Parks, Squares and Political Events:

Difference in accessibility for political events depending on ownership structures

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Abstract

Publicly accessible urban spaces in New York City are subject to different ownership models. Some are privately owned by corporations, which are called POPs. Others are publicly accessible urban spaces publicly owned by the Department of Parks and Recreation. Because there is little research about how the ownership structures of these two different ownership structures affect the accessibility and use of their different publicly accessible urban spaces, in regards to the organisation of political events. I hypothesise that there is a difference in accessibility and use, for different ownership structures, regarding political events. Political events was chosen as the main use due to the change within the political climate in the United States of America, during Donald J, Trump's presidency. The main research question is: Is there a difference in the accessibility and use of publicly accessibly urban spaces in New York City for political events depending on their ownership structure? For each of the different ownership structures three case studies' urban design features and rules and regulations were introduced and analysed. Following this chapter, different types of political events are introduced by including events that took place within the case studies. From which, certain urban design requirements were identified that were necessary to host different political events. After comparing the case studies' urban design elements and rules and regulations with the identified requirements of different types of political events, it was concluded that there is indeed a difference in accessibility and use of publicly accessible urban spaces in New York City for political events. Publicly owned public spaces are more accessible and useful for hosting political events regarding the urban design elements within the case studies. However, POPs are more accessible and useful for hosting political events regarding the rules and regulation of the case studies.

Introduction

Publicly accessible urban spaces in New York City are subject to different ownership models and different organisational structures. Some are privately owned by corporations and other private companies. These privately owned public spaces are called POPs. This form of ownership was first introduced in New York City in 1917. Because of the lack of accessibility of the POPs, zoning reforms were introduced in the early 1970s. Due to 1970s zoning reforms, the regulatory structure of the POPs changed, which required to offer more amenities within the spaces. After the 1970 reforms, POPs still attracted criticism because of their restricted accessibility and use due to rules and regulations (Schmidt et al., 2011). These zoning reforms did not affect public urban spaces owned by the Department of Parks and Recreation of New York City, which was established in 1856 for the maintenance of central park, soon adding more city parks to its purview. Contrary to POPs, the parks of the Department of Parks and Recreation are publicly owned, which means that government regulations determine their use. Research has been done about the accessibility of POPs. For example, by Kayden (2000) who analyses the different design features of these POPs in relation to the accessibility of the space. Or, research by Schmidt, Nemeth & Botsford (2011) who use an analytical model to analyse the difference between the accessibility of POPs from before and after the 1970's reformation. Research by Nemeth & Schmidt (2011) is one of the few researches which analyses the difference in control within POPs and publicly owned spaces.

Because there is little research about how the ownership structures of these two different ownership structures affect the accessibility and use of their different publicly accessible urban spaces, I hypothesise that there is a difference in their accessibility and use for certain kind of uses. To limit the field of research the use of publicly accessible urban spaces for political events, such as demonstrations or political rallies, will be the use that will be researched. The focus will be on this particular use because of the current political climate in the United States of America. During the presidency of Donald J. Trump, political tensions within the United States of America have risen and thus prompting more political events to take place all over the country as well as in New York City. The research question that will be answered in this thesis is:

Is there a difference in the accessibility and use of publicly accessibly urban spaces in New York City for political events depending on their ownership structure?

In chapter one a literary review will be carried out from which, the political, social and cultural context in which these different kinds of ownership structures have emerged will be discussed. The main literary works used in this chapter are works by Schmidt et al. (2011) and Nemeth & Schmidt (2011).

Following the literature review in chapter one, a case-study based research will be done in chapter two and three to introduce the case-studies per individual ownership structure. The case-study based research consist of an introduction of the urban design features and analysing the regulations that govern the chosen publicly accessible urban spaces. This is done through analysing the regulations, plans and Images of the chosen case studies. To limit the field of research, the case studies will be limited to public spaces within Manhattan, with New York City, with a focus on public squares and parks. The case studies that are chosen also have to be well known, for there to be enough research and material to be found. Some of the case studies that are chosen have hosted different political events in the past as well. The case studies that will be analysed as POPs are: Paley Park; Green

acre park and Zuccotti Park. As for the cases studies used owned by the New York City Department of Parks and Recreation, the following will be analysed: Bryant Park, Christopher Park and Union Square. In chapter four the different political events are introduced including examples of political events within the case studies of chapter 2 and 3. Through this analysis certain urban design characteristics needed for hosting different political events will be stated. In the final chapter the research question will awnsered, by comparing both the design elements and rules and regulations identified in chapter 4 with the case-studies of chapter 2 and 3.

1. Shaping the context

1.1 Introduction publicly owned public spaces

Most of New York city's public spaces are owned and maintained by the New York City Department of Parks and Recreation (New York City Department of Parks and Recreation, z.d.). The department was formed in 1856 to organise and maintain central park (Heeling, et al., 2002). The commission for the design of a big park within New York City derived from the need for people to escape the growing amount of skyscrapers within busy Manhattan. Because the new design by Olmsted covered 63 acres of land the department was set up to maintain such a large piece of land. The department was originally named: the Park commission. In 1870 the commission got authority over all parks within Manhattan, but still every single borough had their own independent Park commission. Since 1922 Robert Moses had been developing around 20 different designs for a complex system of parks and parkways within New York City inspired by other famous modernist urban planners such as: Le Corbusier and Giedion (Meyer & Meyer, 2008). These plans imagined several parks throughout New York City all connected by parkways which were especially designed for car use. The purpose of these new plans was for people to escape the busy city live, travelling by car from park to park throughout New York City with relative ease. Considering that at that time only the middle and upper class inhabitants could effort cars, poor inhabitants who use public transportation to move around these parkways criticised Moses's design ideas. They criticised Moses's design ideas because overpasses were only designed at a restricted height so city buses could not pass underneath, thus deliberately excluding lower class people, especially ethnic minorities from using these park and parkways (Meyer & Meyer, 2008). Because of his earlier decribed work, moses was asked in 1934 to lead the now fully unified Department of Parks and Recreations (New York City Department of Parks and Recreation. z.d.-b).

Currently, the Department maintains around 1,700 parks, urban spaces and other recreational facilities within all different boroughs of New York City. The department also maintains around 800 playing fields and 1,000 playgrounds. Besides the flora and fauna within the parks, the department also takes care of community gardens, historic houses and over 1,200 monuments and statues. In total the department is responsible for over 30,000 acres of property. Besides the maintenance the department also organises events such as free concerts and festivals (New York City Department of Parks and Recreation, z.d.).

1.2 Introduction POPs

Just as with publicly owned public spaces, the concept of privately owned public space has been part of New York City's urban structure for quite some time now. However this ownership structure became official after the structure of floor area ratio (FAR) bonusses for corporations in exchange for the creation of urban space was implemented as an land use policy in the 1961 zoning overhaul (Schmidt, Nemeth & Botsford, 2011; Heeling, et al., 2002). This ownership structure gave companies and corporation permission to construct more floorspace as was officially allowed in exchange for the creation and maintenance urban spaces for public use (Németh & Schmidt, 2011; Schmidt, Nemeth & Botsford, 2011; Meyer & Westrik, 2008). This new official ownership structure was implemented to provide more publicly accessible space without straining municipal funds (Schmidt, Nemeth & Botsford, 2011). From 1961 to now, over 530 POPs were constructed, creating 85 acres of new publicly accessible urban space in New York City.

1.2.2 Further explanation 1970's regulatory change

The first POPS constructed after 1961s zoning changes did not require the owners to have the regulations and designs of POPs reviewed by the planning department of the municipality (Németh & Schmidt, 2011; Schmidt, Nemeth & Botsford, 2011). Many of the new urban spaces lacked basic design features such as lighting, seating and trees, as they were prohibited from being built by the owners. Also, valuable amenities such as canopies and railings were not required. The spaces were often used for parking, loading and trash removal which interfered with the public use. The public spaces were also sometimes locked at night, limiting access to the public spaces. This and the lack of overview of the regulatory process by the municipality caused criticism. This is why in 1975 an 1977 new zoning reforms were implemented. The amendment stated that corporations could receive higher FAR bonuses if the corporations delivered higher quality POPs (Schmidt, Nemeth & Botsford, 2011). The new reforms implemented a requirement of a minimum amount of amenities such as lighting, plantings and seating's. Also the new designs were reviewed to ensure maximum accessibility, visibility and sunlight (Schmidt, Nemeth & Botsford, 2011).

1.3 Criticism

Still the concerns surrounding POPs remained after the 1970's reforms. POPs were still criticised for putting forward private interest as opposed to city planning interests (Németh & Schmidt, 2011; Low, 2006). These concerns are nothing new, even within publicly owned urban spaces, managing parties been accused of putting development and economic growth first, instead of concerns (Németh & Schmidt, 2011). Some argue that complex ownership structures are the cause of this

shift of interest for both ownership sturctures (Mitchell, 2003). Others still argue that the lack of control by the municipality within the design and management of POPs and publicly owned public spaces is the cause of these problems (Schmidt, Nemeth & Botsford, 2011; Németh & Schmidt, 2011). For POPs in particular, there is a general understanding the urban spaces still are not as accessible as needed after the 1970's reforms (Cybriwsky, 1999; Németh & Schmidt, 2011; Németh, 2009; Kayden, 2000). Research by Schmidt, Németh & Botsford (2011) shows no change in the accessibility of POPs. Also, whilst it is stated that both POPs and publicly owned spaces try to encourage accessibility and use equally, POPs often add extra features that control and limit behaviour with certain design features or surveillance (Németh & Schmidt, 2011). Implementing more rules and access limitations to control the use of the space as opposed to publicly owned spaces causes the space to feel less public and more controlled (Németh & Schmidt, 2011). Just like POPs, some publicly owned public spaces have security measures in place, such as gates, that limit the usage of the space throughout the day, which also comes across as restricting and less accessible (Németh & Schmidt, 2011). However, some also claim that Post-reform POPs included more rules which encouraged the use of the public spaces, thus increasing accesibility and use. Likewise, the implementation of private businesses within these spaces, such as cafés can cause the public space to feel less accessible (Kayden, 2000).

Because of these constradicting statements about the accesibility and use for POPs and privately owned public spaces, this research will dive further into this topic by using case studie based research to find out where or not there is a difference in the accesibility and use of publicly accesible public spaces. With a particular focus on hosting political events.

Picture 1: Paley Park Waldman, B. (z.d.). PALEY PARK: A HIDDEN OASIS IN MIDTOWN [Foto]. Untapped New York. https://untappedcities.com/2011/09/06/paley-park-a-hidden-oasis-in-midtown/

Picture 2: Plan Paley Park Supinsky, D., & Lu, K. H. (z.d.). Plan [Illustratie]. In Paley Park, Zion & Breen (p. 2).
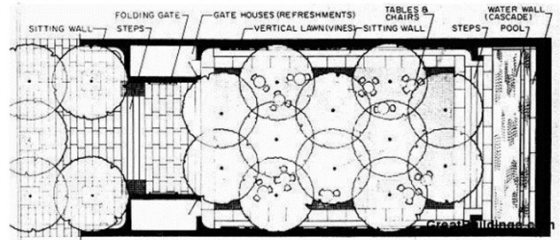
Picture 3: Section Paley Park Supinsky, D., & Lu, K. H. (z.d.). section [Illustratie]. In Paley Park, Zion & Breen (p. 2).

2. Case-study based research – POPS

Within this chapter, the chosen case studies for POPs will be introduced. When choosing the particular case studies, a few parameters were used. The case studies were primarily chosen because of their notoriety among urbanists and inhabitants. The chosen case studies also vary in size. This way there is a wide range of different urban spaces.

Paley Park

Paley Park is located at 3th East 53rd Street and is designed by the landscape architectural firm Zion & Breen. The park opened on May 23, 1967, after the William S. Paley foundation decided to build a park on the plot of a former club called: stork club (Supinsky & Kun, z.d.). The William S. Paley foundation is organisation that develops and teaches new methods of rehabilitating various body parts of patients[1]. The park itself is situated on a 4,200 square foot rectangular lot. As seen in Picture 2, the park is only accessible from one side, whilst being closed off on all other sides by other buildings. The only entrance to the park can be closed off by a gate. The area surrounding Paley park is a dense pedestrian area, and so pedestrians passing by can use the stairs to access the park (picture 2). Due to these urban characteristics of the park, Paley park can also be described as a pocket park (Blake, 2013). The landscape of Paley park mostly consist of paving. Some key features of the park are; the backwall which houses a 20 feet high waterfall, 12 small trees: side walls which are covered in ivy and movable Wire-mesh chairs with small marble tables (picture 1). The waterfalls grey noise cancels out the sound of the city and together with the trees and ivy covered walls creates a small oasis with a busy part of Manhattan. Therefore most people visit the park during lunch hours, to have lunch within a calm area of the city. The park doesn't host any other functions (Supinsky & Kun, z.d.). Besides regulated closing hours the park does not have any other regulatory restrictions. The opening hours are from 6 am to 10 pm.

1 The landscape architectural firm is also well known for other notable projects such as multiple campus plans for universities such as Yale, Princeton and Rutgers University. The firm also redesigned Liberty Island in 1986 and designed MOMA's sculpture garden.

Picture 4: Green Acre Park Sasaki. (z.d.). [Greenacre Park]. Greenacre Park. https://www.sasaki.com/projects/greenacre-park/
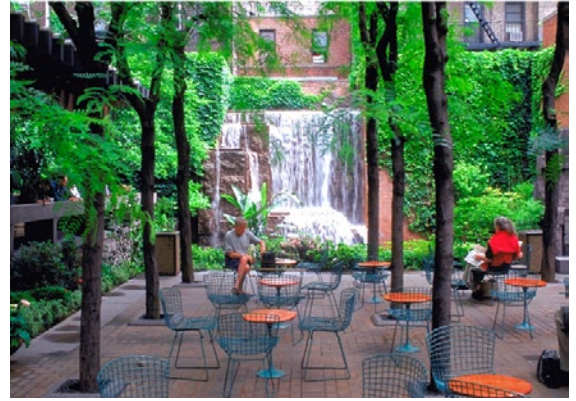
Picture 5: Plan Greenacre Park Sasaki. (z.d.). [Illustrative Site Plan]. Greenacre Park. https://www.sasaki.com/projects/greenacre-park/
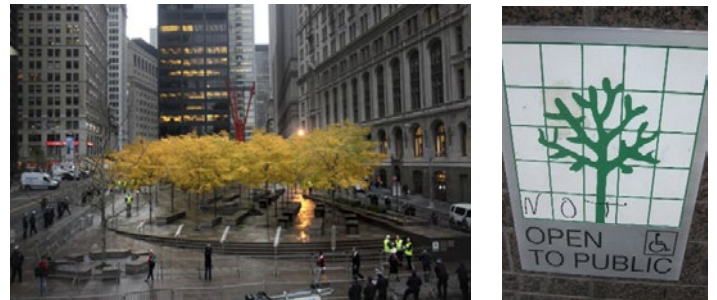
ILLUSTRATIVE SITE PLAN
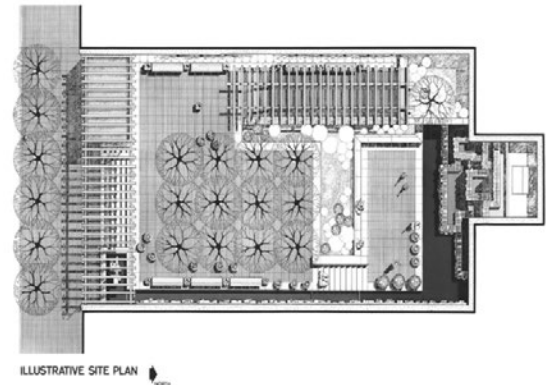
Greenacre Park

Green acre park was designed in 1971 by Hideo Sasaki. The client, the Greenacre foundation, owns and privately maintains the site (Greenacre Park, z.d.). The Greenacre foundation is owned by Abby Rockefeller Mauzé, who founded the organisation as a not-of-profit to establish and maintain one or more parks in the state of New York (Greenacre Foundation, 2018). Greenacre park is situated at 51st street between 2nd and 3rd avenue. Just as Paley park is the park surrounded by buildings and only accessible from one side (picture 5). The entrance can be closed off using a gate. Like Paley Park, can this park be described as a pocket-park, or how the designers described it: a "vest-pocket" park (Sasaki, z.d.). As seen in the floorplan, Sasaki's design contains 19 overhead trees, several water features including a waterfall, moveable chairs, greenery, concession stand and heat lamps (picture 4)(Greenacre Park, z.d; Sasaki, z.d; Blake, 2013). The urban space is easily accessible and visible from the street. Just like Paley park is this park primarily designed to cancel out the cities noise by using the greenery and noise of the water (Sasaki, z.d.). This park also has restricted visiting hours. Besides closign hours, the park has other restrictions to minimise noise disturbance and other activities that disrupts the serenity of the park:

"Alcoholic beverages are not permitted. Smoking, including electronic cigarettes, is prohibited. Commercial photography is prohibited. Tripods and light shades are not allowed. Private events are not allowed. There is no Wi-Fi. There are no restrooms. Pets are not allowed. Bicycles, scooters, and skateboards are prohibited. No playing of musical instruments or other audio sources." - Greenacre Park, z.d

Picture 6: Plan Zuccotti Park

Picture 7: Zuccotti Park Wenig, S. (z.d.). An empty and closed Zuccotti Park in New York, after protesters were evicted. [Foto]. The Gaurdian. https://www.theguardian.com/world/blog/2011/nov/15/occupy-wall-street-zuccotti-eviction-live

Picture 8: Sign Woodward, D. (2013, 7 februari). Zuccotti Park during Occupy Wall Street [Foto]. 1 Liberty Plaza Zuccotti Park. https://apops.mas.org/pops/m010004/

Picture 9&10: Regulations Zuccotti Park Woodward, D. (2012, 9 mei). Left: Original Rules of Conduct sign for Zuccotti Park | Right: Post-occupation rules for Zuccotti Park [Foto]. Rules of Conduct. https://urbanomnibus.net/2012/05/rules-of-conduct/

Zuccotti Park

Zuccotti Park also known as One Liberty Plaza was completed in 1972. As seen in picture 6, The park covers a full city block and has an surface area of 7251 Square Feet. The plaza is situated within the New York City Business district, between Broadway, Liberty Street, Church Street, and Cortlandt Street (Privately Owned Public Space in New York City, 2018). The Plaza was originally designed by Skidmore, Owings & Merrill, who also designed the office building of the owner of the plaza: Brookfield Financial Properties. During the 9/11 attacks however, the plaza was damaged and so Cooper, Robertson and Partners Architects redesigned the plaza. Currently, the plaza consist of 8 planters, 56 trees, 16 fixed tables, 1,010 feet of fixed benches (picture 7). There is also an Abstract steel sculpture situated on the south side of the plaza. As seen in picture 6 the trees and fixed benches are placed in a somewhat linear pattern along linear lines. The plaza is accessible by stairs on either side of the square (picture 6). In the area between the trees lighting is also implemented. Besides the physical features of the plaza, there are other features such as two entry plaques places within the plaza, and one information plaque (picture 8-10). After the design was finished the owners implemented some rules and regulations as seen in picture 9. A well-known political protest that took place within Zuccotti park was the Occupy Wallstreet Camp-in protest (Van Gelder, 2011). After the protest was over the owners implemented new regulations for the park. As seen in figure 10, the new regulations including the old regulations prohibit 'camp-ins' like the Occupy Wallstreet protests from happening again.

Picture 11 (left): Overview Bryant Park Kratochvil, J. (z.d.). A GIANT HEART TRIBUTE CARVED INTO BRYANT PARK LAWN [Foto]. Untapped New York. https://untappedcities.com/2020/04/21/a-giant-heart-tribute-carved-into-bryant-park-lawn/

Picture 12 (right): Seeting in Bryant Park Jusay, A. (z.d.). Promenade along balustrade, urns, and London Plane Trees [Foto]. Bryant Park - The Park. https://bryantpark.org/the-park

Picture 13: Plan Bryant Park

3. Case-study based research – Publicly owned public space

Within this chapter, the publicly owned public space's case studies will be introduced. When picking the case studies, a few parameters were used. The case studies were primarily chosen because of their notoriety among urbanists and inhabitants. The chosen case studies also vary in size. This way there is a wide range of different urban spaces.

Bryant Park

Bryant Park, situated between 5th and 6th avenue and 40th and 42th street, was founded in 1686 by New York Colonial Governor Thomas Dongan (picture 13). In 1822 the land came under the jurisdiction of the City of New York. In 1823 it was turned into a potter's field. Later on, in 1840, part of the park was decommissioned and a reservoir was placed on this piece of land. Which was later on deconstructed again (Bryant Park, z.d.). In 1851, inspired by the Great Exhibition that took place during that year in London, The New York Crystal Palace was built on reservoir square. In 1856 the Crystal Palace unfortunately burned down. During the Civil War, the square was used as a place where the Union Army troops could set up camp. It wasn't until 1884 that the square was named Bryant park (Bryant Park, z.d.). During this time the city put out an competition for a design for the new New York Public Library, which was won by Thomas Hastings and John Merven Carrére. The building was finally completed in 1911. There were several plans to redesign Bryant park since 1911 but it wasn't until 1934 when Robert Moses became Parks Commissioner, when the park was reconstructed (Bryant Park, z.d.). The plan was designed by Lusby Simpson and consisted of a classical designed lawn, with formal pathways and balustrades, rows of trees and an oval plaza containing a fountain. The finished design opened to the public in September, 1934 (picture 11&12). Somewhere during the 1990's this time The Rockefeller Brothers established the Bryant Park Restoration Corporation (BPRC). Heiskell and Biederman, part of The Rockefeller Brothers company, created a plan for attracting even more people to the park (Bryant Park, z.d.). The foundation was used to build temporary kiosks and help maintain the park. They also organised park tours and concerts to raise money for the corporation. Since then (1988), crime rate has gone down by 96% and Bryant Park is one of the most famous parks in New York City (Bryant Park, z.d.).

The Park consists of 7000 square feet of planting area for flowers and other greenery. Moreover, there are over 100 trees planted near the park edge. As seen in picture 13, the park has one central area of grass surrounded by multiple linear walkways. Opposite to the New York Central library is a circular shaped square located, with a fountain centrally placed containing a statue. Throughout the park there are small movable seating areas located, as seen in picture 12. The park is maintained and controlled by the New York City Department of Parks and Recreation. The park has strict guidelines which prohibit the following events:

"Drug use, alcohol use outside the Bryant Park Grill, Bryant Park Cafe, and Fever-Tree Porch, open flames, as well as cooking and grilling, smoking, organized ballgames, sitting or standing on balustrades, entering the fountain, feeding pigeons, rummaging in trash receptacles, amplified music that disturbs others, performances, except by permit, commercial activity, except by permit, obstructing park entrances, bicycle riding and parking, skateboarding, or rollerblading, Patrons of Bryant Park are subject to the rules and regulations of the New York City Department of Parks and Recreation"
– (Bryant Park z.d.-b)

Picture 14: Christopher Park NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project. (z.d.). Dedication Ceremony, October 19, 1936 . [Foto]. Christofer Park. https://www.nyclgbtsites.org/site/christopher-park/

Picture 15: Plan Christopher Park

Christopher Park

Christopher Park is situated on a city block where 7th avenue, Christopher Street and Grove street intersect. Unlike the earlier mentioned case-studies, does Christopher park have a triangular shape (Picture 15). The park used to be a tobacco farm when it was originally developed between 1633 and 1638 (NYC Parks, z.d.-b). The farm was owned by Wouter van Twiller who was the Director-General of New Netherland. After his death the farm was divided up into three different farms, one of those farms being the Sir Peter Warrens farm. Along this farm a road was built later named: Christopher street, named after Charles Christopher Amos the heir of the Warren estate (NYC Parks, z.d.-b). Due to the unpleasant density within New York City in the 1830s, the original buildings on the plot of Christopher park were not reconstructed after a fire destroyed the buildings. On the 5th of April, 1835 Christopher park was officially opened. Not a lot of information can be found about the original design of the park and further redesigns. In 1910 however, a subway station was placed on the intersection of Christopher street and 7th avenue (NYC Parks, z.d.-b). Also, in the 1970s a volunteer group was founded to maintain the park. The group initiated the restoration of the park in 1983 by landscape architect Philip Winslow. During the renovation, the gate to the park was replaced and new lampposts, benches and walkways were added to the urban area (Picture 14). The park is well known for its ties to the gay liberation movement after the Stonewall riots took place at the Stonewall Inn located on Christopher street (NYC

Parks, z.d.-b). Because of this important history, the neighbourhood surrounding the Inn was added to the New York State Register of Historic Places and the National Register.

The rules and regulations of the park do not differ from the rules and regulations stated by the New York City department of Parks and Recreation. It is therefore assumed that the regulations stated in the Rules & Regulations on their website apply to Christopher park as well. Some prohibited uses are:

"Destruction or Abuse of Property and Equipment..... Destruction or Abuse of Trees, Plants, Flowers, Shrubs and Grass..... Littering, Polluting, Dumping, and Unattended Property..... Prohibition on Glass ... Aviation ... Explosives, Firearms and Weapons ... Abuse of Park Animals ... Failure to Control Animals ... Control and Removal of Animal Waste ... Urination and Defecation in Parks ... Disorderly Behavior ... Unlawful exposure ... Obstruction of sitting areas ... Unlawful camping ... Unlawful spitting ... Unhygienic use of fountains, pools, and water ... Unlawful solicitation" – (Department of Parks and Recreations, z.d.)

Some regulated uses are:

"Assemblies, meetings, exhibitions ... Unlawful Vending ... Unlawful posting of notices or signs ... Noise; Sound Reproduction Devices; Musical Instruments; ... Unauthorized commercial cinematic productions ... Alcoholic Beverages ... Bicycling and operating pedicabs ... Planting ... Unlawful Fires... Unlawful Operation and Parking of Motor Vehicles ... Unauthorized Construction on Park Property ... Unauthorized Excavations ... Horse Riding ... Area Use Restrictions ... Exclusive Areas ... Unlawful distribution of products and materials ... In-line skates" - (Department of Parks and Recreations, z.d-b.)

Picture 16: Origional design Union Square M. A. Kellogg and E. A. Pollard M. A. Kellogg and E. A. Pollard, plan for Union Square, New York City Department of Parks Annual Report, 1870 (New York, 1871). (2009, december). [Illustratie]. In Patriotism and Protest, Union Square as Public Space, 1832–1932 (p. 8).
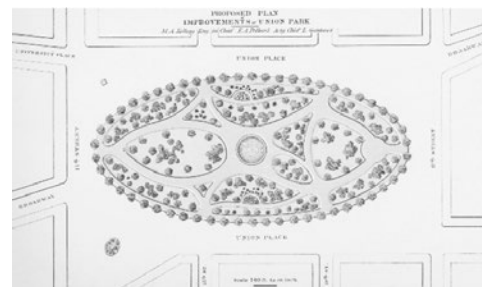
Picture 17: Union Square Park Southern Plaza Kratochvil, J. (z.d.-b). Union Square Park South Plaza [Foto]. NYC Parks. https://www.nycgovparks.org/parks/union-square-park

Picture 18: Union Square Seating area Kratochvil, J. (z.d.-b). Union Square Seating area [Foto]. NYC Parks. https://www.nycgovparks.org/parks/union-square-park

Union Square

Union square is situated between Broadway, park avenue, 17th street and 14th street. The park covers 3 city blocks and has a square area of 3 acres (Merwood-Salisbury, 2009). The area is most well known as the ground of countless community events such as the first Labor Day parade, in 1882 (NYC Parks, z.d.). Union square was opened on the 19th of July in 1839. It's original purpose was to function as a residential area and public park. The design by M. A. Kellogg and E. A. Pollard supported this function (picture 16). For decades, the square operated as a fairly exclusive urban area for rich inhabitants of Manhattan. It wasn't until 1860s when the Academy of music was founded on Broadway street that the park transformed into the hart of a new uptown theatre district. The area surrounding Union Square became a area for upper class living. Therefore, main shopping headquarters such as Tiffany's and Macy's moved to the neighbourhood surrounding the square (Walsh, 2006). Because of this shift of wealth towards the square, it became a favourite gathering place for protest and rallies. In the 1930s however, New York's business centre moved further South. This caused headquarters to move from the area and were replaced with retail stores such as Hearn's and S. Klein's. During this period the square was renovated to make room for the subway, which caused the park to became elevated above ground level. This lead to less social control from the streets especially when in the 1950's with the closure of other department stores the area ended up in decay. There was a growing amount of vandalism, crime and drug-use (Walsh, 2006).

In the 1970's however inhabitants and local politicians showed their discontent with the decay of area, and created a movement to address the five major concerns of the area. Public safety, the park and the subway where three of them. In order to vitalise these new plans the government, community and business groups came together to form a development corporation. Even though some faced pressures to move out of the area, the few remaining companies that still had remained within the area decided to stay and invest back into the neighbourhood. The businesses did this by partnering up with local residents and started repairing some parts of the park that needed repairing. They also raised funds to invest back into the park for some of the bigger renovation projects (Walsh, 2006). Even though the efforts were successful, the different actors decided together with the New York City Department of Parks and Recreation, to hire an architect to redesign the park. The new design includes a central lawn with better accessible pathways, better lighting and a new plaza on the south side of the park. To this day the park is maintained by the New York City Department of Park and Recreation (NYC Parks, z.d.).

The park consist of over a hundred trees all varying in height (picture 19). Besides multiple grass fields either demarcated by iron fencing or not, there are also two main squares on the north and south side of the park (picture 17). Throughout the park several statues are

Picture 19: Plan Union Square

placed. On the edges of the walking paths multiple benches and trash cans are situated (picture 18). As stated before, part of the park is raised raised above street level, but is still accessible by stairs or ramps. Other functions within the park are: 2 playgrounds, a Pavilion, public restrooms, a subway station and several kiosks. There is also a market that takes place on the north side of the park (Union Square Greenmarket) and several other dining opportunities (picture 18) (NYC Parks, z.d.).

Just as Christopher Park, the New York City Department of parks and regulations does not impose different regulations compared to other parks owned by the department. Thus, it is assumed that the regulations stated in the Rules & Regulations on their website are the same ones in place in Union Square (see page 10).

Picture 20: The Silent March Yale University. (z.d.). The Silent Protest Parade passing Bryant Park on 42nd Street and Fifth Avenue on July 28, 1917. [Foto]. https://web.library.yale.edu/

Picture 21: Anti Nuclear march New York City [Anti Nuclear March New York]. (z.d.). Activist New York. https://activistnewyork.mcny.org/exhibition/environmental-advocacy/nuclear

Picture 22: Anti Nuclear march New York City Seidman, H. (2017b, januari 21). Thousands along Second Avenue during the Women's March in NYC. [Foto]. The New York Post. https://nypost.com/2017/01/21/thousands-take-to-the-streets-of-nyc-for-womens-march/

4. Introducing political events

Within this chapter different political events will be introduced through given definitions and examples of specific political events that took place at the earlier mentioned case-studies. Following every introduction, some urban design requirements will be stated for every typology of political event following the analysis of one of the political events that took place at the earlier mentioned case-studies (chapter 2&3)

March

The first political event that will be introduced are marches. A march can be defined as "An organised event in which a lot of people walk together to protest about something" (Longman Active Study Dictionary, 2010). Marches are often organised and orderly events, in order to controll the density and crowding that occurs during this political event (McPhail & Wohlstein, 1983; Baldassare, 1978; Choldin 1978) One example of a march that took place in New York City was the silent march on the 28th of July 1917 which partly took place in Bryant park (Business Insider, 2020). This protest can be seen as one of the first African American mass demonstrations in the United States history. Over 10.000 African Americans protested racist violence and racial discrimination (Blain, 2015). In the 1917's 50 to 200 African Americans had died due to racial violence in East St. Louis, inciting protests all over the United States. The march caried from 55th-59th street up until Madison square. Another public space that was used besides the avenues, was Bryant park (picture 20). The park was used as a transitional space for people to move to and from the march. However, it was also used to gather the attendees at the edge of the park to view the march. Bryant park was chosen because of the wide sidewalks at the edge of the park and because there are no gates to restrict people from entering the park as was the case in Christopher park. The walking paths throughout the park were useful for transporting large amounts of people through the park (see picture 20)(Morand, 2020). Another important role was the location of the park. As already stated in chapter 3, Bryant park is situated between large avenues, which functioned as the main walking routes during the marches. Some other marches that have taken place in New York City were the Anti-nuclear march of 1982 in central park (Times, 1982; Business Insider, 2020) (Picture 21) and the Women's March which took place in 2017 (Business Insider, 2020; Robbins, 2019, 17) (Figure 22)

Picture 23: Mass rally of the jobless at Union Square Photo with barricading policemen in foreground, E 17th St near Broadway, NYC Parks Photo Archive / Alajos L. Schuszler, Neg#4476. (2019, 16 januari). [Foto]. Power to the people: Looking back on the history of public protests in NYC Parks. https://www.6sqft.com/power-to-the-people-looking-back-on-the-history-of-public-protests-in-nyc-parks/

Rally

The following form of political events are rallies. According to the Longman Active Study Dictionary (2010) a rally can be defined as "A large public meeting that is held in support of something such as a political idea". Rallies are often organised events that include scheduled speakers and other entertainment all involving advocacy or protest (McPail & Wohlstein, 1983). A well-known rally in New York City's history is that of the Rally of the Jobless at Union Square (Levine, 2019) that took place on the 24th of November, 1934 (picture 23). The rally took place during the great depression when a combination of extreme declines in levels of production and extreme deflation reached new depths (Moser, 2013). This fall in Economic output was caused by policies made by the government, financial panics and a low demand of goods within society. The great depression started in 1929 and continued until 1939 (Moser, 2013). The effects were felt worldwide through low unemployment levels. In the United States of America, the lowest unemployment rate measured during this time was more than 20% (Moser, 2013). This extreme unemployment and poverty caused 3000 inhabitants to go and form a rally at Union Square. The speakers and protesters demanded jobs and unemployment insurance (Levine, 2019). Rallies are often organised by certain community groups. For example, The rally of the Jobless was organised by the Unemployed Workers Union. The reason why Union Square was chosen was because of its size and central location within Manhattan's urban structure. As

stated in the introduction of union square: the park is located in a spot were multiple avenues come together, thus making it a central location within New York City's urban structure. As mentioned before in chapter 3, the park has a rich history of hosting community events making it a historically significant spot. When looking at pictures 17, 19, 23 and 29, the park has multiple areas which are large enough to host rallies. As opposed to Christopher park, only small areas of the park are fenced off. Thus leaving enough room for rallies to be held here.

Picture 24: Camp-in by protesters during the protest of Occupy Wallstreet
CBS news. (2011, 4 oktober). Zuccotti Park, home to Occupy Wall Street protesters in New York City [Foto]. "Crazed" homeless man starts rampage at "Occupy Wall Street" protest in Zuccotti Park. https://www.cbsnews.com/news/crazed-homeless-man-starts-rampage-at-occupy-wall-street-protest-in-zuccotti-park/

Camp-in

Another form of political event is that of the Camp-in protest. As the name implies, does this event revolve around protesters camping within an urban space to make a political statement. This form of protest takes the same shape as that of a sit- or lay-in. Sit or lay-ins only cover one day of protesting, where a camp-in lasts for multiple days. One of the most well-known Camp-ins that took place within New York City were the Occupy Wallstreet protests in Zuccotti park (Business Insider, 2020). The Occupy Wall Street movement started in 2011 when New York city protesters decided to pack their tents and camp out in Zuccotti park as a form of protest (picture 24) (Van Gelder, 2011). The protests started after Wallstreet banks caused one of the biggest financial crashes in history, which did not only effect The United States but also the rest of the world. The protesters criticked the fact that top 1% of earners in the world had gained wealth whilst the other 99% lost wealth to a point where inhabitants had to declare bankruptcy. The protest started with marches throughout a big part of the financial district of Manhattan. Later the marches transformed into a prolonged camp-in of two months in Zuccotti park (Street, 2011). Zuccotti park was chosen because of its central location within the business district and because of its size. Within picture 24, can be seen that the protesters were still able to use the space for their protest, even though the trees and the fixed benches obstructed the protesters from fully using the space. The protesters where never removed from Zuccotti park during their two months of protesting, because the POPs did not have the right regulations that could deny the protesters from using Zuccotti park for such protests (Street, 2011). The police also wasn't allowed to enter the public space either because teh park is privately owned public space. It wasn't until the owner was able to give permission that the police removed the protesters from the square (Street, 2011). As already mentioned in chapter 3, after the protest the owners implemented new regulations. As seen in picture 10, the new regulations included the old regulations and new regulations that might prohibit 'camp-ins' like the Occupy Wallstreet protests from happening again.

Picture 25: Stonewall Riots [Stonewall Riots]. (2011, 28 juni). The Morning Delivery. https://www.wplucey.com/2011/06/did-the-stonewall-riots-give-birth-to-the-gay-rights-movement.html

Riot

The third political event that was distinguished was that of a riot. According to the Longman active study dictionary (2010) a protest becomes a riot "when a crowd of people behave violently in a public place". According to McPhail & Wohlstein (1983), most riots start as non-violent protest but can turn into riots once unrest has occurred. The authors also state that 50% of the riots start due to tense encounters between the police and civilians. Of these encounters, McPhail & Wohlstein (1983) claim that police was often the source of incivility toward the civilians which caused tension to grow between the different groups. Still, according to McPhail & Wohlstein (1983) only 94% of protest turn into violent interactions. Therefore riots are a rare form of political event. Due to the violent nature of the riots, inciting and/or participating in a riot is against United States law. Title 18, part 1, chapter 102 of the United States code of law, prohibits riots from being organised and executed. (Riots act, 1968).

One well-known riot that took place in New York City is that of the Stonewall Riots at Christopher park (Business Insider, 2020). On 27th of June 1969 the NYPD raided the Stonewall Inn in Manhattan. The bar at the time was a place where members of the LGBTQ+ community secretly came together. At the time being gay was illegal in the State of New York, and so the police used different excuses, such as the illegal selling of alcohol to raid the bar (Matzner, 2015). Because these raids happened often the patrons of the inn grew tired. So this particular night, instead of complying, a fight broke out which then turned into a riot (Picture 25). The police had gotten overwhelmed by the crowd and had to hide in the Inn whilst the riot continued outside. The event only lasted around 2-4 hours but became one of the most important events in LGBTQ+ history. The riot sparked the discussion around gay rights (Matzner, 2015). As described within chapter 3, Christopher park is quite small in size and surrounded by trees. There are also gates surrounding the park which make for more controlled surroundings, and deny large groups from entering the park. The gates made sure that the riots did not move into the park but stayed on the streets. According to McPhail & Wohlstein (1983) less riots take place in neighbourhoods or certain areas where there is a lot of social cohesion. This social cohesion makes for higher social control, as well as more emotional connections with the urban environment thus a higher value of urban space. Therefore, riots can be suppressed by a higher level of social control as well including the earlier mentioned urban design characteristics, such as gates, physical design interventions and smaller sized urban spaces.

Picture 26: Anti-Irak March February 15, 2003. The Day the World Said No to War. (2003, 13 februari). [Foto]. Institude for Policy Studies. https://ips-dc.org/february_15_2003_the_day_ the_world_said_no_to_war/

Picture 27: Anti-Irak Rally Tama, M. (2018, 17 maart). Between 400,000 and 500,000 protesters gathered to oppose the invasion of Iraq in New York City on Feb. 15, 2003. [Foto]. Huffpost. https://www. huffpost.com/entry/what-happened-to-the-anti-war-movement_n_5a860940e4b00bc49f424ecb

Picture 28: Black Lives Matter march, 5th avenue Delgado, D. D. (2020, 2 juli). Protesters march down 5th Avenue in New York City in anti-police brutality demonstrations on June 10, 2020. [Foto]. Vox. https://www.vox.com/first-person/2020/7/2/21306987/black-lives-matter-protests-george-floyd-protesters-first-time

Picture 29: Black Lives Matter Rally at Union Square Black Lives Matter. (2016, 7 november). [Foto]. The Dusty Rebel. https://www. thedustyrebel.com/post/147248362322/black-lives-matter-rally-union-square

Demonstration

The last type of political event that will be introduced are demonstrations, which is defined as "an occasion when a large group of people meet to show that they disagree with or support something." (Longman Active Study Dictionary, 2010). This definition of the word implies that a demonstration can consist of multiple different political events, such as marches and rallies, as they fall under this definition as well (see previous explanation). Some sources agree with this statement, and claim that marches, rallies, camp-ins etc. are all different forms of demonstrations (McPhail & Wohlstein, 1983). McPhail & Wohlstein (1983) claims that term demonstrations acts as an 'umbrella term' for all political events. So when referring to a rally, a person can also refer to that political event as a demonstration. I, however argue that the term demonstration is a separate form of political event. Because when one speaks of a rally one does no refer to that rally as a demonstration, but as a rally, because a rally is a more specified term. Therefore, I refer to demonstrations as a separate category of political event. Some examples of demonstrations are the Anti-Irak demonstrations in 2003 (Business Insider, 2020; Lance Bennett, Breunig, & Givens, 2008; Vitale, 2005). The protest consisted of both a march (figure 26) and a rally (figure 27). A more recent example of a demonstration is that of the Black Lives Matter demonstrations that took place in New York City. The Black Lives Matter demonstrations started as a march throughout New York city (Picture 28), and later on turned into different rallies at different locations around New York City (picture 29). Subsequently, some marches turned into riots when the police decided to intervene (Barker, Baker, & Watkins, 2021). People did not refer to these political events as marches, rallies etc. separately, but as demonstrations, so describing it as a separate typology of political event. Therefore, demonstrations urban design and regulatory needs depend on the urban design and regulatory needs of the different forms of political events that that particular demonstration consists off.

5. Answering of research question

Within this chapter the urban design requirements per political event will be compared to the case studies' urban design features and rules and regulations as discussed in chapter two and three. For every political event it is stated whether there is a difference between POPs and publicly owned public spaces. Following these statements, a conclusion will be drawn if there is a difference in accessibility and use regarding urban design features. Likewise, the rules and regulations of the case studies will be compared to the different political events, after which it is concluded whether or not there is a difference in accessibility and use regarding rules and regulations. Afterwards an overall conclusion will be drawn, answering the research question. Design requirements of riots and demonstrations will not be compared to the case studies. Due to the fact that the organisation of riots is against United States law (chapter 4) and demonstrations consists of multiple political events. Therefore, when discussing the accessibility and use of demonstrations, one has to identify of which other political events the demonstration consist of. Because this is very dependent on individual cases, demonstrations will not be discussed.

From the analysis of the rallies that took place at union square it can be concluded that the urban design characteristics that are needed to host rallies in a urban space are the following: A larger open area has to be available to host big groups and speakers. Also, a central location with the urban setting is vital with multiple avenues running on the sides of the park. It is also important that no fencing is situated around the urban area. When comparing it to the case studies of different urban spaces it becomes apparent that the POPs are less accessible and user-friendly for holding rallies. Both Paley Park and Green Acre park are not suited to host rallies. Due to the fact that they are pocket parks, and have no central location within the urban structure. But most importantly they lack the dimensions to host rallies. Zuccotti Park however does have central location, and is bigger in size. The park itself however has too many urban design features, such as benches and trees to house larger groups of people. Publicly owned public spaces on the other hand are more accessible and useful for hosting rallies. When looking at the case studies it becomes clear that parks such as Bryant Park and Union Square are sufficient in size and are centrally located within New York city's urban infrastructure. Bryant park also does not have fencing surrounding the park. Union square only has small parts of the park fenced off, but still has enough room to host larger groups of people. These larger spaces also consist of very little urban design features that make it more difficult for larger groups to gather. Christopher park however lacks the size, is fenced off and has a lot of urban design features which makes it difficult to host rallies. It is however

centrally located.Therefore, for rallies, it can be concluded that there is a difference in accessibility and use of publicly accessibly urban spaces depending on their ownership structure.

As analysed in chapter 4, marches are primarily held in or near urban spaces where the sidewalks are wide and clear of any urban design element. The urban space has to be able to move large groups of people through the urban space, for example using clear laid out walking paths, larger open areas, and no fencing placed on the edge of the park. As with rallies, a central location within the urban context is important, as well as the placement of important streets on the edges of the urban spaces. If compared to the case studies, it becomes clear that POPs are less accessible and useful for hosting marches. Both Paley Park and Green Acre Park have no clear laid out walking paths within and around the parks. Because both parks are closed off on three sides by other buildings the parks are not centrally placed within the urban context. Also, due to their size and large amount of urban design features, the urban space is not suitable to host marches. Zuccotti park however is very centrally placed within the urban fabric of Manhattan and does not have fencing. However, it does not have clear walking paths in the park and there are not larger open spaces with limited urban design features to host larger groups of people. The park does however have wide sidewalks. Publicly Owned Public Spaces however are more accessible and useful for hosting marches. Just like rallies, Bryant Park and Union Square are more suited to host marches. Both parks are centrally placed within

their urban context. Both parks also are not surrounded by fencing. There are clear walking paths available with larger open areas for people to gather, and both parks are surrounded by large avenues. However, Christopher park is an exception. The park is fenced off and does not have big open spaces without a lot of urban elements. The park also does not have clear walking paths that can transport large crowds easily. It is however centrally located within its urban structure and has multiple avenues running on all sides with wide sidewalks. Therefore, like rallies it can be concluded that there is a difference in accessibility and use of publicly accessibly urban spaces for hosting marches depending on their ownership structure.

According to the last chapter, Camp-ins require a central location within the urban fabric and a larger open area for people to camp out. Likewise, the urban space cannot have physical features that are not able to be moved, such as trees, fixed benches and fixed planters. Nonetheless, this does not necessarily limit the protesters completely, as became apparent from the story of the Wallstreet Camp-ins at Zuccotti park (chapter 4). It is also important for there to be no gates surrounding the parks. According to the case study research, Publicly Owned Public Spaces are more accessible and useful for the organisation of camp-ins. Both Paley park and Greenacre park (POPs) are small in size which is why they are not suitible for hosting camp-ins. There are also many fixed urban design features placed wihtin the park that can limit the use of the park. Zuccotti park, however, is suiteble for hosting camp-ins, as been

proven by the Wallstreet Protest that have been held there for two months (chapter 4). For publicly owned public spaces, Bryant park and Union Square meet all requirements. Both parks are large in size, have large open areas without physical elements, and do not have fencing surrounding the park. As mentioned, both parks are centrally placed within their urban environment. As with hosting rallies and marches, Christopher Park is an exception. The park lacks in size, has a lot of fixed urban features and has fencing surrounding the park. However, as already mentioned, the park is centrally located. Thus, just like the hosting of rallies and marches, there is a difference in accessibility and use of publicly accessible urban spaces for hosting camp-ins depending on their ownership structure.

As mentioned in chapter 1.3, other research had stated that POPS often had more urban design features within the public space that control or limited behaviour. This also became apparent from this case study research. Regarding all forms of political events, POPs's urban designs are less accessible and useful.

Another factor that was discussed when introducing and analysing case studies are the rules and regulations of the public spaces. As described in chapter 1 by Németh & Schmidt (2011) the rules and regulations of the public urban spaces also influence the use and accessibility of that public space. Some, research has already spoken of a difference in accessibility and use of urban spaces depending on their ownership structure. For example, Kayden (2002) mentioned

that due to regulatory differences the protesters at the Wall Street protest had more rights than if the protest were to have taken place on the sidewalks beside Zuccotti park or other public area's within New York City. Németh (2009), also spoke of a difference in rules and regulations. However, Németh (2009) opposed Kayden's (2002) ideas, and claimed that POPs are less accessible and useful for hosting political events as opposed to other ownership structures due to their rules and regulations. Because of these two different claims, the different political events will be compared to the case-study research, to see whether there is an difference accessibility and use of publicly accessible urban spaces depending on their ownership structure, regarding their rules and regulations.

From POPs' case study research in chapter 3, the regulations of Paley park don't state that all or some forms of protests are not allowed as long as the event is organised as a public event. Same goes for Green Acre park. In chapter three it is stated that private events are not allowed. Also, no music and other audio sources are allowed, and closing hours are in place. The regulations only limit the use of the space, they however do not deny political events from happening. Same, goes for Zuccotti Park. The regulations acknowledge that all from of political events are allowed except for camp-ins. As already discussed in chapter 3, Zuccotti Park regulations prohibit users from putting up tents and other encampment elements. Likewise, the square does not have opening hours.

As for Publicly Owned Public Spaces, all park and or squares owned by the Department of Parks and Recreation have the same regulations and rules. According to the rules and regulations mentioned in chapter 3, marches and are regulated. According to the Department of Parks and Recreation's penalties regulations, penalties can be given when these regulations have been challenged (Department of Parks and Recreations, z.d.). As mentioned in chapter 3 the publicly owned public spaces regulate uses such as:

"Assemblies, meetings, exhibitions... Unlawful posting of notices or signs... Noise; Sound Reproduction Devices" - (Department of Parks and Recreations, z.d.)

The regulations also state that unlawful camping is also prohibited. Because these regulations, regulate assemblies from taking place, all the earlier mentioned political events are forbidden to be held here. However, Marches and rallies are regulated not prohibited, which means that the Department of Parks and Recreations can give out permits for the organisation of political events, such as marches and rallies (Department of Parks and Recreations, z.d.-b). This makes it possible to host political events within Publicly Owned Public Spaces. As opposed to POPs, the publicly owned case studies do not have particular opening hours. As an exception, Christopher park is fenced off and can be closed off at certain times (chapter 3). This, however, does not limit the organisation of political events completely.

So, when it comes to regulatory differences, there is a difference in accessibility and use between the urban spaces of the different

ownership structures. As opposed to the urban design differences, it is concluded that POPs are more accessible and useful for different events after comparing the different case studies. POPs case studies do not have particular regulations that prohibit marches and rallies from happening. There are only certain closing hours in place, as well as a ban on private events in certain case studies. Only camp-ins are not allowed within Zuccotti park. Other than that, there are no regulatory elements that prohibit political events from happening. The Publicly Owned Public Spaces however do have regulations that restrict demonstrations from happening, unless a permit is given.

To conclude, there is a clear difference in accessibility and use of publicly accessibly urban spaces depending on their ownership structure.

Also, POPs are less accessible and useful for hosting political events due to the urban design elements accounted for in the case studies. However, Publicly Owned Public Spaces are less accessible due to their rules and regulations as opposed to POPs. Therefore, no statement can be made about which ownership structure overall is more accesible and usefull, as they differ regarding the urban design features and rules and regulations. Here there is room for further research regarding this topic.

6. Conclusion

Within this thesis, research was done regarding the accessibility and use of publicly accessible urban space with different ownership structures in relation to political events. The research question was as follows:

Is there a difference in the accessibility and use of publicly accessibly urban spaces in New York City for political events depending on their ownership structure?

Beforehand, two different ownership structures were identified: Privately owned public spaces (POPs) and publicly owned public spaces. POPs, is an ownership structure where private companies are offered floor area ratio (FAR) bonusses, for which in exchange the corporations provide public urban areas for the public. Publicly owned public areas, are owned by the Department of Parks and Recreation, which was founded in 1857 to maintain central park, after which the department slowly expanded their ownership of other public spaces within New York City. For each of the different ownership structures three case studies were introduced and analysed. Within the following chapter, different types of political events were introduced including events that took place within the case studies. Having analysed examples of political events within the public space they happened, certain urban design requirements were identified that were necessary to host different political events. After comparing the case studies' urban design elements and rules and regulations with the requirements of the different types of political events it was concluded that there is a difference in accessibility and use of publicly accessible urban spaces in New York City of political events. After comparing the urban designs of the case studies with these design requirements it is concluded that POPs are less accessible and useful than Publicly owned Public Spaces. For example, two of the three POPs' case studies are closed off from the street by fencing. Which limits rallies, marches and demonstrations from happening. However, only one of the three case studies of the Publicly owned Public spaces is fenced off. Furthermore, two of the three POPs' case studies are too small to host most forms of political events. Only one of the publicly owned public space's case studies was to small. Besides urban design features, it was concluded that the accessibility and use of a public space also depends on rules and regulations of urban areas. As opposed to urban design elements, POPs are more accessible and useful when it comes to rules and regulations. Besides certain closing hours and prohibiting camp-ins from occurring in Zuccotti Park, there are almost no other regulations prohibiting political events from happening. In publicly owned public spaces, however, there are strict regulations that prohibit political events from happening, unless a permit is required. Therefore, there is a difference in accessibility and use of publicly accessibly urban spaces in New York City for political events depending on their ownership structure. However, it cannot be concluded which ownership structure's urban spaces generally is more accessible and useful for hosting political events.
This leaves room for further research

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