At first glance “sustainability” and “pleasure” seem at odds. “Green” practices are commonly thought to involve an almost puritanical restriction of pleasures: shivering in frosty interiors to save on energy consumption, forgoing exotic foods in favor of homegrown staples, or walking weary miles to work rather than riding in comfort in a car. Surely “green” living describes an ascetic rather than aesthetic lifestyle. Beyond the satisfaction of feeling virtuous, what pleasures, what sensory enjoyments might living in a sustainable city offer?

Potentially, a great many more than we currently enjoy. Modern urban life, in fact, can be said to have deprived us of many traditional sensory pleasures at the same time as it has inflicted on us many new sensory displeasures. The early-19th-century utopian philosopher Charles Fourier wrote of what he called the “sensory ills of civilization”: “The din of the trades…the sight of hanging rags, of the dirty dwellings…the stifling smell of the drains…painfully affect the sight, hearing, and smell.” Such unpleasant sensations had not been unknown to city dwellers of earlier periods, but in the 18th and 19th centuries they became greatly intensified by the immense growth of urban populations and the depletion of urban green spaces.

The increasing industrialization and mechanization of the city in the 20th century created a new set of urban sensations. Significantly, while a list of noises compiled in 19th-century New York centered on sounds produced by peddlers, street musicians, animals, and horse-drawn vehicles, by 1925 the dominant noises of New York were said to come from motorcars, subway trains, drills, and other mechanical sources. It seems that we must pay for the physical comforts and convenience provided by modern technology with a good deal of sensory displeasure. What is more, the sonic, chemical, and visual effluvia of the city are also harmful to our physical well-being: Noise pollution contributes to stress as well as to hearing loss, smog harms our bodies and impairs our sense of smell, and excessive exposure to artificial light may contribute to a range of health problems.

Whether deliberately planned as such or not, cities are inevitably “sensescapes”—landscapes of sounds and sights, smells and textures, and the flavors of its characteristic foods. As we rethink urban design within a context of ecological sustainability, we need to look for urban models that can fruitfully sustain our sensory lives. Indeed, perhaps the best way to encourage people to commit themselves to new modes of urban existence is by engaging them through pleasurable sensory experiences: green pleasures, rediscovered and reimagined within a revitalized cityscape.

Consider a scene common to many urban centers: a dingy street lined with uninviting buildings, jammed with cars, noisy with honking horns, reeking of exhaust, and offering little reason or opportunity for passers-by to linger. Compare this scene with that presented by the Rua das Flores in Curitiba, Brazil. Rua das Flores was a typical traffic-congested downtown street until, in the 1970s, it was transformed into a pedestrian mall. The street’s monotonous stretch of asphalt was replaced with cobblestones and enlivened by flowers, its historic buildings were renovated, and its cafés and kiosks were opened. Vehicular traffic was reduced within the city by an efficient, low-cost system of public transportation.
These measures have transformed urban life: Where cars once dominated, flowers bloom, people relax on benches, birds are audible, street artists perform, and children play. Despite initial attempts by certain disaffected groups to reclaim the city core for cars, the public response has been enthusiastic. A “greener” street has turned out to be a more pleasurable street.4

While good sensory design is not always the result of conscious planning, it would be helpful to have certain guidelines when one is attempting to create an aesthetically pleasing sustainable city. I propose that the following serve as basic principles: First, that the widespread privileging of vision in modern urban life be tempered by an increased sensitivity to the nonvisual senses, to the “invisible city.” Second, that an integrated diversity of sensory stimuli should generally be preferred to a tedious uniformity. Third, that the sensory design of a community be rooted in local cultural traditions and ecological systems. Fourth, that any program for the development of a green aesthetics be guided by an ideal of working in cooperation with nature and be grounded in social justice and compassion.

The urban sensescape

The city as sensescape has been the subject of many recent works and even one museum exhibition (Sense of the City, held at the Canadian Centre for Architecture in 2005).5 A recurrent theme in studies of the sensory profile of modern cities is an emphasis on the visual. With few exceptions, sonic, tactile, and olfactory qualities are ignored in contemporary urban and architectural designs, while visual effects such as monumental height or striking appearance are celebrated. This is in keeping with the general rise in cultural importance of sight in modernity. Through long-standing cultural associations, sight has functioned as the sense of domination, detachment, display, and cleanliness (in contrast to the more “impure” sense of touch). These are all values highly esteemed in modernity and emphasized in the urban experience: the surveillance of well-lit city streets, the dominating and detached view from skyscrapers, the visual spectacle of the cityscape, the clean lines of modern buildings and paved streets.6

As has become obvious, however, these predominantly visual values have not served us well, as individuals, societies, or inhabitants of Earth. Domination leads to exploitation, detachment to disengagement, and conspicuous display to copious waste. Even the clean look of the modern city with its subterranean sewers, its electrical energy, its sleek buildings, its shiny cars, and its
synthetic products has turned out to simply be a mask for immense waste. We are dismayed to learn that, in the end, dirt is “cleaner” than discarded plastic.

If this state of affairs has been partially brought about by overemphasis on the visual, how might we counter it through the elaboration of alternative sensory paradigms? In Fourier’s utopian project, taste and touch were given priority over sight. A taste-based paradigm for sustainable living has recently been proposed by the Slow Food movement. According to this model, the promotion and sharing of local foods (as seen, for example, in the creation of the University of Gastronomic Sciences and an “Ark of Taste” to preserve traditional foods) provides the basis for recreating the city as a nurturing, small-scale, and cooperative environment—the Cittàslow.

Members of the Slow Food movement would likely approve of Fourier’s celebration of “gastrosophy,” or culinary wisdom, as the noblest science. Indeed, the movement’s 2008 hosting of a pseudo “food Olympics” with flag-bearing representatives of countries around the world recalls Fourier’s notion that in a utopian future international culinary competitions would replace political strife and wars.

I am wary of this food-based model, attractive though it may seem. Critics of the Slow Food movement have asserted that it promotes elitist standards of taste by characterizing certain foods as socially superior to others. A more crucial concern, as I see it, is the distinction the movement draws between consumer and consumed, into which latter class potentially go all the animals and plants of the world. Once the natural world is perceived as food, it becomes symbolically dead. We see this in the language of Slow Food advocates when they use expressions such as “locally reared meat.” The distinction between consumers and consumed, perhaps inevitable in any taste-based social model, is not helpful in dealing with larger issues of environmental exploitation.

A full-bodied experience of the world requires all the senses. However, if we are to counter the domination of sight in contemporary culture, I suggest that we pay particular attention to touch. By cultivating tactile values of intimacy, interaction, and integration—values that promote engagement with our physical and social worlds—we can more effectively sustain both our cities and ourselves.

The cleanest source of energy, some say, is muscle power, and muscle power, by involving us in direct interaction with our physical surroundings, provides us with one of our greatest sources of pleasure. Labor-saving devices, from leaf blowers to cars, while seeming to make
life easier, in fact impoverish us by diminishing our range of physical experiences and disengaging us from our environments. As E.F. Schumacher noted in his classic *Small is Beautiful*, “The type of work which modern technology is most successful at reducing or even eliminating is skilful [sic.], productive work of human hands, in touch with real materials of one kind or another.” A tactile city would offer opportunities for citizens to engage with “real materials,” not only through the work of the hand, such as gardening or craftwork, but through maximizing the possibilities for and pleasures of walking, as well as other physical activities. A tactile city would also aim to increase opportunities for social interaction, such as
the participation of the public in communal events or the informal encounters that occur on pedestrian streets like Curitiba’s Rua das Flores.

Nonetheless, when I propose a move away from visual values to tactile values, I am not saying that our cities are already so visually appealing that no more trouble need be taken on that account. I am suggesting that we need to seek out smaller, more intimate beauties rather than grand visual effects (like those of monuments and skyscrapers) if we want to create a more pleasurable multisensory environment.

Were there “tactile cities” in the past? One could argue that the medieval city, with its richly textured buildings; narrow, winding streets; and intricate craftwork offered as much for touch as for sight. Medievals accorded great value to touch as the sense that provided reliable information about the world, compared with sight, which could be readily deceived by surface impressions. A keen sense of touch was associated with mental acuity. Thomas Aquinas declared: “Among men it is in virtue of fineness of touch, and not of any other sense, that we discriminate the mentally gifted.”

Manual skills were highly-cultivated in the Middle Ages, whether on the small scale of a weaving or the large scale of church-building. As Lewis Mumford noted, the medieval builder was a man who knew his materials,
his tools, and his workers, as compared to the more visually oriented architect of later days, who knew his texts and his blueprints. The visual impact of their great cathedrals notwithstanding, medievals did not manifest much interest in grand views. Their stories, paintings, and carvings—even when they deal with religious subjects—typically depict what is close at hand: family and work, domestic animals, flowers, and fruits. In the 14th-century Canterbury Tales, though the pilgrims are on the road, we get no vistas or landscapes. Rather, we are drawn into intimate bodily experiences, such as “kneeling...upon the small and soft and swete gras.” Medieval social life was itself highly tactile with its communal forms of domesticity, labor, and worship. Whether at work or at prayer, while eating or sleeping, close proximity with others was the norm. While exploring the tactile values of the Middle Ages will not provide us with an aesthetic model for contemporary culture, it may serve to stimulate our sensory imaginations and help us conceive alternatives to our visual obsessions.

WE NEED TO SEEK OUT SMALLER, MORE INTIMATE BEAUTIES RATHER THAN GRAND VISUAL EFFECTS (LIKE THOSE OF MONUMENTS AND SKYSCRAPERS) IF WE WANT TO CREATE A MORE PLEASURABLE MULTISENSORY ENVIRONMENT.

Sensory diversity
One characteristic of urban life that is both unsustainable and non-pleasurable is the unnatural uniformity of light and temperature levels in many residences and public buildings. The American Society of Heating, Refrigerating, and Air-Conditioning Engineers has determined standards of thermal comfort employed across the United States and consulted by other countries. Yet numerous studies have shown that people living in different cultures and climates have different thermal comfort zones; no one standard will suit all. Furthermore, as Forrest Wilson notes in his analysis of the role of perception in design, research approaches to the thermal environment “concentrate on preventing feelings of discomfort rather than on producing positive responses.” While thermally neutral environments do not distract us, they also do not stimulate us.

To have the same temperature and the same lighting everywhere, every day, is akin to being served a meal of one taste every day. Temperature and light are most pleasurable when they provide a diversity of sensations, as do the warmth of a fire on a cold day, a cool garden in the heat of summer, a ray of sunshine in a dusky interior. In his In Praise of Shadows, Jun’ichirō Tanizaki contrasts the Japanese appreciation of the subtle variations of light and darkness with the Western quest for total brightness. In Thermal Delight in Architecture, Lisa Heschong explores the range of thermal strategies that has been employed across cultures and in history, from the medieval use of tapestries for insulating warmth to the Middle Eastern creation of courtyards as cool interior spaces.

Like wood and stone, temperature and light can be crafted to provide a more stimulating environment with a smaller expenditure of energy. Not all areas of a house, for example, need be equally bright or equally warm, since different areas have different uses. A reading nook would preferably be sunny and warm, a bedroom cool and dim, its windows perhaps shaded by trees. Having one particularly cool room in the summer or one especially warm room in the winter will furthermore serve as a social magnet, bringing people in the household together. Anthropologist Lawrence Wylie gives an instance of this when he describes how his family grew more intimate after moving from the United States, “where a movement of a finger regulates the heat of the whole house,” to a house in a French village, where “the fire of oak logs which burned day and night for six months became the focal point of our family life.” Also persuasive is the argument that the sense of pleasure or comfort is increased by a preceding sense of displeasure or discomfort: the warmth of a living room entices because of the coolness of a bathroom; a balmy spring day is especially appealing after a long, cold winter.

What holds for light and temperature also holds true for the other sensory stimuli that could and should be taken into account by urban designers. Lilacs, for example, may offer a delightful fragrance and a pleasing greenery, but to encounter them on every city street would be monotonous. There is no blanket sensory solution for the sensory displeasures of the city, which themselves blanket us with malodors, noises, and glaring lights. A diversity of sensory stimuli is necessary, an integrated diversity that seeks to promote a sense of coherence without jarring effects (e.g., living in Spanish-
style villas, designed for a warm climate in cold Northern cities only magnifies discomforts.) Indeed, Jane Jacobs’s Hudson Street in Greenwich Village in the late 1950s provided such sensuous diversity mainly because an abundance of small shops, cafés, restaurants, and the like.

The hand of the urban planner should not be felt everywhere, however, for this too would create monotony. One should not have to ask, Is there no tree in this city which has not been specifically planted to provide us with the correct amount of shade and the recommended dose of fragrance? As every child who prefers an overgrown, vacant lot with its wildflowers to a carefully planned playground knows, the city needs wild spaces.

The local touch

Although we now live in a global village, we hardly wish to encounter the same village, no matter how charming, everywhere we go. To be attractive, meaningful, and sustainable, urban design needs to be grounded in local environments and traditions. This, of course, runs counter to the modern trend for cities everywhere to look, feel, and smell alike. Medievals had to live on local produce and build with local materials. These restrictions, however, provided them with a satisfying sense of place, something we can still sense when we see a European village that looks as though it has grown out of a hillside. Our increasing awareness of the high environmental and financial costs of transporting goods and materials over long distances may well lead us to rediscover the pleasure, as well as the utility, of engaging with local materials and making the best out of what we have at hand.

Urban design, likewise, is more meaningful and pleasing if it takes into account the cultural traditions that we have "on hand." Every society has its own sensory preferences and customs. In my essay “McLuhan in the Rainforest,” I explored the diverse “sensory models” of different indigenous societies. The Tzotzil of Mexico, who associate heat with the life force, give particular meaning to the thermal values of their environment: the coolness of the earth, the warmth of the sun, the differing climates of the highlands and the lowlands. In contrast, the Ongee of the Andaman Islands know the world as a “smellscape” and pay close attention to the different odors of humans, animals, and plants. A culturally sensitive urban design will create an aesthetic environment that is not just “nice” to look at or “nice” to smell but that is meaningful for its inhabitants because it is pervaded by local traditions and sensory values. This perceived meaningfulness of sensory experiences will produce the deepest pleasures.

Our fair city

A city may offer a range of pleasurable sensory experiences and yet be rife with social problems that prevent people from enjoying these pleasures. The hanging gardens of ancient Babylon must have been delightful to see and smell but much less so for Babylon’s countless slaves. Similarly, ecologically helpful rooftop gardens and green roofs in contemporary cities would gratify many but certainly not the homeless below. A “fair” city is not necessarily a “fair” city.

Furthermore, while I have emphasized the importance of grounding the sensescape of the city in local culture, this should not be interpreted as promoting an uncritical celebration of traditional practices or products. A culture’s culinary heritage, for example, may include practices that are environmentally unsound, such as cutting down endangered palm trees to extract their edible hearts, or cruel, such as force-feeding geese to produce pâté de foie gras. A green aesthetics requires a radically new way of thinking about our relationship to Earth, and while it can and should seek to make connections with local traditions, it cannot recreate some mythical past.

If a return to a preindustrial past is no answer, neither is the mechanical model of environmental domination that produced the current crisis. According to this model if we could just engineer pigs and cars to produce fewer environmentally harmful emissions and induce worms and microorganisms to recycle our waste products, we could keep our factory farms, superhighways, and big-box stores and go on as before. But even if technological ingenuity could achieve these ends, it cannot lessen our alienation from nature and the deprivations and discords this produces in ourselves and the world. The pleasure of walking through a forest cannot be bought in a store, and forests lose their viability as wildlife habitats when they are bisected by highways and hedged in by suburban developments.

The aesthetic of sustainability is not about recovering preindustrial ways of life or making cities into green machines for living. Rather, such an aesthetic calls for new ways of perceiving and interacting with Earth and its inhabitants based on justice, compassion, and cooperation—the sharing of pleasure. It would help if we thought of green pleasures not just as green insofar as they promote sustainable practices, but also insofar as they cultivate a more ecological way of relating to the world with both our minds and our bodies.
NOTES

Sorkin
2 Ranciere, Disagreement: Politics and Philosophy, trans. Julie Rose (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), IX.

Meyer
3 Information about Nick’s Head Station was provided by Thomas Wolz in his lecture at UVA School of Architecture (September 5, 2008) and personal interviews (November 11 and 30, 2008). Additional details were gleaned from NBWLA’s working manuscript, Nick’s Head Station, North Island, New Zealand, Te Ika-A-Maui, Aotearoa (2008).
5 Kim Dodgshun and his family hosted my two-day site visit to Nick’s Head Station, during which Dodgshun shared his extensive knowledge of local farming and grazing traditions, his commitment to the stewardship of the regional landscape, and his curiosity about new, more sustainable agrarian land practices.
7 During the design process for the constructed wetlands, NBWLA tested various strategies using ecological performance criteria developed by Sandy Bull, a wildlife ecologist; Kim Dodgshun and the Nick’s Head farm manager; and Steve Sawyer, a conservation biologist.
10 Hickey, 18.
11 NBWLA designed the bridge with the assistance of Phil Gaby, a structural engineer with Holmes Consulting Group.
12 Kate Soper, “Alternative Hedonism, Cultural Theory and the Role of Aesthetic Revisiting.” Cultural Studies, September 2008, 571–72, 572. For Soper, the new structure of feeling already apparent in changing social routines and spatial practices requires a new aesthetic, a revisioning of the attractions of material culture. Soper’s use of the phrase “structures of feeling” refers to Raymond Williams’s concept, articulated in his Marxism and Interpretation, of undeniable emergent social experiences with their new rhythms and practices.
14 Alexander Nehamas, Only a Promise of Happiness: The Place of Beauty in a World of Art (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 120.

Hoofman
2 Garden for a Plant Collector, Bellahouston Park, Glasgow.
3 The proposals were part of an exhibition about Scotland’s coastline titled 6000miles organized by The Lighthouse, Scotland’s Centre for Architecture, Design and the City. Of course people hold a deep desire for climate change; warmth, after all, is the most important reason for selecting a holiday destination.
4 David Hume, A Treatise of Human Nature. Immanuel Kant, in “Critique of the Aesthetic Judgement,” divided the art of painting into a Siamese twin of pure painting and pleasure gardening, both concerned with the representation of nature as sense appearance artistically united with ideas.
5 William Chambers created, during the 18th century, an amazing royal folly garden at Kew London. GROSS . MAX . has recently been appointed to create a contemporary master plan for Royal Botanic Gardens Kew.
6 In collaboration with Mark Dion, we designed the Vertical Garden in London (completed 2008) and a Carboniferous Garden for Doncaster (unrealized).

Clément

Rawsthorn
Yu


2 This is, in essence, the original story of Shangri-la, a mystical, harmonious valley described in the 1933 novel Lost Horizon by British writer James Hilton.


6 Huang Hong, and Li Li, Cu Tian Du Shi Bao December 27, 2007.

7 Xing Yunfei, Hua Xia Shi Bao, July 19, 2008.


14 For a detailed review of this project, see Mary G. Padua, “Touching the Good Earth: An Innovative Campus Design Connects Students to China’s Agricultural Landscapes,” Landscape Architecture, December 2006, 100–7.


16 Zhang Kaolin and Huang Weiming, Tianjin Daily, November 27, 2008.

Boeri and Insulza

1 Bosco Verticale, a project by Boeri Studio (Stefano Boeri, Gianandrea Barreca, and Giovanni La Varra), 2007.


3 Evidence that this tendency is changing today can be seen in projects by Minsk Cho, MVRDV, BIG, UCX Architects, Edouard François, and Ken Yeang, among others, that follow in the footsteps of Emilio Ambasz’s 1994 Fukuoka building or the less successful 1984 Quinto Palazzo Uffici della SNAM on the outskirts of Milan by Roberto Gabetti and Aimaro Isola.

4 Presented at the 14th Venice Architecture Biennale 2008, Sustainable dystopias is an ongoing research project that explores the ideas surrounding the reconciliation between nature and urban space and directly plays with the contemporary rhetoric on sustainability. See http://www.stefanobooeri.net.


8 A meteorological and microclimatic study realized on the basis of the schematic design (2008) analyzed, floor by floor, the environmental conditions determined by the presence of green elements on the building, concluding that maintenance of optimal irrigation and thereby vegetation could produce a mitigation of heat, on the exterior of the building, up to 2.5 degrees Celsius in the summer months.

9 SITE (Sculture in the Environment) described the Highrise of Homes project as a community geared to “accommodate people’s conflicting desires to enjoy the cultural amenities of an urban center, without sacrificing the private home identity and garden space associated with suburbia.” See Envisioning Architecture: Drawings from The Museum of Modern Art, ed. Matilda McQuaid (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2002), 220. A similar attitude is traced by Rem Koolhaas in Delirious New York (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978) in a 1990 drawing of the concept for a high-rise: “A slender steel structure supports 84 horizontal planes, all the size of the original plot. Each of these artificial levels is treated as a virgin site, as if the others did not exist, to establish a strictly private realm around a single country house” (69–70).

10 The Smithson’s 1958 Appliance House assigns modern domestic equipment definitive locations in the home. Appliance-containing cubicles hold all necessary connections, thereby suppressing noise, vibration, and movement. The cubicles form the envelope of the house, determining its spatiality, while the interior is free to mutate according to the demands and wishes of its inhabitants.

11 Maldonado, op. cit.

12 An analysis of the microclimatic conditions at different heights and on different facades of the building, subsequently crossed with the characteristics of plants adapted to the Lombard environment, has been used to compose the position of different species of plants within the system of the green facade. As height increases, so does the number of plants with greater resistance to wind.

Classen


7 Classen, The Color of Angels, 28.


10 Andrews, 172.

11 Pink, 103.

12 For an exploration of the social importance of touch, see The Book of Touch, ed. Constantine Classen (Oxford: Berg, 2005).


16 Robert Mandrou writes that premodern touch is seen as otherworldly, giving solidity to the impressions produced by the other senses, which were not as reliable. Introduction to Modern France, 1500–1640: An Essay in Historical Psychology, trans. R.E. Hallmaark (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1975), 53.


23 Cited in Malnar and Vodvarka, Sensory Design, 268.


27 In Sensory Design, Malnar and Vodvarka discuss ways in which the built environment would benefit from multisensory design.


32 Wilfred Wang examines the social underpinnings of environmental pollution in “Sustainability is a Cultural Problem,” Harvard Design Magazine, Spring/Summer 2003, 1–5.

Imbert

1 University Hall was described as having been erected on the site of Professor Wigglesworth’s pasture. See John Langdon Sibley’s diary, 1846–1882, November 13, 1847, Harvard University Archives, 1791.72.10. Today, Harvard University Dining Services’ Food Literacy Project mentions the University Professors’ right to pasture animals in the Yard as a recognition of New England’s agricultural heritage.


7 Today, the Potager features almost 200 kinds of apple and pear trees and many heirloom varieties, yielding eighty tons of fruits and vegetables. Landscape architecture students from the adjacent École Nationale Supérieure du Paysage tend parcels of twenty-five to sixty square meters throughout their three years of studies.


9 See http://www.growingpower.org.


12 The term CPUl was coined by André Viljoen, Katrin Bohn, and Joe Howe and presented in a book of the same title (see Viljoen, CPUls). Learning from traditional Chinese settlements and Cuban agricultural experiments, the authors set up urban scenarios for London and Sheffield.
Hilderbrand


Lawrence


3 Lawrence, 30–37.


14 Lawrence, City Trees, 22–26.


27 H.W.S. Cleveland, Landscape Architecture, as Applied to the Wants of the West (1873), ed. Roy Lubove (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1965), 34.


Nairn and Vitiello

1 Our research involved three parts: (1) a ground survey of approximately 80 sites that were once part of the Pennsylvania Horticultural Society’s and Penn State Cooperative Extension’s urban gardening programs; (2) counting and weighing of food production by crop; and (3) interviews with gardeners about the distribution of harvest.

2 Our research revealed 1,443,814 square feet under cultivation in community gardens throughout Philadelphia during the summer of 2008. From our data and that of the City Harvest program, an average of 1.4 pounds of produce was grown per square foot during the growing season. A value of $2 per pound was assigned to the harvest. This figure represents an average retail value for locally grown, organic produce sold throughout the city’s farmers’ markets.


6 Iris Brown received the Terre de Femmes, one of the most important international awards for environmental justice.


8 Havana’s agricultural transformation is documented in the film The Power of Community: How Cuba Survived Peak Oil, and in a variety of publications. See http://www.ruaf.org.

9 See http://www.millcreekurbanfarm.org.

10 Anne Whiston Spirn, “Restoring Mill Creek: Landscape Literacy, Environmental Justice, and City Planning and Design,”
These rankings include only farms growing food for people. The city’s two largest farms, both owned by the park system, grow hay and feed corn for animals.


Ramos


Andersen and Salomon

Hyde
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
7 Ibid., 438.
9 For Fredric Jameson’s account of the value of utopian narratives, see his Archaeologies of the Future (London: Verso, 2005).
11 Ibid., 31.
12 Ibid.

Picon
1 These two approaches are represented in Technological Change: Methods and Themes in the History of Technology, ed. Robert Fox (Australia: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1996).
4 The reference to the golden age, inseparable from the various myths of eternal recurrence, is intentional. The ambition is to break once and for all with the conception of progress as a restoration of what once was. On the Saint-Simonian philosophy of history, see Picon, Les Saint-Simoniens: raison imaginaire et utopie (Paris: Belin, 2002).
6 On the technocratic ideals of the 1920s and 30s, see Edwin T. Layton, The Revolt of the Engineers: Social Responsibility and the American Engineering Profession (Cleveland: Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1971).


18 This is of course not the only perspective opened by ecological concerns today. On the possibility of reconciling sustainability and pleasure, see Harvard design Magazine, “Sustainability + Pleasure, vol. 1,” Spring/Summer 2009.

Bachin
1 Another City, 199.
2 For further discussion of cemetery design and its place in the urban fabric, see David Schuyler, The New Urban Landscape: The Redefinition of City Form in Nineteenth-Century America (Baltimore:
uniformity of outcome, only uniformity of treatment before the law and procedural fairness. But even uniform procedural standards that allow a range of substantive outcomes can problematic, for the reasons stated in the concluding section above.

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