Landscape Architecture in the Gulf

JULIAN RAXWORTHY

Paradoxes of Green: Landscapes of a City-State, Gareth Doherty, Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2017, ISBN: 978–0–520–28502–6

Desert Paradises: Surveying the Landscapes of Dubai's Urban Model, Julian Bolleter, Abingdon: Routledge, 2019, ISBN: 978–0–815–35550–2

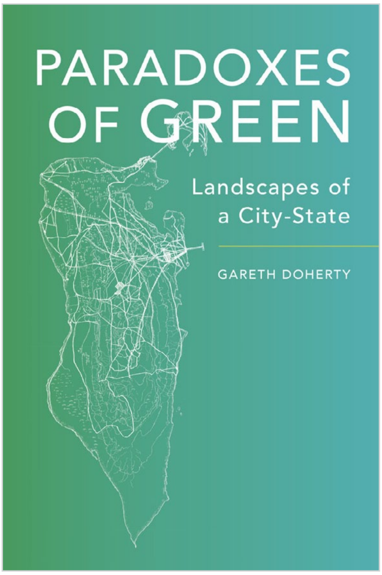
Julian Raxworthy is Honorary Associate Professor, School of Architecture, University of Queensland, Brisbane, QLD 4072, Australia.
Email: Julian.raxworthy@gmail.com

I never planned to end up in Dubai. And when people ask how I am finding it, my standard response is 'I don't *love* it …'. I mean it as a compliment, in so far as I am not saying 'I hate it', which is the reaction that most people I know expect from me. They expect that I will find it totalitarian (it seems relatively liberal to me, so long as you keep to the rules), too hot (so far, it has been no worse than a stinking Queensland day) and too Islamic (ironically, I love the call to prayer, something I grew familiar with in Cape Town and find the most authentic part of Dubai). As a landscape architecture academic, I am used to finding value in the everyday, tracing the influence of climate, geography and culture to get a sense of the place, even in places that others might see no value in. It is in this aspect that I find it hard in Dubai: the more you look for authenticity and nature here, the further it seems to move away. But, as the expats say, the longer you live here, the more you like it.

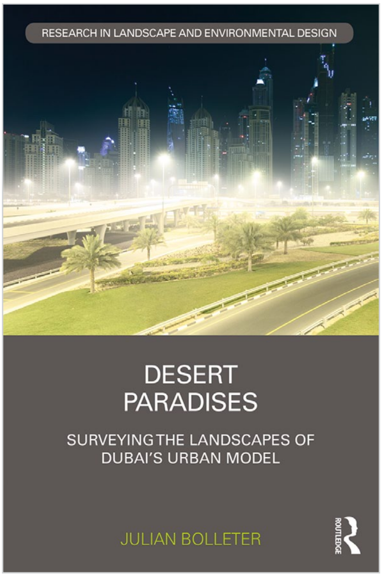
In this context, it has been useful to have the opportunity to review two recent books about landscape in the Middle East: Gareth Doherty's *Paradoxes of Green Landscapes of a City-State* about Bahrain; and Julian Bolleter's *Desert Paradises: Surveying the Landscapes of Dubai's Urban Model*, about my current abode, Dubai. By way of introduction, these books have some similarities. Notably, the biographies of their young authors have much in common, with both books resulting from their doctoral studies at the institutions where they work.

The basis of Doherty's book is his Doctor of Design at Harvard University Graduate School of Design, where he is associate professor of landscape architecture. His supervisor was Lebanese architect and urbanist Hashim Sarkis, formerly of the Harvard University Graduate School of Design and now at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who is the curator for the 2020 Venice Architecture Biennale.

Bolleter's book is from his Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Western Australia, where he is deputy-director at the Australian Urban Design Research Centre; his supervisor was Richard Weller, now Meyerson chair of urbanism at the University of Pennsylvania. Another similarity is that both authors are humble but prolific publishers: Doherty co-edited the seminal *Ecological Urbanism* (Mostafavi and Doherty, 2016), *Is Landscape …?* (Doherty and Waldheim, 2016) and, most



recently, a major contribution on the Brazilian landscape architect *Roberto Burle Marx Lectures: Landscape as Art and Urbanism* (Doherty, 2018); while Bolleter authored *Take Me to the River: The Story of Perth's Foreshore* (2015) and co-authored *Greenspace-Oriented Development: Reconciling Urban Density and Nature in Suburban Cities* (Bolleter and Ramalho, 2019) and *Made in Australia: The Future of Australian Cities* (Weller and Bolleter, 2013). They also share an interest in a topic that attracts little attention: landscape in the Islamic world, and the Middle East in particular. Further, after *Contemporary Urban Landscapes of the Middle East* (Gharipour, 2016), published by Routledge in the same series as Bolleter's, these two books are the most significant contributions to the subject in landscape architecture to date.


RESEARCH IN LANDSCAPE AND ENVIRONMENTAL DESIGN
DESERT PARADISES
SURVEYING THE LANDSCAPES OF DUBAI'S URBAN MODEL
JULIAN BOLLETER
ROUTLEDGE

Despite these broad similarities, however, they are quite different books because they are based on markedly different frames for reading landscape and contrasting methodologies. That is, Doherty uses the frame of colour to look through and follows an ethnographic method, while Bolleter has an urbanistic frame and uses a method that emphasises the political and economic.

Landscape as colour

With the title of Doherty's book clearly identifying 'green' as its subject, it is no surprise that not just that particular colour – green – but colour generally is a theoretical underpinning of the book and potentially its most novel contribution. As Doherty acknowledges, colour is tough to theorise, but he has made a good effort in exploring basic 'chicken and egg' questions like: does an object produce the meaning of the colour, or vice versa? After positioning himself in relation to colour theory, Doherty admits that, essentially, the closer one gets to colour, the more difficult it is to discuss. Ultimately it is keeping colour within the medium of *words* that is perhaps the greatest weakness of the book: I wanted to *see* the colour. While the rhetorical device of colour as a way of structuring the book is highly effective, I was left wondering whether the book is confronting a problem of genre. Namely, it occupies the serious scholarly space of textual discourse, rather than the more colourful space of images that Doherty has already operated in with *Ecological Urbanism.*

Logically the book starts with blue, the generic colour of water, which reveals the fundamental paradox captured in the book's title, as well as being green's immediate neighbour on the colour wheel. In the way of good research, the basic premise of the book that its title captures is common sense: it is a paradox that green – as vegetation in the first instance – is so poorly suited to the desert of the Middle East, which is inherently dry and in need of water, which happens to be … blue. While Bolleter is attracted by the newness of Dubai, it was Bahrain's history that led Doherty to that country as a site for his research, an urge that will be familiar to anyone who has lived (or is living) in the rapidly changing Middle East, where one feels an inherent impulse to search for authenticity. Doherty tells us that the role of blue in Bahrain is fundamental to its reputation for green-ness in the Middle East. *Al-Bahrain* means 'the Two Seas' in Arabic: those seas are respectively outside, the sea surrounding the island of Bahrain, and inside, the groundwater that was the only water supply that allowed Bahrain to green but is now sadly much diminished.

With the loss of its natural 'blue', it is easy to imagine that keeping Bahrain green – both its historical, though now ornamental, agriculture, as Doherty argues, and its newer landscaping – requires a new sort of blue, and lots of it. As groundwater is almost gone, most of the water supply comes from desalination, which is prohibitively expensive, and increasingly from treated sewage effluent (TSE). TSE is another problematic source in that, while much money is being invested in it, it is culturally disliked because it is seen as *haram*, and its use is prohibited in many landscapes where people will interact with it and in agricultural activities because of its exposure to faecal coliforms. Other measures to deal with water scarcity, such as the use of indigenous species and xeriscaping applications, are rejected, Doherty suggests, because they do not involve the right type of green and are unsuited to the desired image of Bahrain.

Alternative water technologies – such as water sensitive urban design (WSUD) and sustainable urban drainage (SUDS) – also have limited use in the Middle East, with its limited rainfall. In Dubai, I have noted with concern the use of increasing amounts of chlorine to clean (or 'kill') the common lakes that are often the centre of landscaping, in preference to wetland treatment trains to clean and reuse runoff, a studio project I hope to develop here. For me, Doherty's chapter on 'blue' is perhaps the most important of his book and he could have considered water technologies in greater detail, before moving on to other types of recreational blue. As he notes, 'if there is a need to focus on reducing the demand for blue, we should keep in mind that blue and green are inseparable', adding 'water can be more efficiently managed only if green is too' (p 59).

The tension, as I perceive it, between ethnography and landscape as a subject is felt acutely in the chapter on red. Doherty attempts to build a bridge between green and red, noting the relationship between them, together with white, in Muslim flags, a religious dynamic between Sunni and Shia Muslims. Doherty attended the religious festival of Ashura with Shia friends, where the colour green featured extensively in basil used as part of the observance, and as a plant left for graves and grieving, but where the focus is actually on blood, as red.

For those of us who are unfamiliar with the subject, a pivotal difference between Sunni and Shia Islam is that the Shia mourn the martyrdom of Husayn with blood-letting, one aspect of the commemorative processions through Manama, the Bahraini capital. Although the link to the central theme of the book is tenuous in this chapter, this in no way diminishes the quality of the writing or the broader cultural understanding it gives the reader as Doherty's experience is compelling and informative about the Middle East.

In reading Doherty's book, I was most excited to hear about the 'grey-green' of the date palm, *Phoenix dactylifera*, in the chapter entitled 'The Memory of Date Palm Green', because it resonated with my visit to the oasis at Al Ain, where the configuration of date palms is similar to the one Doherty describes: a dense overstory of date palms that are irrigated by above-ground channels called Aflaj.

Geoffrey Sanderson, a long-time landscape architect and resident in the Middle East, described to me how this canopy creates shade under which other species are grown, with one layer shading another, each reducing evapotranspiration for those below. Adding detail, Doherty describes the species below as comprising figs, mangoes and pomegranates (pomegranate juice, interestingly, is used as an alcohol-free substitute for balsamic vinegar in some Muslim countries) in the small tree and shrub layer, with a ground cover of alfalfa.

This use of shade reminds us that plants are essentially pumps, compelled by light to transpire, so reducing light is a solution akin to reducing water requirements. Dates were used completely for 'giv[ing] seeds for fodder, stems for building, leaves for baskets and houses, fiber for ropes' (p 81), and are also reliant on people for pollination. It is an interestingly symbiotic relationship, given the sun also desiccates people, making the date grove a kind of paradise that still plays a role in the social life of some of the wealthier people in Bahrain.

Doherty also points to language to demonstrate the key role of the date palm in the Middle East. One alternative name for it is the 'Mother of Bahrain'. Capturing its significance, Doherty recounts an event he went to with a family whose house and tamarind tree were about to be demolished for a new development: their goodbye was directed more to the tree than the house. In Arabic, the date palm is known as Nakheel, also the name of a station on the Dubai Metro, demonstrating the date palm's everyday significance.

Of all the factors relating to plants in Dubai, what perplexes me most is tree spacing. Doherty notes that the spacing of the date palm is 5 metres apart in a plantation, yet in urban 'landscaping' they are used singly, in rows, often 10 or more metres apart. 'Learning from the oasis' would be valuable for landscape architects, who are generally expatriates, when designing for plants, as density can reduce temperature by 2–3 degrees Celsius in the palm grove. Focused as he is on greenery as 'an indicator of human settlement' (p 77) as much as vegetation, I was somewhat frustrated by this chapter, considering vegetation should have been at its core although, as Doherty notes, 'the predominant shade of green associated with the date palms is considered passé [as] new shades of green are becoming more prevalent as symbols of development and of a brighter future' (p 90).

In this context, Doherty discusses the development of planning in Bahrain. In particular, he deals with the attempts of 'Mr Kazi' to maintain the Manama Greenbelt. This planner, educated in the United Kingdom and influenced by Sir Patrick Abercrombie, had been involved in establishing the Greater London Green Belt in 1944. Kazi's plan for the Manama Greenbelt, though initially opposed as anti-development, was based on an argument for an approach to developing infrastructure that took pressure off the palm groves by making them a green belt. Despite these intentions, development has encroached on the green belt, with much of it 'becom[ing] villas, or desert awaiting villas' (p 95). Intriguingly, Doherty tells us of more cunning strategies used to support preservation of the palms, including the use of religion and law. For example, cutting down trees was made illegal on the grounds that 'It is essential in the Muslim religion to protect Green' (p 95) – although, unfortunately, this leads to tree poisoning instead. Another mechanism is to create Awqaf or religious endowments, where property is donated in perpetuity to all Muslims everywhere and 'once designated as waqf, the property cannot legally be bought or sold'; instead it is 'held in trust for everyone of the faith, the groves remain[ing] groves forever'. Together these mechanisms might preserve the green belt because 'to conserve the date palm means conserving its network' (p 97).

Privately Doherty has suggested to me that his book has much in common with my *Overgrown: Practices between Landscape Architecture and Gardening* (Raxworthy, 2018, also reviewed in this issue). However, I only used green in passing as a word to name a landscape architectural equivalent of the tectonic from *viridis*, the Latin for green – leading to my new term 'the viridic' – so compared to him, I am a colour lightweight.

While I may have wanted more images, more actual colour, *Paradoxes of Green* contains plenty of 'local colour', which is, perhaps, more like travel literature. Calling it an ethnography, Doherty puts at front and centre the people he met and the everyday landscapes he walked through, allowing us to share in his questions as much as his answers, which remain tentative and provisional throughout.

Like the great travel writer Bruce Chatwin, Doherty intersperses these stories and reflections with his background research and tells us, in the process, much about the Middle East and its history, religion and geography. Considering how my book reflects my own interest in plants, I wanted more discussion of actual vegetation – the green that the title refers to, setting up the expectation that this would be the focus of the book. It is a critique I could also aim at Bolleter. However, for me, this limitation was sup-plant-ed (if you can excuse the pun) by the appreciation that I felt for the broader, travel-style observations of the book, which filled many gaps in knowledge I have been aware of as a new resident of the Middle East.

Landscape as urbanism

It is unsurprising that, considering Bolleter's work with the Australian Urban Design Research Centre and his book with Weller on Australian cities, *Desert Paradises* is focused primarily on landscape as a part of city-making tools, and its relationship to political and economic forces. Naturally, both Doherty and Bolleter also spend time in their books introducing their respective countries and contexts, which are very different. For Doherty, Bahrain is a country where 'green' and its landscape identity have been around for a long time, and he, and his interview subjects, mourn or are nostalgic about this loss of identity.

In contrast, in Bolleter's account, Dubai is the epitome of new, and its identity is being entirely manufactured through the creation of what Bolleter calls 'parascape'. Interestingly, though Bahrain may have been more developed historically, Dubai had a noted port as far back as about 1000 AD. As both authors observe, Dubai has become an important precedent for development in the region and internationally. Doherty observes that 'Dubaification' is already happening to some degree in Bahrain and apace in Saudi Arabia; Bolleter argues convincingly that this process is evident in other Muslim countries and in Africa as well.

Dubai and Abu Dhabi have an interesting dynamic in terms of landscape architecture and urban culture. Much of the transformation of the United Arab Emirates from a desert to a green place is down to the work and vision of Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan, a revered figure in 2019, 'The Year of Zayed'. His influence is especially notable in Abu Dhabi, where he is said to have planted 130 million trees.

With its more developed and conventional open space systems, Abu Dhabi is a demonstration of what landscape can be and what it can do in the Middle East, and is seen as somehow more elegant and cultured than Dubai. Yet the latter is growing faster and, despite its stricter alcohol restrictions, is seen by expats as a more fun city, as it is brasher and 'crazier' – an 'Australian Gold Coast without the surf beaches and mountains', as I describe it. The two cities are always bouncing off each other. Abu Dhabi recently initiated a second-layer renovation programme of returning to its initial green spaces for upgrade, while in the past few weeks Dubai announced a programme of creating new links and parks that improve the pedestrian experience as well as linking to and across the massive freeway of Sheikh Zayed Road and into Dubai's highly effective, though isolated, metro system.

The book hinges on the definition of 'parascape', a term that Bolleter coined with his supervisor Weller as a conjunction of the paradise of heaven described in the Quran, and the generic descriptor of scape that is an interstitial space between city and country, the artificial and the natural. Much has been written about Qur'anic descriptions of gardens as a source for earthly gardens in Islam. However, with the exception of the 64-hectare US Holy Quran Park, which Bolleter says was aimed at introducing the many Islamic tourists visiting the city 'to the "miracles" of the Quran' (p 54), the relationship between these contemporary landscapes and the Quran seems tentative or, more so, rhetorical. Bolleter does make a reasonable case that Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashid looked to the Quran for his mandate for greening. However, his claim that 'parascape' was mobilised as a Versailles-like tool for glorification of the monarchy seems a convenience of western universalisation of values. It reflects a key issue I have with this book, notably its assumption of a western ideological frame, which differentiates it from Doherty's book.

Discussion of politics in relation to the UAE is a vexed issue. My experience of living inside the country and reading descriptions from people who are outside it brings this to the fore, essentially because living here, the stakes are higher. However, having lived in South Africa for five years, my position on this question is different to what it was when my experience of life was confined to Australia and the west. While people in the west might believe in the fundamental merits of democracy and capitalism, and take an evangelical view on its universality, there is no question that specific geopolitical, cultural and religious histories create complex modes of governance in non-western and post-colonial countries that cannot be neatly characterised.

Both Doherty and Bolleter note that Gulf Cooperation Council countries had and continue to have anxieties around popular movements in the style of the Arab spring. Yet, as Bolleter notes, and as I have seen from my own experience here, the UAE is a place of calm in the Middle East, where one meets numerous Lebanese, Palestinian and Syrian professionals, for whom it is essentially the only place they can work and live normally. I think an argument can be made that the stability the monarchy provides to Dubai and the UAE in general – tempered by a quasi-liberal acceptance of the predilections of ex-pats – allows to it be a safe haven in a volatile region both for workers and for capital.

At the end of the parascape chapter, Bolleter talks about a range of landscape types that are visible in Dubai, including parks, theme parks, reclaimed islands and transport interchanges. This typology is useful because it documents, at this point in time, the spaces resulting from Dubai's urbanism. He discusses these spaces in terms, again, of their craziness, their intensity or their ludicrousness, and has the same criticisms for each of them: they are not inclusive, are highly simulated and lack environmental or cultural authenticity.

Weaving together a range of scholarly narratives – not least, the significant AMO/Volume title *Al Manakh* from 2007 and its sequel *Al Manakh cont'd* from 2010 – Bolleter gives us an exciting 'Dubai is crazy' account that should now be familiar. While he cites Davis (2007) to describe it as the ultimate manifestation of the unfettered neo-liberal city, I was not entirely convinced of its uniqueness in this respect. Bolleter sees tropes used to describe real estate developments as demonstrations of attempts to supplant indigenous desert landscapes with 'parascape', yet many of these should be familiar to western readers from their own cities, where a term like 'Green' or 'Lakes' is added to a name for branding.

Perhaps it is only the juxtaposition of colour – to return to Doherty's fascination – that makes them unusual, because most of the rest of the cited 'crazy' has been described at least since the 1990s by people like Michael Sorkin (1992) and Margaret Crawford (1992). Similarly, claims that open spaces are silencing or smoothing over striated political spaces, normalising them, should also be familiar, because these were precisely the reasons for the emergence of public parks and 'green infrastructures' in Europe and the USA in the nineteenth century.

So perhaps the real issue is actually that nothing really new is happening here, because western landscape architecture is just being normatively rolled out. Perhaps, just as the pejorative term FILTH ('Failed in London, Try Hong Kong') was used in the 1980s and 1990s, what this is really about is that, without context and critique, landscape architecture is being deployed uncritically as taught. Often I will see a landscape and realise that it is a self-referential plan composition rather than a spatial solution with an interest in microclimate; or I will take a road and feel that this was a traffic engineer's utopian solution that has not considered the pedestrian; or I will walk alongside a building that is lining a public space with its services along its podium, ignoring its role in shaping public space. But these could be problems with development in any city, and are perhaps only prominent in the UAE because young, inexperienced practitioners are constantly rotating through, or being quickly promoted to entice them to stay. Perhaps the problem is not Dubai, but landscape architecture?

For a whole range of reasons, some of the tropes that people criticise Dubai for might persist. Not least is that the city is hot and inhospitable. While changes of planting, like the creation of deeper shade, and greater connectivity to transport nodes, for example, might extend the season that is suitable for walking by six weeks; after that, air-conditioning will be mandatory. This air-conditioning will create interiors, such as malls. Similarly, the much-maligned tower is a way of centralising services and creating a density that what I call the density police would otherwise adore in cities focused on 'best practice' urban design. In the same vein, while both Doherty and Bolleter might be critical of over-planted and over-watered freeway interchanges, residents drive past these 365 days a year and so these spaces could be seen to be more widely used, albeit visually, than are parks, which can only be used half the year in Dubai. Despite the aerial graphic symbol of the Palm Jumeirah attracting some of this 'crazy' interest, it is the most banal critique that is most pertinent: it is a very inefficient way for residents to get from A to B. Notwithstanding the validity of this particular critique, why is Dubai 'bashed' for tropes that arise in other places too?

A recent essay in the *New York Review of Books*, reflecting on Edward Said's *Orientalism*, noted perversely the sad demise of the concept, after 9/11. I would argue that the slighting of urbanism in the Middle East actually manifests a kind of self-loathing, a horror of what happens when the west is doing what it does: colonise. However, when this becomes something unique in the Middle East (or China, or Singapore, though less so), instead we expect it to be more authentic, more desert, more Bedouin. When it is not, getting the elements exported to it by the west – the mall, the tower, the gated community – and owning them and making them *more, more, more*, the west then fetishises their bad taste, exhibiting what a director of a landscape architecture practice in Dubai calls 'market racism'.

Both Doherty and Bolleter use a reflex-critique of development as being aimed at expats, and Bolleter in particular emphasises class divisions between workers, expats and Emiratis. Potential criticisms about access to public spaces in Dubai for workers like domestic workers and labourers are actually not specific to Dubai. They are also clearly visible in the west generally; think, for example, about inequality in places like Chicago, or Alice Springs, or Cape Town, or even access issues for Roma people in Europe.

Inequality and profiling in policing and management in Dubai probably again came from the west, or perhaps synched well with existing class divisions in feudal societies, demonstrating how the feudal and capitalism exhibit similar tropes according to inequality. However, again from a South African perspective, whereas whiteness and money hold power over an indigenous population due to inequality, this equation is not the same in the UAE, where white expats are still workers, like Filipinos, although better paid, and are still visibly lower down the 'food chain' of power than Emiratis, particularly in matters of law and etiquette.

Bolleter discusses how the Gulf region, and Dubai in particular, have changed quickly, leading to a desire to maintain authenticity of vernacular building types, of their faking, as he suggests, because '[the] vernacular built-form is the spatial product of many processes and is unique to the culmination of these forces' (p 84). The forces that are of most interest to me, as someone who walks in Dubai, even in summer, are the bio-climatic, yet Doherty and Bolleter rarely discuss this subject proactively, instead generally treating form as visual rather than affective. One can agree with Bolleter's implied critique that the faking of the vernacular is a move 'after the horse has bolted'; however, some characteristics of Islamic urbanism could well be remembered now, while letting go of their formal resemblance to historical types and allowing them to have some contemporary design.

Both Bolleter and Doherty end by suggesting that landscape urbanism is pertinent in the Middle East. Again, my perspective as a walker in Dubai and my experiences in the Moroccan city of Fez have coloured my sense of the role of landscape, or landscaping in hot climates. In Fez, the Islamic building or urban type – consisting of thin streets, zero setback, three to four stories and an internal court – creates a constantly shaded and cool microclimate at street level. While tree planting, and particularly the dense planting of date palms, can create significant shading and reduce temperature on the street level, architecture will always do this better and so, ironically, it may be that traditional 'urbanism' rather than ‘landscape’ urbanism can create better streetscape outcomes, and these might be better achieved through conventional codes. An immediate example might be creating shade maps for streets that make them totally shady at all times and then reverse engineering building heights and setbacks to suit. This would be akin to a back-to-front version of the process Hugh Ferriss used in New York, as described by Koolhaas (1994), to ensure that sun hit the street in Manhattan as the skyscraper developed. Another example might be to enforce an air-conditioned public right of way in all buildings to provide lateral, climate-controlled links to the Dubai Metro, an approach that recent public projects are addressing.

To conclude, both these books make substantial contributions to the discourse of landscape architecture in the Middle East, a subject left behind compared with the attention it has received from Koolhaas et al in architecture. The differences between them – Doherty’s as an ethnography, Bolleter’s as an overview – are complementary because they show ‘green’ from the inside and the outside of the culture, respectively, though, of course, both are outsiders, as I am. As for historically colonial countries, the challenge for UAE, lacking any landscape architecture programme, is to develop a uniquely Emirati landscape approach, which seems to remain a distant goal. However, like Singapore, through the amplification and constant iteration of accelerated urbanisation, it may be that by becoming ‘more west than the west’, its influence on the developing world will be about agency, not aesthetics.

REFERENCES

Bolleter, J (2015) *Take Me to the River: The Story of Perth’s Foreshore*, Crawley, Western Australia: UWA Publishing.

Bolleter, J and Ramalho, CE (2019) *Greenspace-Oriented Development: Reconciling Urban Density and Nature in Suburban Cities*, SpringerBriefs in Geography, Cham, Switzerland: Springer.

Crawford, M (1992) The World in a Shopping Mall. In *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space*, M Sorkin (ed), New York: Hill and Wang, pp 3–30.

Doherty, G (ed) (2018) *Roberto Burle Marx Lectures: Landscape as Art and Urbanism*, Zurich: Lars Müller.

Doherty, G and Waldheim, C (eds) (2016) *Is Landscape …? Essays on the Identity of Landscape*, Abingdon: Routledge.

Gharipour, M (ed) (2016) *Contemporary Urban Landscapes of the Middle East*, London: Taylor and Francis.

Koolhaas, R (1994) *Delirious New York: A Retrospective Manifesto for Manhattan* (new edn), Rotterdam: 010 Publishers.

Mostafavi, M and Doherty, G (eds) (2016) *Ecological Urbanism* (rev edn), Zurich: Lars Müller and Harvard University Graduate School of Design.

Raxworthy, J (2018) *Overgrown: Practices between Landscape Architecture and Gardening*, Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press.

Sorkin, M (1992) See You in Disneyland. In *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space*, M Sorking (ed), New York: Hill and Wang, pp 205–232.

Weller, R and Bolleter, J (2013) *Made in Australia: The Future of Australian Cities*, Perth: UWA Publishing.