increased spatial containment, adapting form to create smaller and more enclosed spaces.

La Festa Gracia in Barcelona best exemplifies the adaptation of spatial containment. The public squares and streets in Barcelona are already quite intimate and spatially enclosed volumes with well-defined street edges, relatively narrow street corridors, and buildings that are taller than the street is wide. Each of these elements contributes to an intimate spatial containment. However, La Festa Gracia further increasing the spatial containment by reducing the public spatial volumes of Barcelona. The extremely intimate spaces allow the residents to more easily fill the volume with activity and a festive atmosphere, enhancing the vibrancy of the event and the public spaces themselves.

This humanizing principle works with the existing systems of city design most explicitly. As discussed, a bias toward form in city making already exists. However, the physical environment should be considered in terms of spatial containment. In this way, no building in the city should act alone as an object, but rather be thoughtfully conceived of as a frame for the life of the city and as
FIGURE 93: The humanizing principle of Adapt Spatial Containment is best exemplified by La Festa Gracia's adaptation of the physical form of the built environment.

a contributor to the enclosure of active public spaces. Many of the festivals take advantage of adjusting perception of spatial containment. This is an effective strategy for urban design. Public space can be humanized in the city, by creating some places that are quite different from the normal conditions, drawing attention to the human perceptions of space and experience.

Spatial containment does not only regard the physical form and enclosure of space, but also has to do with the type and amount of activities that occur in the space. Some of the festivals expand or reduce the perception of space by the type and amount of activity during the event. For example, the Macy's Thanksgiving Day Parade expands spatial containment by drawing attention upward toward the balloons and increasing the perceived volume of the street. Therefore, it is not enough to design a well-proportioned and human-scaled public space. It is imperative that the building functions and programs placed at the edge of the space and the activities and functions designed for the space itself are coordinated to produce an active and vital spatial volume.

The humanizing principle of adapting spatial containment is about the human perception and experience of place. Spatial containment highlights the size and volume of a public space, making people aware of their surroundings, enlivening the senses and connecting people to the built environment. A place can be given energy and exuberance by providing a spatial containment that is unexpected or out of the ordinary.
HUMANIZING PRINCIPLE #2
RESTRUCTURE MOVEMENT

Typical patterns of movement in the city are manipulated in all of the festival case studies on some scale. In most festivals, priority for movement through space was temporarily given to the pedestrian. Vehicular systems of movement were either disrupted or altogether eliminated to accommodate the temporary festival condition. This restructuring of the continuity of movement occurred through a number of mechanisms: restricting vehicular access, enclosing space for human use in the street, or overwhelming the other systems of movement with large amounts of people.

The most successful adaptations of movement during the festival event resulted in the most dramatic changes. In these cases, the dominance of vehicular movement under normal conditions was highlighted by its subversion in the festival condition. Restructuring movement is a humanizing principle because of its potential to change perception and function in the city. The most effective festivals in regard to humanizing systems of movement are those in which the free movement of people is a primary element. However, prioritizing the human is not enough in adapting the use of the city. The restructuring of movement at a larger scale in the city is necessary to bring about a more lasting humanizing effect.

Two festivals that are very similar in this regard, Ganesh Chaturthi and Carnaval best exemplify restructuring of movement. Both Ganesh and Carnaval disrupt the normal flows of movement in the city by the number of participants and revelers that flood the streets. Interestingly, Ganesh Chaturthi disrupts movement in the city, but does not completely exclude normal movements from occurring. This creates a richness and vibrancy in public space that does not occur in many of the festivals studied. The festival and other flows of movement in the city adjust to one another dynamically in space.

As compared to the previous humanizing principle, there is less variety in the approaches to adapt the continuity of movement. This is because the system of continuity of movement is less varied the world over. Restructuring movement to disrupt the dominance of the vehicle is a factor in each festival's adaptation of space; the only variation is the degree to which this system of movement is disrupted.

This humanizing principle can be aptly applied to city making and design. Many of the systems of value in the city contain sets of priorities that bias towards the continuity
The humanizing principle of Restructure Movement is best exemplified by Ganesh Chaturthi’s adaptation of the movement in the streets, negotiated by festival revelers and ordinary traffic simultaneously and efficiency of movement in the city. If the continuity of human, not vehicular, movement was given top priority, public spaces (including the street network) could begin to operate differently. Streets could be positioned and utilized not only as conduits of movement, but also as reliable generators of activity and vitality in public space.

Restructuring movement is a direct affront to the domination of efficiency in the city. Humanized movement is concerned more directly with the human and less with efficiency. This aligns with some current thought of transportation in the city, such as: livable streets, naked streets (streets without signage or signaling), and the woonerf. The woonerf is an example of a successful implementation that conceives of the street as a public space, which happens to have automobiles traveling through it. (Moudon, 1987) All of these ideas of the street as public space fit directly with the intention of this humanizing principle. By restructuring movement, efficiency is no longer the top priority in citywide systems. Creating public spaces for human use becomes a greater priority, and then the efficiency of movement is allowed to develop within the framework now established for human use.
HUMANIZING PRINCIPLE #3
EXPOSE MEANING/COMMONALITY

All of the festival case studies create a common experience. This is one of the most important elements of the festival event, providing a spectacle to which everyone can relate that frames shared experience and transmits meaning between people and places. Common experience is exposed in all festivals through a number of specific strategies. Most commonly, the spectacle of the festival itself is the center of attention. In other events, the spectacle of the festival frames a common experience and encourages social interaction, or the festival enhances the sociability of space in the city and provides common experience through the interactions of the festival participants themselves. These adaptations made by the festival expose common experience by creating a narrative in the city, bringing a meaning to daily life that is rooted in the root value of connection.

In the best examples of enhancing common experience, the festival is not only framing the shared event, but also temporarily exposing undercurrents of meaning in the city and providing the opportunity for people to connect to that meaning. Through this association, a space in the city can become identified with the memory of the event and connect people with place and meaning, long after the event has passed. Meaning in space is very important in bringing people together, framing shared values, and developing a common narrative for a community.

The Macy's Thanksgiving Day Parade provides the best example of exposing meaning and commonality. The festival frames everyone's experience through the spectacle of large balloons. This common experience is helped by the nature of the balloons as popular culture icons, an easily accessible object for a majority of the population. More than most other events, the Macy's Parade is a highly controlled event: in its route, in its barriers for crowd control and in its control of the production of the event itself. This control ensures that nearly everyone has a similar vantage point and opportunity to experience the event in the same way. Indeed, the millions of people watching the national broadcast have a shared experience with the exact same vantage point as other television viewers. The Macy's Parade highlights meaning by bringing people together to inaugurate the Christmas season and exposes the undercurrents of consumerism during the holiday.

Meaning and common experience can be exposed and attained through the built environment or through the activities and

FIGURE 96: Diagram illustrating the humanizing principle of Exposing Meaning/Commonality
FIGURE 97: The humanizing principle of Exposing Meaning/Commonality is best exemplified by the Macy's Thanksgiving Day Parade with the common experience of giant pop culture themed helium balloons uses in the environment. As such, the festival and other events should not be discounted as powerful tools for the evocation of meaning and creation of common experience. The most powerful connections are developed through the existing narratives of places and people that can be exposed and built upon. Common experience can be fabricated with little ill effect, but meaning is only valuable if it is authentic to the place or event in which it occurs, connects people to the place or event and brings people together. This connection that occurs between people, through meaning, does not necessarily have to be agreeable. The narrative could be controversial or highlight a cultural issue that should be addressed in the city or society.

By dealing with common experience and meaning in the city explicitly, this humanizing principle provides a tool for prioritizing connection as a root value. City design is often concerned with the creation or fabrication of places that will draw people together, often with motives such as attracting consumers to a shopping area, keeping gamblers in a casino or entertaining tourists at a theme park. Organizing the city in such a way that common experience is more adequately provided in public space could provide a tangible method for connecting people to each other in the city and creating more social, vibrant and lively places.

The humanizing principle of exposing meaning and commonality is about human connection between one another and between people and places. Those places that have meaning can be connected to the memories and stories of life. This principle enhances the opportunity for such meaningful encounters to occur. The human city is a stage for the expression of communal narrative.
HUMANIZING PRINCIPLE #4
ATTRACT DENSITY OF PEOPLE

Festivals bring people together. The festival event is often a commemorative occasion used to perpetuate tradition, communal meaning, connection and identity amongst a group of people. By purposefully bringing people together the festival enhances the opportunity for social connection and interaction of people in several ways. First, the event simply increases the amount of people that occupy a public space at any one time. This increase in the density of people enhances the opportunity for people to interact with each other, to share an experience and to come in contact with strangers. Second, the festival presents an opportunity for a common shared experience. The festival provides a unique opportunity for people to come together and have a very similar experience, framed by the event itself. Lastly, although the festival is a choreographed and well-planned event, it provides for enhanced social connection through unplanned interactions. The festival provides increased social connection through serendipity, a quality of public space that is suppressed by biases of continuity in the city that is focused on predictability.

The types of interactions that occur during Carnaval in Salvador best illustrate this principle. The increase in the amount of people in public spaces, and the interaction of the festival participants with each other and with the city at large are directly responsible for an increase in social interaction during the event. This particular festival is a powerful example of creating a very social public space by increasing the amount of people present and by providing strangers with a number of reasons to communicate and connect where not many reasons existed previously.

Attracting density of people is an element of enhancing connection in the city and an important consideration in city design. A public space will not be occupied by a critical mass of people if it is too large and if there are not human uses and activity to attract people to the space. A public space should either be made small enough to ensure that it appears active and well used, even when occupied by a small number of people. Or, it should be designed, programmed and coordinated with active edges and spaces to ensure that a large public space will always draw a proportionally large number of people to keep it active.

Often the design of public spaces attempts to supplement the lack of socially connective places with added elements that may or may not help, such as fountains, banners or benches. This principle highlights
FIGURE 99: The humanizing principle of Attract Density of People is best exemplified by Carnaval’s adaptation of the amount of people using the public spaces in the city.

the need for attracting people to want to be in a public space, fountains or benches do not suffice in this regard. For a truly effective attraction of people, the festival provides some tools for urban design. People want to be with other people. The space should be scaled to seem active and vibrant with people. Any plaza where people watching is the primary activity is a good example. People are attracted to opportunities for common shared experience and meaning. A performer drawing a crowd on the sidewalk is a good example. People are attracted to activity in space, such as the vitality created in a public space filled with a farmer’s market. Lastly, attraction for people can be provided through routes of movement or placement of destinations and activities for serendipitous interaction. For instance, sidewalk cafes take advantage of these active edges of movement corridors and their opportunity for chance encounter.

The scale and form of city spaces should be proportional to the amount of people that are attracted to them. This relates closely to the perception of spatial containment of the first humanizing principle. The activity in an urban space, and the program and destinations that draw people to the space, should be coordinated with its size and configuration. This spatial and temporal coordination would ensure that a substantial number of people come together there, attracting even more people. On the other hand, the same space may be devoid of activity at certain times of the day, becoming a place of respite while other places are attracting a higher density of people.

This humanizing principle highlights the fact that the human city does not function well without the presence of the human. In centering the city on the human, attracting an active and vibrant density of people to public spaces is critical. In this light, density of people is a precious resource that should be thoughtfully distributed and concentrated throughout the city. People are attracted to other people.
HUMANIZING PRINCIPLE #5
REMOVE SEPARATION OF USES

An important aspect of the festival case studies is a blurring or removal of the separation of uses, both physical boundaries and social boundaries. Whereas normally the city operates along implicit or explicit norms of conventional behavior, the festival provides a temporal opportunity to push the boundaries of these norms and to create gray areas of ambiguity where unique and unusual behavior are acceptable. The festival also provides overlapping and varied use of space, often adding festival activities layered upon the normal functions of the city. This layering of activity provides more opportunity for synergies of use, resulting from spatial or temporal overlaps and adjacencies. In these ways, the festival increases the tolerant use of space and enhances the openness of the city.

This principle is exemplified well by Ganesh Chaturthi in Mumbai, which perhaps unexpectedly shows the most spatial tolerance. Ganesh Chaturthi allows the festival activities to blend relatively seamlessly with the normal activities of the city. Festival and normal functions negotiate the use of space dynamically, creating synergistic overlaps of use, unanticipated connections between people, and a more varied and tolerant use of space in the city. All of the other festival case studies could learn from Ganesh Chaturthi about removing elements of control and removing boundaries between normal and festival uses.

The variety of approaches to adapting and creating a tolerant use of space reflect the varying contextual conditions to which each individual festival is subjected. Specifically, as tolerance has a social baseline, each festival is examined within its cultural context. The tolerance of space generally increases in the festival condition, but the method by which this increase occurs varies from city to city. Regardless of the city or festival context, the event should decrease the division and separation of uses and should allow overlap of activities in space and time.

This humanizing principle can apply to city making and design to great effect. Learning from the festivals, no space should be singularly zoned or delineated for a single purpose, either through the form of its design or other limitations on use. An increase in a tolerant use of space translates to an increase in ambiguity in the city. Differentiation between public and private space should be removed, to a realistic extent, to increase a tolerant use of space and to enhance the potential for overlapping synergies of...
The humanizing principle of Remove Separation of Uses is best exemplified by Ganesh Chaturthi's adaptation of the streets to be simultaneously occupied by festival and normal city functions. Even more so, new synergies between complementary activities and uses may be discovered and new forms of efficiency in the use of space, by varying uses over time, could save open space and land. Interestingly, in this way, ambiguity of use could lead to a greater efficiency of use.

By removing separations between uses and eliminating spaces that are used for a singular purpose, the city can become more compact. The public spaces in the city would become more active, dynamic and fully utilized. Public space would be used dynamically throughout most times of the day. Activities and uses could be organized and coordinated to use space where productive and interesting overlaps would enhance the vibrancy of the city and lead to unexpected social connections between people. This requires a level of comfort with ambiguity and openness that currently does not exist in the city. Though this tolerance for a lack of control, territory and ownership is sometimes achieved momentarily during festival conditions.

The humanizing principle of removing separation of uses is about creating unclaimed space for the human, in a city where every place is spoken for and controlled. The use and behavior that occurs in public space should not be prescribed, regulated or censored. The human city is one that provides opportunity for openness, unpredictability and the unexpected. The human condition is often one of ambiguity; the organization and use of the city should reflect this. Its lack of definition is a defining quality.
Most of the festivals provide many and varied human-scaled activities that overlap simultaneously and dynamically in the same space. This dynamism of activities creates the vibrant and lively street atmosphere associated with many of the festivals. Each festival studied creates an increase in overlapping activities in several ways. All are designed and implemented at a human scale. This scale provides the ability to reduce the distance between activities and to allow a more dynamic mix of activities in space. In many cases, the festival events are not monopolizing the use of space in the city, but are adding another layer of activity and dimension to the normal uses of space. This overlapping and layering provides a more interesting, varied and crowded use of space, enhancing many of the other principles already discussed. These enhancements in openness provide the opportunity to vary occupation and activity more so than in the normal condition of the city, increasing tolerant use of space.

The festival best exemplifying this principle is La Festa Gracia in Barcelona. This festival explicitly overlaps varying activities by breaking down the large-scale and homogenous city blocks and street frontages with small-scaled, detailed and intimate spatial enclosures. These environmental interventions built by the residents act to reduce both the grain of activity and the grain of the form of the city by providing human-scaled elements and a setting for more varied and overlapping uses to occur in public space.

The variety of approaches to increasing overlapping activity reflects the varying contextual conditions to which each individual festival is subjected. Regardless of context, a few approaches to this principle remain constant: overlapping activities may be increased by increasing the number of people that occupy a certain space in the city, by increasing the number of activities that occur there, by layering activities temporally or physically in space or by reducing the space available for use. Each of these adaptations of use may also alter the physical form of the city, breaking down large-scale city blocks of uniform form and activity and inserting a finer grain of mixed uses.

Applied to urban design, creating places with overlapping activity is important in the creation of public space that is not underutilized or stagnant. In addition, overlapping uses also enhances principles already discussed, like the perception of
FIGURE 103: The humanizing principle of Increase Overlapping Activities is best exemplified by La Festa Gracia’s adaptation of the scale, intimacy and variety of activities that occur in the public space of the street spatial containment, attracting density of people and removing separation of uses. In this light, public space in the city cannot be conceived of as void or open space, but must be considered as a setting for programmed use and activity. The grain of the activity that will activate these spaces and fill them with vibrant life is a critical dimension of humanized space. The edges of the spatial enclosure, in regard to program and activity must be considered and coordinated with the position and organization of the open space. The activity at the edges will provide the public space with many active users and should be organized in such a way to capitalize on this built-in vitality. An increase in overlapping activities enables dynamic patterns of use that are full of life and enhance the openness of the city.

Increasing overlapping activities is the humanizing principle that directly involves programming activity and land use into the organization of public space. However, in the contemporary city, land use is often viewed as a static representation that usually delineates large swaths of land to singular uses. This results in a very coarse grain of activity and form in the city. Conversely, planning for overlapping use moves away from this convention by examining individuals’ very specific and detailed actions in space and planning for that varied use. This enhances the grain of activity that occurs, anticipates a dynamic and changing public realm and provides the opportunity for productive overlaps and synergies of use. Increasing overlapping activities fits with the notion of ambiguity of space, outlined in the principle remove separation of uses, in that it encourages flexibility and change in the use of space.

The humanizing principle of increasing overlapping activities is about the creation of active and vibrant public spaces. By overlapping activities, spaces become more lively, engaging and varied places for human life to unfold. Increasing openness, tolerance and overlapping activity showcase the variety of the city.
The final humanizing principle is a meta-principle that applies to all other principles and brings them together. This meta-principle, temporally script and choreograph, mandates that all of the humanizing principles should be conceived as dynamic in space and time and should be coordinated as such.

Regardless of the festival or the chaotic appearance associated with some of the events, each festival is well planned, coordinated, scripted and choreographed. The festivals are not random events where everything seems to fall into place. Structure is required to allow for spontaneity. Similarly, all of the humanizing principles can only be successful if they are not left to chance.

The festivals are organized in any number of ways, but some basic elements of event scripting are found in most case studies. The festival is conceived of as an event that coordinates: the form and organization of the city; the connection of people, meaning and place; and the type, location and organization of activities. The festival must be choreographed as not only a series of physical elements acting through space, but also as a series of events acting through time. Las Fallas in Valencia is a good example of this type of festival choreography, building to the event crescendo of La Crema, with all temporary sculptures set ablaze throughout the city to a backdrop of fireworks.

The dramatic absence of such tools in the coordination and choreography of city design impairs the ability to create balanced cities. The city, like the festival, is a place of many parallel and complex dynamic processes. However, planning for the city does not equal those efforts made in planning for some of the more complex festival events. The planning that occurs for the city often neglects both the root values of connection and openness. The set of humanizing principles endeavors to balance the practice of city making and to create more dynamic tools of urban design.

The possibilities and potential synergies for coordinating these principles are apparent. Many of the principles reference one another and provide complementary tools to create vibrant, dynamic and active human-centered spaces. Choreographing these principles in time would be a significant advance in the practice of city making to benefit the human.

The difficulties of this meta-principle are clear--it is difficult to design for dynamic and changing processes. It is equally difficult
FIGURE 105: The humanizing principle of Temporally Script and Choreograph is best exemplified by Las Fallas’ choreography of festival events that strategically build to La Crema at the end to depict dynamic processes through the conventional tools of urban design. However, these difficulties may present the greatest opportunities for advancement and benefit to the human city. Incremental steps forward in the ability to conceive of, design for and depict dynamic uses and processes in space and time will greatly benefit the ability of the city to provide for the needs of humans, and to create lively, vibrant and functional places.

Interestingly, in providing a better city for human use through the temporal scripting of the humanizing principles, other value systems would also benefit. The efficiency of a city would be improved through a more compact use of space coordinated in time. The transportation of the city would be improved by spatial adjustments that could account for the ebb and flow of commuter travel. The economic development and real estate value would be enhanced by the productive overlaps and synergies that could now occur in the new dynamic spaces of the city. Finally, the city at large would benefit by the breaking down of rigid systems and by providing room for the smallest, most dynamic and incremental unit of the city, the human. The breaking down of cumbersome, static systems in the city and allowing more unpredictable and dynamic processes to take place would allow new patterns of city use to emerge. These new patterns would reprioritize the human’s position in the city.

The human city takes as a great a care in the choreography of the festival of daily life as it does in the production of annual celebrations.
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CHAPTER 5

DESIGN TEST & REFLECTIONS

The design test of the humanizing principles is a valuable exercise in judging their applicability and effectiveness in improving the city. As it is formulated the test provides recommendations for the improvement of a festival and a public space in Boston. This design test illustrates the application of the humanizing principles.

A summary analysis, looking at and beyond the design test, is presented, giving perspective on the larger and more general aspects of the humanizing principles. The humanizing principles are useful in framing the issues prevalent in the design process of city making. These conclusions also discuss challenges of the research and potential next steps.
SCOPE AND INTENT

The city is too complex and dynamic a system to adequately design for everything holistically. The systems of the city are divided into disciplines and the design of each part is the territory of a particular specialty; these parts or systems are then brought together. Additionally, every design, even if argued to be holistic, inevitably prioritizes a few value systems. That said, this design test utilizes the humanizing principles in an attempt to place a new priority at the center of design, provision for the human use of space in the city.

In this design test, the most effective measure to avoid the bias toward continuity and form that is seen in the contemporary city is to utilize the dynamic and temporal elements of a festival. In this way, the root values of connection and openness can be enhanced in the city. The design test is intended to provide further illustration and application of the humanizing principles presented in this thesis. In addition, the design test examines the festival as a unique urban design tool to test humanizing adjustments in the city.

The humanizing principles are purposefully general so that they can be interpreted in a number of ways. Any city examined by the principles will have varied and specific measures highlighted as methods to humanize space, depending upon the existing conditions of the place. The design test presented here shows one possible solution for a humanized design. However, any number of humanizing solutions is possible based upon analysis of the principles and reaction to the existing conditions. However, the test is valuable in providing an interpretation of the principles grounded in a specific place that reflects those conditions.

The design test utilized a festival event that is preexisting, First Night Boston, to attempt to show that the event could be better suited to have a lasting humanizing effect on the public space and the city. Specifically, the First Night festival is used as a temporal opportunity to test humanizing principles that could benefit the Rose Kennedy Greenway and provide incremental improvements each year to humanize that public space.
SELECTION AND METHODOLOGY

The design test utilizes the First Night Festival of 2008 as a starting point for event activities. The design test builds upon recommendations put forth in a 2008 Massachusetts Institute of Technology Master in City Planning thesis entitled “Designing a Moment in Time: First Night and Boston’s Public Spaces” (Stone). The placement and programming of events is undertaken strategically to produce lasting and humanizing adjustments to Boston’s newest public space, the Rose Kennedy Greenway.

To reposition First Night Boston as a humanizing event, concerns about the event's relevance and viability must be rectified. The event itself needs continuity as a predictable and enduring tradition. The following recommendations build upon Stone's thesis and are assumed resolve this issue: reduce interior events, relocate all events to the Greenway and waterfront, reduce event barriers used to control the movement of people, sequence and choreograph events to build to a midnight finale, remove bias toward families and children, reinstate an interaction and art focus, engage adjacent owners and activities, and encourage independent vendors to add vitality by linking between festival events. Lastly, if providing a valuable public benefit to the city as an event and as a humanizing force on public space, funding should be subsidized by the city, not admissions button sales.

The methodology of the design test is straightforward. First, the existing context and condition of the Rose Kennedy Greenway and First Night Boston were examined briefly. Second, the festival was strategically relocated to the new public space with the intention of providing the most design opportunities for illustration of the humanizing principles. The First Night events (Stone, 2008) themselves were analyzed and adapted, utilizing the humanizing principles to achieve maximum effect of the festival. Lastly, these optimized events were placed and organized in such a way to have a direct effect on the Rose Kennedy Greenway, realizing specific and tangible urban design strategies for the creation of more human spaces.

As it currently exists, the First Night festival is less successful in its temporary humanization of the city than the other festival case studies examined. The most successful First Night event, in this regard, is the Grand Procession, a parade from the Hynes Convention Center to the Boston Common, along Boylston Street. The parade disrupts continuity of movement, provides a common experience, increases the density of people, removes separation of uses and creates a finer grain of activity. The parade makes no distinctions between participant and observer and is largely unregulated. This part of the festival fits well with the lessons learned through the other case studies, but is not a large enough attraction to sustain the festival itself. All of the festival events must be improved to capitalize on the opportunity First Night presents in Boston to balance the root values of continuity, connection and openness.
FESTIVAL CONTEXT

First Night Boston is a family-oriented New Year's Eve festival that occurs each year on December 31st and is located around the Boston Common and the Back Bay neighborhood. The festival began in 1976, primarily as an outdoor artists' event, providing an alternative to conventional New Year's Eve parties. The event initially encouraged free mass participation for all attendees and adapted space with art installations. The festival has evolved into a paid admission, children-oriented event, with most of its activities occurring indoors at the Hynes Convention Center. The events that remain outdoors are free to the public.

First Night Boston has seen better days as a critical event in the city of Boston. The event has revolved around what the organizers refer to as the four pillars: community, celebration, New Year's Eve and art. The festival seems to have skewed too far in the direction of community and seems to have lost its ability to create excitement in the city. Several issues affect First Night today. The festival must engage Boston’s city fabric more directly, utilize the city itself as a stage, keep the celebrants on the street and not inside of buildings, and to use a wide variety of spaces that are closely linked (Stone, 2008). The importance of improving First Night is made apparent by Stone’s conclusions. “As the only major celebration . . . to truly focus on Boston’s physical and human fabric, First Night should exploit its relationship with the city. . . . Organizers should think of First Night as an urban design problem in which celebrants’ experiences are guided and the city is illuminated by the First Night program.”

The first major change to First Night by the design test is to relocate the festival in its entirety to the Rose Kennedy Greenway. This is an extension of Stone’s recommendation to expand First Night from the Back Bay to the Greenway and waterfront (2008). However, this expansion would further disperse the already overly diffused event. Whereas, complete relocation, as recommended in this thesis, provides a solution to several of the problems outlined: it connects the event to the urban context more directly, it can be sited and reconfigured to direct an experience through the city, it utilizes the city as its stage, and it is located and designed to humanize a series of public spaces.

First Night Boston has always been a dispersed nodal event composed of activities that stretch from the Hynes Convention Center to the Boston Harbor waterfront, covering just less than two miles. The events are too dispersed throughout the city to attract a critical mass of people. Additionally, as currently sited, the festival has no real connection to its surrounding urban context, no embodied meaning for the community, and minimal spatial adjustment, or lasting humanizing adaptation of public space. The event could have a more lasting impact on the city and become a more attractive event by correcting these shortcomings, connecting to the new Greenway and reinvigorating its relationship with the city.
**FIGURE 106:** Diagram of the location of activities for the First Night Festival in Boston as it occurred in 2008, focused on the Back Bay and Boston Commons.

**FIGURE 107:** General atmosphere and type of activities occurring during the First Night Festival in Boston.
CITY AND PUBLIC SPACE CONTEXT

Compared to other U.S. cities, the city of Boston is a human city. Boston is compact, dense, walkable, vibrant, active and intimately scaled. However, the dominant value systems are still actively given priority over the human in the city. Much of the city's organization has been determined by the priorities of economic development, real estate, efficiency, transportation, aesthetics, and control. As in most other cities, the human is provided for in the city spaces as a byproduct of the other value systems. As such, Boston is biased toward the root value of continuity in providing predictability for the dominant value systems.

Boston has managed a degree of balance between the demands of the city with provision for the human. The city has many open spaces, multiple choices for modes of travel, relatively short walking distances between destinations, active spaces most times of the day, a resident population, and a variety of dynamic and integrated activities that utilize the city in diverse ways. The principal public spaces of the downtown core are the Boston Common, the Public Garden, Copley Square, the Charles River Esplanade, the Harbor Waterfront and now the Rose Kennedy Greenway.

The Rose Kennedy Greenway is a 15 acre linear park that is the byproduct of an extensive public works project in Boston, commonly referred to as the Big Dig. The Big Dig placed an elevated portion of Interstate 93 underground. This highway had cut a scar through the city's downtown core since the late 1950's. This scar, and now the Greenway, followed the curve of the Boston waterfront and was offset inland from the waterfront by about one city block. In this design test, the Greenway park system is divided into a series of five parks (from north to south): North Station, the North End, the Wharf District, Dewey Square and Chinatown. Combined, the parks create a linear park system that is about one mile long.

Each of the individual parks of the Greenway has been designed as its own public space, plaza or park, each with its own character, theme, attractions and challenges. Thus, each section of this linear park offers a different urban context and neighborhood adjacency. Many of these adjacencies and connections are highlighted in the figure to the right. This variety provides fruitful ground for testing the humanizing principles, affording the opportunity to implement them in a number of different ways strategically reacting to the context.

**FIGURE 108:** Diagram of the Rose Kennedy Greenway with potential city connections and official City of Boston parcel numbers for reference (facing page)
FIGURE 109: Greenway immediate context and building heights
GREENWAY VALUE SYSTEM ANALYSIS

Although this new public space in the city is mostly devoted to human use through open space and recreational parks, the human public spaces were fit into the leftover land once all other value systems had been satisfied. The park system takes its shape from the removed elevated highway; it is bordered by those buildings that were left adjacent to the elevated highway or have been built since its completion in the late 1950’s. The new highway runs below the Greenway in a series of tunnels that emerge just south of South Station and just north of North Station. The Greenway is dominated by roadways and split into many disconnected parcels. Although the highway is now below grade, three lane surface roadways border the parks in both directions with quickly moving traffic. Worse yet, the linear Greenway is broken repeatedly by entry and exit ramps that lead below grade to the highway tunnel system.

Interestingly, many of the existing spaces of the Greenway may suffer from too much open space and a lack of spatial definition, with 22% devoted to open space. In this case, humanizing space may mean removing public space from the human to create more edges, spatial enclosure and activity. A similar calculation for the Back Bay yields 24% devoted to open space for the human, with the Commonwealth Avenue Mall the central feature of that neighborhood’s open space. The difference between the Back Bay’s public space and the current condition of the Greenway is the spatial containment and defined edges that frame the open space. This will be discussed in more detail, according to each specific Greenway district.

The examination of the value systems and root values most prevalent in the Greenway’s organization leads directly to the next level of analysis.

The human city would have reorganized the Greenway around the creation of open space for people first and then fit the roadways and building locations to those needs. In reality the Greenway was conceived of and organized in the exact opposite manner. To Boston’s credit, when the space became available, it was preserved for human use and public space, instead of allowing other value systems to have priority.

FIGURE 110: The Rose Kennedy Greenway divided into its basic elements, reflecting its organization by the dominant value systems in Boston, economic development/real estate, human, efficiency, transportation and control (facing page)
Site Elements of the Value System of Economic Development and Real Estate
Existing Buildings and Development Sites
58% Site Coverage
(1,165,000 SF)

Site Elements of the Human Value System
Open Space and Sidewalks
22% Site Coverage
(3,125,000 SF)

Site Elements of the Value System of Efficiency/Transportation
Surface Streets and Highway Entry/Exit Ramps
18% Site Coverage
(995,000 SF)

Site Elements of the Value System of Control
Pedestrian Crosswalk, Controlled Intersections and Protected Entry/Exit Ramps
2% Site Coverage
(125,000 SF)
GREENWAY HUMANIZING PRINCIPLE ANALYSIS

In undertaking this design test, the process has considered a few parallel and complementary design elements. These design elements include the existing overall physical context of the Greenway, the context of the festival event, First Night Boston, and the more specific physical contexts of the individual Greenway Districts’ site-scaled design elements. Each of these works in tandem to the ultimate goal of humanizing the Greenway.

Each of these districts was evaluated according to the humanizing principles to determine where each site’s assets and deficiencies lie (see figure to the right).

As mentioned above, the Greenway is the byproduct of other value systems acting in the city. The parks have been placed within the space leftover by roadways and other functions of the city. One of the most effective humanizing principles in this context is the disruption of movement. The temporal and permanent incremental adjustments of the design test propose adaptations to vehicular circulation and access.

The northern parcels of the Greenway would benefit from an increase in spatial containment. The lower building heights in this area of the North End and the sporadically vacant built edges of the Greenway do not properly enclose the experience of open space in this district. This could be achieved through new built edges, enclosures and buildings that frame the space.

The middle and southern parcels of the Greenway get a large amount of people circulating transversely across the open space. These parcels are spatially well enclosed by taller buildings, but lack the activities and common experience to get people to pause in these well proportioned spaces. The public spaces also suffer from a more traditional delineation of spatial control between public and private, the separation of uses typical of a financial district.

This analysis directly informed the strategy for the placement and organization of festival events. The festival is the catalyst by which the Greenway can prioritize the human, building on these assets and beginning to address these deficiencies.

FIGURE 1: Five districts of the Rose Kennedy Greenway evaluated according to the Humanizing Principles (facing page)
North Station District
Assets: Spatial Containment, Ease of Pedestrian Movement, Attracts Density of People, Overlapping Activities
Deficiencies: Meaning & Commonality, Rigid Separation of Uses

North End District
Assets: Meaning & Commonality, Attracts Density of People
Deficiencies: Spatial Containment, Dominant Vehicular Movement, Rigid Separation of Uses, Minimal Overlapping Activities

Wharf District
Assets: Spatial Containment, Meaning & Commonality, Attracts Density of People
Fluid Separation of Uses
Deficiencies: Dominant Vehicular Movement, Minimal Overlapping Activities

South Station District
Assets: Spatial Containment, Attracts Density of People, Overlapping Activities
Deficiencies: Dominant Vehicular Movement, Meaning & Commonality, Rigid Separation of Uses

Chinatown District
Assets: Spatial Containment, Meaning & Commonality
Deficiencies: Dominant Vehicular Movement, Density of People, Rigid Separation of Uses, Minimal Overlapping Activities

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PROPOSED FESTIVAL SEQUENCE

On the Greenway, First Night is strategically organized and sequenced as shown to the right. The early New Year’s Eve day activities incorporate more family friendly and child-oriented events connecting to the current form of First Night. Existing indoor activity attractions, such as the Children’s Museum, Institute of Contemporary Arts, New England Aquarium, and TD Bank Garden, will be utilized as existing attractions and destinations that will host special New Year events associated with the festival. These will be the only large-scale indoor attractions of the event. These locations will be connected by active and festive public spaces and streets with art installations, ice sculptures, and interactive events that provide a continuous link between these nodes. This festival beginning will provide a more mellow and relaxed atmosphere that will build throughout the day to midnight. The events will be strategically positioned to humanize the city and alter the pedestrian experience of the Greenway.

The mid-evening events of First Night Boston build to the first crescendo of the festival. The culminating event of the family-oriented portion of the festival, and the kick-off of the nighttime celebrations, is the Grand Procession. Relocated from Bolyston Street, the Grand Procession remains a participatory spectacle, but now of immense proportion. Each adjacent neighborhood or activity node is a simultaneous origin of the procession. Adding to the brass bands, marching bands, stilt walkers, costumes, puppets, dancers and floats are children in aquatic costumes from the aquarium, Chinese dragon puppeteers from Chinatown, bead-wearing revelers from Faneuil Hall and critical mass bike riders from Fort Point Channel. Harkening to Ganesh Chaturthi, the Grand Procession is now dynamic and responsive procession to Rowes Wharf, gathering participants from along the Greenway and summoning everyone into the spectacle of the event. The Grand Procession would end with a small fireworks show that would also signal the beginning of the final series of events centered on the Wharf District’s public spaces.

The late evening events of First Night Boston would revolve around Rowes and Long Wharf, an area rich in meaning and historic Boston narrative. Rowes Wharf, a waterfront building known as the Gateway to Boston, has a massive archway that would serve as stage and backdrop to a series of performances and stage shows that would end in the New Year’s Eve Countdown and harbor fireworks show. During the build-up to the final countdown and fireworks, other events would be occurring along the Greenway, but be activated to strategically draw people to the event epicenter of the Wharf District.

The festival activities are strategically located to enhance sequencing, to build to an effective event crescendo, to adapt space along the Greenway, and to provide a temporary adjustment in Boston testing the humanizing principles.

FIGURE 112: Proposed First Night sequencing of events strategically located to activate the Rose Kennedy Greenway, culminating in festive celebration in front of Rowes Wharf (facing page)
1. *Mid-day to Late Afternoon*
Family-oriented events linking existing attractions

2. *Early Evening*
Grand Procession leading to Rowes Wharf

3. *Evening to Midnight*
Activity centered on Rowes Wharf leading to midnight countdown and fireworks
TEMPORAL HUMANIZING ADAPTATION

The First Night festival and the Greenway’s public space can be enhanced by strategically adapting space to prioritize the human (illustrated in the figure below). These strategic adaptations to accommodate the festival attempt to temporarily remedy those deficiencies as outlined above by Greenway district. The festival is an excellent opportunity to test how these deficiencies may be addressed, how humanizing adaptations would function and are received by the city, and to make incremental adjustments to the Greenway space annually with the event, adjusting each year as required.
FIGURE 113: Diagram illustrating the temporal adaptations of space on the Greenway to accommodate and enhance the First Night festival.
PERMANENT HUMANIZING ADAPTATION

The strategic and incremental testing of new organization of space and function on the Greenway results in urban design elements that humanize space. These elements are the permanent humanizing adaptations that would be implemented after testing through the temporal festival adaptations. Although permanent urban design intentions, these elements are more dynamic and flexible than a traditional master plan in that they may change as the space itself and surrounding conditions in the city change and adjust incrementally with the adaptations. The festival event and adaptations enable this type of responsiveness.
**FIGURE 114:** Diagram illustrating the permanent adaptations of space on the Rose Kennedy Greenway, intended to humanize the public space.
PARCEL DESIGN VIGNETTE: SOUTH STATION DISTRICT

As seen in the top figure to the right, this district exhibits dominant vehicular movement, lack of meaning and commonality and a rigid separation of uses. Proposed for the festival adaptations the cubes represent an interactive art installation that activates the space, information walls and kiosks enhance meaning and commonality directing people arriving from South Station to the various nodes of activity nearby. Proposed for the permanent adaptations are public space infrastructure elements that add activity and use to the space, such as commuter information, farmer’s market stalls, homeless shelters, and residue of the festival art installation creating overlapping activities and removing separation of uses.

FIGURE 115: Detailed diagram of the South Station District of the Rose Kennedy Greenway, temporal and permanent improvements
FIGURE 116: (Top) The existing conditions of the South Station District, (Middle) Diagram of the temporal adaptations that occur during the First Night Festival (Bottom) Diagram of the permanent adaptations based upon the humanizing principles.
PARCEL DESIGN VIGNETTE: NORTH END DISTRICT

As seen in the top figure to the right, this district exhibits a lack of spatial containment, dominant vehicular movement, a rigid separation of use and minimal overlapping activities. Proposed for the festival adaptations the tall columns represent objects (i.e., sculptures, trees) that help to enclose the space, temporary walls at street edges and temporary festival tent enclosures enhance spatial containment as well. Pedestrian movement is enhanced at roadways temporarily with road paintings and permanently with surfacing that is a continuation of the plazas. Other proposed permanent adaptations are new buildings at the edges of the public space.

FIGURE 117: Detailed diagram of the North End District of the Rose Kennedy Greenway, temporal and permanent improvements
FIGURE 118: (Top) The existing conditions of the North End District, (Middle) Diagram of the temporal adaptations that occur during the First Night Festival (Bottom) Diagram of the permanent adaptations based upon the humanizing principles.
This thesis has investigated placing the human at the center of decisions made in the process of city making. The research has uncovered some shortcomings of the practices of city design and points to some new methods and ways of thinking that could help to remedy these deficiencies. However, the thesis does highlight the difficulty of implementing these changes. The following thoughts reflect on the design test; this thesis at large, and attempt to frame some recommendations for future thinking and direction for the creation of new tools of city design.

In reflecting on the design test and the design process that occurred, the humanizing principles were relevant and useful as a framework to conceive of the design of urban space in a new way. However, the design test attempts to create new and tangible results for urban design using the humanizing principles, but falls short. The design test fails to explicitly illustrate what the human city may be; this is not for a lack of effort. The design test does point to some new directions in city design that could make a similar exercise in humanizing the city much easier in the future.

First, during the design process, the difference in thinking was a shift toward designing for public space to be dynamic and changing in time. The humanizing principles helped to achieve this by forcing the designer to consider connections between people and an openness in the use and programming of space. The humanizing principles also did well to provide a checklist of sorts that reflect the three root values of the city, continuity, connection and openness, in a balanced way. The principles, at least in terms of the thinking during the design process, helped to understand the city in a more balanced and holistic manner. They also helped to focus the design on those elements important to humanizing the city. The principles are derived from human adaptations of the city that occur during festivals. Therefore relying on the principles to direct the design process helped to focus each of the design moves and considerations on the human first and then fit other functional demands of the city around those decisions.

In terms of the product of the design test, the humanizing principles were less successful. While the principles are effective in providing a method to consider designing for the human in the city, they may need a set of complementary design tools developed to truly begin creating unique human-centered places. For instance, a more open and dynamic use of space with overlapping activities does not currently have a set of tools for its design or depiction of this abstract idea. Traditionally, a land use map, zoning or some other more static and broad-brushed method delineates use. However, a new method is required for representing a singular space that dynamically adjusts uses that overlap and change over time. This could be represented through a series of plans or methods of design and depiction that utilize animation, dynamic drawings or models. This could be something more akin to a dynamic activity mapping than a static land use plan. Several other tools of this kind are required for the creation of places that connect people and create common experience. Lastly, a robust method for designing and depicting flexible space is required to achieve the urban dynamism that would result in more vibrant and human places.

Throughout this research process the root value of openness has been persistently
problematic in its definition and measurement. In the festival case study analysis, openness was the most difficult root value to visualize and diagram. This difficulty led to humanizing principles regarding openness that are less strong and tangible. In addition, this uncovered the need for more robust tools to assess the root value of openness.

Considering what new tools for understanding, designing and depicting the city are needed may help illustrate some of the difficulties experienced during the design test. As it actually exists and functions, the city is an incredibly complex and dynamic system that is difficult to accurately represent. It is in the simplified representations of the city that many of the problems of city making may be found. Many of the current tools of the urban designer have been borrowed or extrapolated from the profession of architecture (i.e., plans, building elevations, diagrams and three-dimensional models). All of these tools are static drawings that simplify the city and remove much of the detail, nuance and dynamism of actual city function. Experimentation with new methods of depicting activities and motion of people in space, over the course of a day, might borrow from the virtual worlds of film, video games or animation. Similarly, new tools are becoming available via the massive data collection of the internet and mobile technologies that may more accurately depict the dynamism of the city and provide new tools for designing cities.

Each humanizing principle deserves an evaluation after having utilized them in the process of the design test. Adapt Spatial Containment was one of the easier principles with which to work because it deals explicitly with the physical form of the space. Although simple in its application, this principle was helpful and relevant in conceiving of the surrounding buildings and edges of a space as a container in which human experience occurs. The principle allowed thinking about spatial containment to move beyond the tired formulation that “human-scaled” elements are important in the city. The principle of adapting spatial containment was not always about creating human-scaled spaces, but was also about correlating spatial containment with the type, frequency and scale of activities that occur in the space.

The second principle, Restructure Movement, was also simply applied to the design test. As put forth in the research, the city is often dominated by systems of vehicular movement and this principle provides an approach to disrupting this vehicular dominance. The principle intends to eliminate the primacy of uninterrupted and separated roadways. In fact, the organization of space in the city at times could greatly benefit from the disruption of vehicular movement and the creation of places that are more likely to cause pause than speeding through. The only difficulty of this principle is developing multiple methods for its implementation. The principle is about more than traffic-calming techniques, but it is difficult to conceive of more truly innovative methods of movement disruption. Perhaps this is indicative of the depth to which the assumptions of vehicular requirements have permeated the psyche of city making.

The principle of Expose Meaning and Commonality was useful in making the notion of connection tangible in spatial design. However, as this particular design process showed, a major pitfall of this principle was uncovered. Most of the urban design methods for making meaning and common
experience apparent rely heavily on urban installations and novel tricks to bring people together or to reveal a pattern in the city that is not usually noticed. While this may be a worthwhile endeavor, in the design process it did become very distracting and pushed the design thinking in a direction that may have marginalized, not only this humanizing principle, but the notion of the human city as well. The human city is not about having better or more clever public art. This pitfall of the principle of common experience can be avoided, but remains a challenge. This design test was a rather quick endeavor and if given more time to uncover the deeper narratives of a place, exposing commonality could be more meaningful and authentic.

The principle Attract Density of People is useful in concept, but is a more difficult prospect to achieve and relies upon many of the other humanizing principles for its success. The notion of increasing the amount of people in a space fits well with the other ambitions of the humanizing principles and connects people to each other more easily in public space. However, this is a principle that cannot be made to just happen. First, the density of people in a space is directly related to the size of that space (spatial containment). Second, the density of people in space is dependent upon the activities and destinations that occur in or around that space (overlapping activities) and how rigidly defined the zones of activity and use are made to be (separation of uses). Therefore, in the design test, increasing the density of people was an ambition, but can only be hoped to come as a result of other, more direct design interventions and organizations of space and activity. Most design renderings are shown filled with people, but the actual amount of people that arrive in a space at any time is quite difficult to ensure by design.

As discussed, the most difficult principles to implement in the design test were those regarding openness. The principle of Remove Separation of Uses is beneficial in thinking about the organization of space, but more difficult to make specific adjustments in the design test and would be more difficult yet to implement in reality. Distinctions of use, ownership, control, public and private are all very rigid and deep rooted categorizations of space that are difficult to subvert. While a design could propose less distinction between public and private space, this may be very difficult to achieve. Additionally, in terms of the design test, actually making this principle tangible is difficult as well. A design cannot propose space that is completely ambiguous or undefined because those elements that define space are also those that usually separate use. This principle created some dilemma in the design test, but the potential for it to produce new and innovative assembly of space is apparent. In fact, many of the greatest public spaces in a city like New York are private property.

The principle Increase Overlapping Activity was perhaps the most problematic of all of the humanizing principles. However, this principle is probably the most fascinating among the collection because of its potential to tread new ground in city making. Creating spaces that are more richly active and that have uses and functions that vary and change dynamically to fit with patterns of occupation in the city would create a new level of connection and openness that does not currently exist. The difficulty is in developing techniques to enable this achievement. Some of the mechanisms to create dynamically
active and vibrant places may come from the other humanizing principles, depending upon the spatial containment of a place, the use and activity that is present, and the amount of people that circulate in and around it.

The final principle of Temporally Script and Choreograph seems to be addressed naturally in the design process. As discussed, each of the humanizing principles has some level of overlap and synergistic qualities that enhance their ability to work together as a set to humanize space. Temporal scripting ensures that the principles are not only coordinated in intent, but are also coordinated in time to adjust to the changing conditions of the city throughout the day. By designing for these variations, this fluctuation can be harnessed to create new overlaps for uses of space and activity that could prioritize the human in the city, if only for certain times of the day.

To conclude the design test reflections, it is somewhat disappointing to not have a shocking and new public space design that ushers in the era of human cities, but this research has shown that the human city is the result of a series of incremental adaptations to the current city form. This is not a utopian endeavor that proposes a new form of urbanism that rises from a greenfield in some future world. The humanizing principles propose adjustments to contemporary cities that result in a more human-centered place. This may result in solutions that are not completely foreign to the current practices of city making.

The underlying idea inherent in the humanizing set of principles is that all places require some form of adjustment from their present state to be truly considered a place for humans. Every city will need to adapt its organization and city systems directly on a city-by-city basis. There is no perfect humanizing adaptation that will fix all of a particular city's issues, but the tools discussed should equip city making to balance continuity, connection and openness. It has been difficult to position the thinking, research and principles when only minor adjustments to the current city may be proposed. A drastic change to the organization of the city would be more easily described and depicted. Nonetheless, a new approach to continue advancement and evolution of the city is needed; the humanizing principles are an attempt at such an approach.

Reflecting on the use of the festival in this thesis has revealed the events themselves to be successful tools that can be utilized to better understand human use of the city. Additionally, the festival is a viable urban design tool to catalyze change and to strategically and incrementally test urban design proposals. In this way, the festival is underutilized as a temporal design test in the city.

All festival events should not only be planned for success of the festival itself, but additionally should be strategically and systematically deployed throughout the city where change is needed or desired. This use of the festival could be employed by public agencies to test proposed changes in the organization of the city or could be used by community groups to advocate for and propose necessary changes to city officials. As shown with some success in the design test, the event itself can be designed to affect permanent elements of the organization of the city and endeavor to create more human-centered places. These adjustments brought about through the festival can also easily occur incrementally and shift from year to year with
the festival as strategies reveal themselves as more or less successful in adjusting the city.

This research may begin to venture into a more difficult and controversial area of social engineering. Questions of the authority of organizing the city in such a way to encourage social interaction, tolerance and openness of behavior are reasonable. This may skew too far into the realm of social and behavioral science, cultural norms or personal preference to be relevant to city making. However, responding to this type of questioning is at the heart of this research. People and their behavior are an integral part of the city, and in many ways, are ignored by conventional practices of city making. The methods proposed in this research may not be the ultimate answer to integrating people more actively into design processes, but they do begin to present a more balanced portrayal of the city.

In fact, integrating the needs and behavior of the human in the processes of city making might be the proper positioning of the discipline of urban design among those professions that work together to organize the city. In the discussion of value systems in the city, each of the value systems has one or several professional disciplines that deal explicitly with its demands on the city. For instance, the real estate developer, the economist, the civil engineer, the traffic engineer, the security consultant, the land use planner, the policy maker, the architect and many others that contribute to the processes of city making.

The discipline of urban design has long been closely associated with the built environment. Viewed by many as a balance between the architect and urban planner, the urban designer is often responsible for considerations of the form of the city. Not to discount the importance of this responsibility, but the discipline may benefit from balancing the root values of the city as discussed in this thesis. Urban design should expand beyond urban form and the root value of continuity to focus on, as their primary objective, providing for the human in the city. This would enable a disciplinary expansion to the root values of connection and openness and the urban designer could be the advocate for human use in the spatial design of cities.

This positioning of urban design may appear to skew toward the responsibilities of the city planner. While the city planner in many ways is explicitly dealing with the concerns of people in the city, this thesis is an attempt to bring people into the spatial design of the city. In advocating for the human city, the urban designer must compete with the other disciplines that are based upon more exacting sciences. The real estate developer defends decisions based upon highest and best use and net operating income. The traffic engineer bases design upon a complex set of assumptions of trip generation and road capacity. Each discipline has developed very concrete and logical metrics by which decisions are made and negotiated. A similar set of well-defined metrics must aid the urban designer in designing for and defending decisions benefiting the human user of a space. This thesis research did fall short in creating this viable set of metrics by which to defend urban design decisions for the human. However, the humanizing principles are appropriate ways to judge the arrangement of space in the city as suitable environments for human use. From these humanizing principles, a more detailed and rigorous set of metrics could be developed for each.
In conclusion, some might argue this body of thought and research does not uncover anything new or fundamentally different about the way the city is currently conceived of or produced. However, even if this is the case, the work is still necessary and relevant because the way the city is made and the processes that form it do not align with the thinking presented in this thesis. Therefore, the research is either relevant because the truisms of good city making held within it need to be reinforced and reiterated, or, the research is relevant because city making is not conceived of with the human at the center of decisions and this thesis is the beginning of thinking about city making in this manner. In either scenario, it is hoped that the thoughts, methods, and research presented will contribute to a more human-centered form of urbanism that can further advance the city, the most dynamic type of human settlement that exists. The humanizing principles are an effective tool toward a human-centered city with balanced root values of continuity, connection and openness.
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THESIS DEFENSE PRESENTATION

DESCRIPTION

Presentation boards assembled for the thesis defense. The boards consolidate the diagrams, case studies and images to be more easily comparable and observed as a complete set. There were (9) presentation boards in total, original size 24” x 36” with some half sheets at 12” x 36”.

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Humanizing Assets: Density of People
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- Spatial Containment
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WHARF DISTRICT
Humanizing Assets: Spatial Containment, Common Experience
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*All figures not listed below were created originally for this research by the author.

FIGURE 8: Aerial diagram drawn by author based upon aerial imagery from Google Earth and Windows Live Maps Bird’s eye views of Midtown Manhattan.


FIGURE 16: (Top) “Carrer Verdi” (Middle) “Lluis Antunez” and (Bottom) “Mozart”, photographs of La Festa Gracia from “Festa Major de Gracia” <www.festamajordegracia.cat>, viewed March 2009.


FIGURES 38-41: Aerial maps drawn by author using Google Earth imagery (2009 TerraMetrics


**FIGURE 56:** Photograph of New York City’s Midtown Manhattan by Author from November 2008.

**FIGURE 57:** Photograph of the Macy’s Thanksgiving Day Parade from <http://zerocola.blogspot.com/2007_11_01_archive.html>, viewed March 2009.


**FIGURE 64:** Photograph of Ganesh Chaturthi from <http://www.columbia.edu/~rr332/TheBiennale.htm>, photograph by Jehangir Sorabjee, Urban Design Research Institute, viewed March 2009.


**FIGURE 70:** (Top) Photograph of the Village Halloween Parade from <http://newyork.metromix.com/events/REFERENCES: IMAGES AND FIGURES 175


FIGURE 106: Illustration of Boston’s First Night by Author based upon the Boston Redevelopment Authority’s CAD files <http://www.bostonredevelopmentauthority.org/maps/maps.asp> and (Stone, 2008).


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FIGURES 117: Illustration of Boston by Author based upon the Boston Redevelopment Authority’s CAD files <http://www.bostonredevelopmentauthority.org/maps/maps.asp>, viewed April 2009.

FIGURE 118: Illustration and photographs by Author.
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Walk for Hunger (Boston) | TEAM CO-LEADER / WALKER | 2004-2009
Canstruction | Food Bank Charity Event | TEAM LEADER | 2001
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AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY: RESUME 181