Inspiring People: Employing Creative Catalysts for More Livable Cities

Nancy K Rivenburgh, Ph.D.
Department of Communication
University of Washington
Seattle, WA
nkriv@uw.edu

Abstract:
Researchers know a lot about the conditions that promote creative thinking in individuals or groups. I call these conditions creative catalysts. For example, when we are exposed to variation, uncommon associations, nature, art, elements of play or surprise, it activates our brains in ways that excite, engage and inspire. These outcomes also describe how we want people to experience their city: excited, engaged and inspired. This paper translates what we know about the cognitive science of creativity to argue that creative catalysts should be an intentional part of city (or neighborhood) design, programs and policies in order to increase a city’s livability. To illustrate, this paper draws on examples from around the world to show how different types of creative catalysts can be woven into city life.
Introduction

Scholars and observers of people’s behavior within urban environments understand that public spaces communicate using a *silent language*. In the most livable cities and towns, the design and atmosphere of public spaces—whether plazas, parks or sidewalks—along with the activities that occur in them send messages that ideally invite, inspire and connect people in ways that enhance civic identity, pride and enjoyment.

This paper focuses on the important role of creative messaging as part of a city’s silent language. Quite simply, the best cities—whether large or small—communicate a creative vibe. They engender a sense of excitement, fun or inspiration for young or old alike. This might be accomplished, in part, by having a vibrant music or arts scene that populates a city with outdoor concerts, arts festivals or theater performances in the park. It might also be communicated through a business environment that promotes innovation. But, it’s also important to understand that the positive effects of creativity can result from many smaller, more subtle messages that combine to enhance the experience of walking down the street.

I argue that the same things that inspire us to *think* creatively also help us to design better cities. The same conditions that inspire individuals to write, play music, paint, or innovate can be integrated into urban settings to promote a positive vibe that encourage people to love their city.

(2) Having fun with public art in Barcelona

Understanding the Power of Creative Catalysts

Have you ever laughed at some odd, yet surprising scene you observe (Is that dog really on a skateboard?). Or have you ever used your lunch break to visit a new pocket park or stop to look at an impromptu display of sidewalk art? If you have, cognitive scientists would predict that you felt a little more energized later in the day.

Why? What do these experiences have in common? However brief, such moments encourage us to think in different ways using different parts of our brain. For example, a dog on a skateboard is an unexpected combination of ideas, which according to scientists, activates our imagination. Exploring a new place adds variety to one’s day, offering new visual inputs that can promote
creativity. And research shows that if that place exposes a person to nature, it enhances that possibility even more. And checking out the sidewalk art? Research reveals that experiencing others’ creative expression--whether art, poetry or music--inspires our own creative thinking abilities.

I call these types of encounters creative catalysts. Creative catalysts are visual prompts or environmental conditions that fire up the parts of our brain known for creative (versus more analytical) thought processes. I believe that understanding creative catalysts offers valuable insights for making better cities because when the parts of our brain more associated with creative thinking are activated, research confirms that we tend to feel more energized, relaxed, and even happier. So, if those creative catalysts are woven into our cityscape? Well, then we will tend to feel more energized, relaxed and even happier when in public spaces. Looked at another way, understanding creative catalysts also helps to explain why people are drawn to certain spaces and activities in a city.

Cognitive scientists have identified many conditions that encourage creative thinking and problem solving in individuals and groups. These range from exposure to certain colors to personal attitudes to organizational policies. Drawing on this large body of research, I have identified five known creative catalysts that I believe are very relevant to thinking about improving a city’s design, programs, and policies because they are most easily given form in urban environments. These creative catalysts are: variation, unexpected associations, elements of play, art, and nature. This paper focuses on the first three of these catalysts, as they might not be as intuitive for their potential role in enhancing a city as the presence of nature and public art.

Creative Catalyst 1: Variation
Do you eat the same thing for breakfast each day? Do you go the same way to work each day? Do you get your news from the same source each day? While humans often feel safe in their daily routines, research overwhelmingly points to the importance of variety as a catalyst for creative energy. Conversely, a lack of variety dulls our senses and diminishes an awareness of our surroundings. Applying this knowledge to cities, we all know what happens when variety is lacking. We’ve seen this in the failures of suburban tract housing or rows of tenement housing in city planning. If one’s environment is too dull, repetitious or static, it loses its appeal—and our pride in it.

In his book Happy City, Charles Montgomery offers examples of how efforts to simplify cities through rational design and perfect order most often fail. He uses the example of the planned capital city of Brasilia, Brazil founded in 1961. The entire city was designed on a symmetrical grid of numbered superblocks, organized into sectors for different activities. There is a Banking Sector, Residential Sector, Hotel Sector, Embassy Sector, and more. The city is spacious and nicely landscaped. The architecture is all modernist and grand in its scale. The result of this utopian planning experiment is what one critic called “elegant monotony.” In his travels, Montgomery found that Brazilians preferred their cramped market streets and the complex disorder of typical Brazilian cities over the blandness of Brasilia. Indeed, over the years, small “out-of-sector” clusters of shops and activities have popped up in Brasilia as people have sought to animate their city. The lesson is that for a city to inspire people, it should abound in variety. The good news is that variety can come in many forms.
City Layout. First, one can express variation in city layout—just as Brasilia did not do. Dover and Massengale, in their book *Street Design: The Secret to Great Cities and Towns*, advocate against a dominance of grids and classifications that make streets in the same area all alike. They argue for variation in a city’s overall street design and layout. Some grids make sense, but overall cities should contain streets of varying widths, ranging from alley to street to boulevard. Cities should have streets designated for different speeds and purposes—some that are fast and car friendly, others that are slow and bike friendly, and yet others that meander with interesting elements for pedestrians to enjoy.

Neighborhood Variety. At the neighborhood level, the variety of shops, services and housing that combine to create a mixed-use area offers multiple benefits for cities and its residents. With amenities close by, neighborhood variation draws people out. Mixed use areas encourage walking, reduce traffic and pollution, and increase a sense of community and social interaction. In the U.S., studies show that mixed use neighborhoods also have lower crime rates.

Kensington Market is a diverse Toronto neighborhood. It boasts a mash-up of wide and narrow streets, Rastafarian stores, a farmer’s market, bars, restaurants, a synagogue, clothing stores, and a vibrant music scene. On a Sunday in Bellevue Square Park, shown here, people might be dancing, kicking soccer balls, using a hula hoop, or playing instruments. Again, such variation within a relatively small area makes the neighborhood come alive (3).

Street-level Variety. At the street level variation is best expressed in Jan Gehl’s concept of soft edges as a sensory aspect of atmosphere. Soft edges are streetscapes that are varied, dynamic, textured, and detailed at eye level. The architecture might combine old and new. The buildings and sidewalk features might combine materials that are rough and smooth, or be punctuated with color or nature.

Flexible use spaces. There are yet other ways to build more variation into residents’ experience of a city. One is for a city to support the dynamic and flexible use of public spaces. While a city has a defined number of public spaces, the range of activities that can occur in them is open to definition. Public places that can shift in look or activity depending the time of day, day of the week, month, or season, offer more possibilities for more people, of all ages, to enjoy their city surroundings.
Take, for example, the Campo di Fiori located in the heart of Rome. This popular public space begins each day as a bustling one-stop shopping market for fruits, vegetables, meats, spices, cheeses, flowers, and even kitchen supplies. By evening the stands are down, the area cleaned, and the Campo transforms into a social gathering space with families, friends and couples strolling, dining, and listening to music (4). At other times it might host protests or festivals.

(4) Campo di Fiori, Rome day and evening

Paris is one of the premier cities in the world for its variety and number of outdoor and indoor public markets: art, antiques, books, collectibles, fashion, flea markets, food and drink. On Thursdays, Saturdays and Sunday regulars and tourists visit the Marché aux Timbres on the Champs Elysées for stamps or postcards. Once a month Le Marché Rétro d’Oberkampf offers unique finds of vintage fashion and furniture. Every weekend, Marché aux Puces de St-Ouen, perhaps the biggest flea market in the world, draws regulars and tourists alike. Some markets are weekends, once a week, once a month, every two months, or a few times a year like the popular pop-up store at Hôtel Bohème. These numerous public markets employ the perfect blend of variety and regularity to draw people out.

Another way to embrace variation through flexible use is by closing streets to allow for unique activities or events to occur. In Mexico City, there are nearly 40 miles of bike lanes. Plus, every Sunday morning additional miles of downtown streets are closed to vehicles for several hours. Avenida Reforma, typically grid-locked with traffic during the week, becomes a wildly popular pedestrian, roller skating, stroller, and bicycling party, drawing 10,000 or more participants each week and spawning water tents, free bike repair, food carts and outdoor exercise classes along the way. And that’s not all. Once a month a 20-mile circuit of traffic-free streets open. This Cicloton event can attract close to 70,000 cyclists. Cities around the world are doing the same: some annually, seasonally, monthly or even weekly. The goal is to promote bicycling as part of environmental and health strategies, but the effect is to “change it up” and create community through variety. It’s fun (and empowering) to take over the streets.

The VIVA Vancouver program, sponsored through the Engineering Department in Vancouver, B.C. asks for creative input from the community in order to temporarily transform streets into fun friendly spaces. Community groups propose the street location, frequency, and theme. Past flexible use of Vancouver streets included closing busy Robson Street for July and August for community groups to host a full schedule of different activities. VIVA Vancouver tests, monitors and evaluates these events. If successful, the event might become a regular, flexible use activity. For example, after its initial trial run, Granville Street now regularly closes on weekends.
throughout the summer for a variety of art, music, dance or food festivals. Contrary to conventional thinking, businesses love these temporary and varied events as they draw many more people into each area.

Finally, some spaces vary season to season. Within the large Millennium Park complex in Chicago, the McCormick Tribune Plaza is Chicago’s largest outdoor dining complex. Much of the year it hosts music and culinary events. Then from mid-November to mid-March it becomes a free public ice-skating rink attracting over 100,000 skaters annually. Or, how about this for seasonal variation? In Denmark, a former industrial site was turned into a park with a system of large stormwater drainage canals. In the winter the drainage canals do their job collecting rainwater flows and channeling them into manmade lakes enjoyed by park visitors. Outside the rainy season, however, the drainage canals become a skateboard park! It is the planners who prioritize variation as an urban design feature who will find the most innovative solutions--in this case, for managing stormwater while providing people with recreational amenities.

Creative Catalyst 2: Unexpected Associations
Cognitive scientists know that a very effective catalyst for creative thinking is to ask a person to experience, or try to connect, two disparate concepts together as one. Writers employ this strategy often when they use literary techniques such as metaphor or juxtaposition to delight and engage their readers. Businesses use this technique to brainstorm new ideas for products or services. People enjoy the cognitive jolt of experiencing something unexpected in a mundane situation. I use the term “unexpected associations” to describe this creative catalyst. Bringing together disparate ideas, here and there, in urban settings, can add a bit of delight and inspiration.

Functional Art. The first type of unexpected association is functional art. By necessity cities are full of the functional and the mundane. Garbage cans, utility boxes, manholes, downspouts. Why must these be ugly? One way to create the unexpected in a city is to jazz up these bland urban essentials. Cities as diverse as Seville, Kuala Lumpur, Charlotte NC, and Berlin show that trash bins can be a venue for exhibiting art (again, the combining of disparate ideas). City programs for decorating city utilities can give local artists exposure while making the traditionally ugly much more attractive. Or, in the case of these recycling containers in Curitiba, Brazil shaped like bongos, provide a proud salute to local culture (5).

What could be duller than a drainpipe? Yet, this downspout on a building in Madrid, with its wide open fish mouth, provides a bit of subtle artistry while doing its job directing water running
off the roof (6). Not nearly as discrete, but even more fun is a drain pipe painted like a cactus in Vitoria-Gasteiz further north in Basque Country (7).

(6) Fish downspout, Madrid

(7) Painted drain pipe, Vitoria-Gasteiz

In Nanaimo and Victoria, British Columbia electrical and traffic control boxes display photographs depicting nature or historical scenes. Other cities, ranging from Dublin to San Diego to Auckland support their own expressions of functional art (8). Such efforts not only brighten the urban environment, but can successfully deter graffiti. Cities have discovered that graffiti artists are drawn to blank canvases and rarely tag over another artists' work.

(8) Utility box, Dublin, Ireland
Street furniture is certainly more prominent than drain pipes or trash containers, so Melbourne decided to create “sit-able” art by adding some very ornate sidewalk benches. Like benches, bike racks also lend themselves to artistic expression or color as shown by this from Rzeszów, Poland (9).

(9) Colorful bike rack, Rzeszów, Poland

It’s hard to imagine manhole covers as the subject for books, photo exhibitions, and travel and art media coverage around the world. But in Japan, manhole covers are magnificent. The backstory is that in the mid-80s a high-ranking official in the country’s construction ministry came up with the idea for municipalities to customize their manhole covers. The idea took off, and the competition began as each municipality tried to design the most unique manhole cover. An estimated 6,000 artistic manholes later—and even a Japan Society of Manhole Covers—these tiny art treasures send a message of local pride and delight visitors throughout the country (10).

(10) Manhole cover, Osaka, Japan

Cities are also filled with utilitarian places: subway stations, bus stops, public restrooms. Cities that embrace the positive power of creative catalysts see utilitarian places as yet another potential canvas for community expression beyond advertising. In the Highlandtown neighborhood of Baltimore this typographic bus stop, a permanent installation, not only acts as a conversation piece, but protects bus stop visitors from heat and rain while offering a place to sit or recline. It has also become a meeting point within the community (11).
Uncommon Spaces. Another type of unexpected association is to place a function, activity or behavior in an unusual location. This creative combination offers a sense of delight for those using these spaces in a different-than-expected way. The Ponyfish Island bar and restaurant, located on a floating pylon under the pedestrian bridge that crosses the Yarra River in Melbourne, is a popular and unusual spot that provides a unique perspective of the city (12).

Sandy beach, lounge chairs and palm trees in the middle of Berlin or Paris? Why not? Paris Plages is a popular summer happening, conceived in 2002 by Paris Mayor Bertrand Delanoe, that creates a series of artificial beaches along the River Seine during July and August (13). Visitors lounge on beach chairs, enjoy free evening concerts, kayak and socialize in this very uncommon space for the middle of a major metropolis. Like Paris, Berlin is nowhere near an ocean, but the city trucks in artificial sand to create beach settings at various spots along the River Spree, complete with beach bars, restaurant and beach volleyball.
As long as you are hanging out at an urban river, why not go surfing? In 1972, a permanent wave was accidently created on Munich’s Eisbach River after the city inserted some concrete blocks to break up the river’s current. For years surfers illegally got their thrills. In 2010 surfing on the Eisbach became legal, drawing throngs of surfers and spectators day and night, year round. Munich isn’t the only city with some city surf (14). Cities in Switzerland, Norway, and China offer the urban sport and others, such as Rotterdam, are planning to create urban surf scenes.

(14) Another uncommon space: surfing in Munich

The expectation is to go to an opera house in fancy dress for an evening of high-brow entertainment. Or, we could go to play! In Oslo, city planners decided to build an opera house that is also, and contrary to expectations, a public park. Completed in 2008, the building includes a public access rooftop that angles down to a large iceberg-shaped granite public plaza ending at the water’s edge. The roof surface was designed as a city space meant to inspire not to intimidate—even skateboarding is allowed. The uncommon juxtaposition of space use attracts locals and visitors year round, wearing both bathing suits and evening gowns.

Now here’s what I call an uncommon space. The Amager Bakke new generation waste-to-energy plant in Copenhagen, scheduled for completion in 2017, will replace an older waste-to-energy plant and provide 97% of city homes with heating and about 4,000 people with electricity. So, what’s so uncommon? The new building, which will be one of the tallest in Copenhagen, will have a functional ski run on its rooftop catering to varying skill levels. Unlike other energy-intensive artificial ski slopes, the Amager Bakke building will use a recycled synthetic granular material. Planter modules with greenery stack and wrap the building creating a green façade that will look, vaguely, like a mountain from a distance (15).

(15) Ski hill on waste-to-energy plant (rendering), Copenhagen
Check email while waiting for your train? That’s so yesterday. Why not tend to your tomatoes? Yes, why not put a farm on a train station? The East Japan Railway Company located five “Soradofarms” on its rail network. The first was at Tokyo’s Ebisu station. People can rent a plot and tend their vegetables prior to catching the train. No need to bring your bucket, the train station supplies essential equipment, seeds, and even advice for commuters new to the relaxing pastime of gardening. These rooftop gardens on train stations have proven very popular. There are wait lists to get a plot (16).

(16) Community garden on top train station, Tokyo

Of course, artists thrive on creating unexpected associations. This London bus stop, designed by Bruno Taylor, combines a mundane space and function (waiting for a bus) with a touch of fun, resulting in a delightful and uncommon experience (17).

(17) Swinging at a bus stop in London

**Creative Catalyst 3: Elements of Play**

Many different movements or trends aim to promote new ways of thinking about improving cities: Smart Cities, Green Cities, Slow Cities and more. One of these is the Playable Cities Movement. Advocates for this movement believe that fun and play should be woven into the urban fabric. They argue that play engages people with the city; it attracts people—including families—to public spaces making them more vibrant. (And, as we know: more people on the streets translates into safer cities.) Advocates for the Playable Cities movement also argue that more play and fun activities contributes to a city’s identity. It conveys a certain attitude that makes people feel good about living there. It’s healthy psychologically, physically and socially.
Cognitive scientists also identify play as a catalyst to creative thinking. So, promoting Elements of Play in urban environments is a third type of creative catalyst. This is accomplished through the promotion of places, policies and programs that encourage play, interactivity, and humor.

For example, playful cities support spaces like all-ages playgrounds. City officials are happy to allow city boulevards to be used for run or bike events. They have systems to quickly issue permits for block closures for the community to host neighborhood events or play streets for kids. They put musical instruments in parks. They support ‘sort of crazy’ events like Seattle’s Green Lake Milk Carton derby where people race home-built milk carton boats, the naked Solstice bike rides in nearby Fremont, or the ‘Make Sunday Special’ program in Bristol UK where streets are closed for a variety of fun activities—like this water slide (18).

(18) Closing a city street for a water slide, Bristol, UK

When a playful city commissions a fountain built in a public space, officials will insist that children can splash in it, with plenty of seating for parents to watch. In Perth Australia the city didn’t just put up a traditional fountain for people to stare at when they renovated Forrest Place (19). They commissioned a unique fountain that is a collection of square rooms that pop up randomly to “trap” (for just an instant) kids or adults. It creates a game that kids play for hours!

(19) Forrest Place fountain, Perth

Who doesn’t love a little “whoopdeedoo” in their day! To promote 2013 Bike to Work Week in Vancouver, B.C., the city allowed Canadian designer Greg Papove (along with graphic artist Claire Balderston for signage) to install a series of Whoopdeedoo ramps on a selection of bike lanes to promote a bit of fun for the city’s bicycle commuters. Of course the best urban surprises also consider the safety of the users. In addition to signage and bright colors, a centerline and side flags assist with orientation when approaching the ramp (20).
Another key element of play is interactivity. For example, at the 21 swings installation in Montreal each swing produces notes from different types of instruments (such as a piano, guitar, or horn). The higher the person swings the higher the note. What’s fun is that when people cooperate, swinging at different intervals and heights they can create a musical composition. At night, lights are added to the scene making it all very magical (21).

Urban games are another type of play that cities can support. Here, the cityscape becomes a game board. The contests might be high or low tech, but most involve interactivity, cooperation and navigation within a city. They might be video-game or board game inspired. They can be educational or just entertainment. They might be mostly competitive or collaborative (or both). They can be free or paid. In fact, urban gaming is spreading around the globe, from human-scale Pac-Man games in New York (“Pac-Manhatten”) to nighttime zombie hunts across the UK to geocaching in cities around the world. Some cities have opted to promote more educational games where participants learn about the history or architecture of a city--or are introduced to the works of local artists. For example, two creative professionals from Copenhagen designed an urban treasure hunt where participants search for a series of clues at temporary artworks or installations placed around the city. At each station, searchers find an orange dot with a number inside (22). These numbers are collected and used to open a treasure chest at the end with a reward. The Copenhagen organizers then paired with some artists to stage a similar treasure hunt in Budapest, with a route that highlights that city’s Art Nouveau buildings. As one organizer stated, the goal is to “…experience the city in a totally new way. You start to look at your surroundings in a different light and begin to notice things you had never seen before.”
And finally, *humor* is always part of play. There are many terrific examples of this, but here again, what matters is a city’s attitude toward allowing temporary or permanent, sanctioned or unsanctioned art installations with a humorous twist. I’ve seen a naked Buddha climbing a building in China; a sculpture of a pissing dog in Brussels; miniature plastic horses attached to horse rings in Portland, and more. In another example, Glasgow finally decided to embrace its long, and at times contentious, history with street artists and taggers to create the City Centre Mural Trail. Launched in 2008, this initiative showcased talented, local artists by supporting large-scale murals (both temporary and permanent) on buildings, fences, and overpass walls. The murals vary in subject matter from animals, to sports, to edgy humor. Visitors can easily walk to see the murals using a map provided by the city. The idea of the mural trail was to enlist local street artists to revitalize and promote the city center while also providing temporary color and a sense of safety to vacant buildings and alleyways. One such mural on the trail is “Honey I Shrunk the Kids” by Australian-born, but Glasgow-based Smug (aka Sam Bates) located on Mitchell Street. The woman seems to be picking up cars (or people) depending where one stands (23).
Conclusion

Nature and Art are also well known creative catalysts that have positive impacts on a cityscape for the same reasons as the three creative catalysts elaborated above: Variation, Unexpected Associations, and Element of Play. Research demonstrates that all of these environmental prompts activate the parts of our brains associated with creative thought and imagination. This, in turn, contributes to a person’s sense of cognitive engagement and wellbeing—outcomes desirable for people’s experiences of public spaces. I believe that understanding ways to employ creative catalysts in urban settings can inform policies, programs and place design intended to make cities more livable. Imagine a city full of creative messaging and the silent language of inspiration it would speak.

Photo Credits

1 Teapot Garden
By Karolina Lidia Pawelec (CC)
2 Man playing with metal ball, Barcelona (2012)
By Jim Mueller with permission
3 Bellevue Square Park, Kensington Market, Toronto
By Josephers (CC) via wikimedia commons
4a Campo di Fiori (day), Rome, Italy
By Lynsey Newton (CC)
4b Campo di Fiori (evening), Rome, Italy (2005)
By Sergio Calleja (CC)
https://www.flickr.com/photos/24899877@N00/103029370
5 Bongo trash cans, Curitiba, Brazil
By Jim Mueller with permission
6 Fish downspout, Madrid, Spain (2012)
By Jim Mueller with permission
7 Cactus painted drain pipe, Vitoria-Gasteiz, Spain (2011)
By Zaraterman (CC) via wikimedia commons
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AVitoria_-_Graffiti_%26_Murals_0890.JPG
8 Dublin utility box (bookshelf design) (2013)
By William Murphy (CC)
https://www.flickr.com/photos/infomatique/11138707066/
9 Orange bike rack, Rzeszow, Poland (2012)
By Zorro2212 (CC) via wikimedia commons
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bike_racks_in_Rzesz%C3%B3w.jpg
10 Manhole cover, Osaka, Japan (2011)
By dunhilaryu (CC)
https://www.flickr.com/photos/46758483@N00/545327526/
11 Typographic bus stop, Baltimore
By mmmm…. (CC)
http://www.notcot.org/tag/art/
12 Ponyfish Island, bar under the bridge, Melbourne, Australia (2011)
By Sean Mackin (CC)
https://www.flickr.com/photos/seanmakin/5770825999
13 Paris Plages (2009)
By slasher-fun (CC) via wikimedia commons
14 Surfing in Eisbach River, Munich, Germany (2014)
   By Gabler-Werbung (CC)

15 Waste-to-energy ski hill photo
   Courtesy of BIG-Bjarke Ingels Group

16 Rooftop farm, JR Ebisu train station, Tokyo Japan
   fastcoexist.com (CC)
   http://www.fastcoexist.com/3027821/no-time-to-garden-at-home-at-this-train-station-you-can-garden-on-your-commute

   By Dan Gould, psfk.com (permission given at site)

18 Make Sunday Special Water slide, Bristol, UK (May 4 2014)
   Courtesy of Bristol City Council
   www.bristol.gov.uk

19 Appearing Rooms Fountain, Forrest Place, Perth, Australia
   By Jeppe Hein (CC)
   http://www.jeppehein.net

20 Whoopdedoo ramp, Vancouver, BC, Canada (2013)
   By Paul Krueger (CC)
   https://www.flickr.com/photos/pwkrueger/8897331142/

21 Street scene, 21 Swings Montreal, Canada
   By Martine Doyon, Tourism Montreal (CC)
   http://www.tourisme-montreal.org/Quoi-Faire/Evenements/21-balancoires-montreal

22 Urban treasure hunt stop (clue 47), Copenhagen, Denmark (2009)
   By Jane Mej Dahl (CC)
   https://www.flickr.com/photos/gullig/3766226669

23 Glasgow (Mitchell street) mural, ‘Honey I Shrunk the Kids’ by Smug, Scotland
   By Thomas Nugent (CC)
   http://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/3022163