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Landscape Policies by Design'

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What role do policies play in shaping landscapes, especially in the context of the climate crises, considering the specific geographical and historical history of landscape practices? The first part of the essay discusses "operative landscapes" (Brenner) and "reciprocal landscapes" (Hutton) as a framework to look at the global exploitation of hinterland landscapes shaped by policies. We interrogate the role that both landscape images and landscape policies have historically played in today's urban-rural divides, displacements and dependencies. Through cartographic examples, we propose the notion of policy palimpsests to look critically at the overlapping of forms of territorialisation through policies over time. In this framework, we interrogate the role and agency of landscape-oriented designers in policy-making to re-imagine and re-think alternative relations between nature and society. In the second part, we look at two examples from the work of Groundlab, demonstrating instances where designers actively participate in transdisciplinary teams to co-produce future visions through policy advocacy. These ways of seeing are encapsulated in the landscape visions that bring to the fore the labour and materials that sustain urban agglomerations.

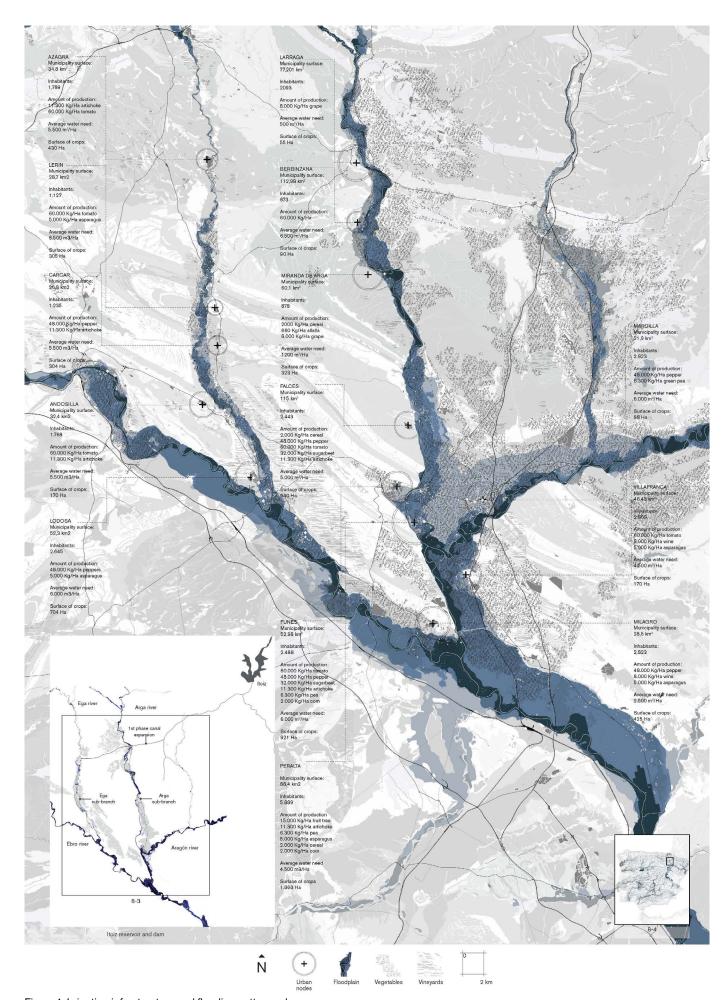


Figure 1: Irrigation infrastructure and flooding patterns along the rivers Ega, Arga, Aragon and Ebro. Cartography by Silvia Ribot, Lida Driva and Dimitra Bra.





Figure 2: Satellite image showing land ownership concentration in a span of 12 years. Google Digital Globe NASA.

LANDSCAPES AS A CONSEQUENCE OF POLICIES: HOW POLICIES SHAPE LANDSCAPES?

What role do policies play in shaping landscapes, especially in the context of the climate crisis, considering the specific geographical and historical history of landscape practices? Reflecting on landscape painting and garden design from the 18th and 19th centuries, images of works like Constable's Hay Wain (1821) come to our mind. In a more contemporary context, iconic projects like The Highline in New York by James Corner and Diller Scofidio illustrate modern landscape design. Dennis Cosgrove defines landscape practices from the 18th and 19th centuries as a way of seeing and representing the relationship between nature and society for certain social classes (Cosgrove, 1998). What are the legacies of this historical way of seeing and managing? Jane Hutton uses the concept of "reciprocal landscapes" to scrutinise the origins of timber material specifications for The High Line project (Hutton, 2019). From her reading, we can infer that the current relationship between society and nature involves an invisible, global, unsustainable and violent exploitation of landscapes, resources and labour, which continues to be convenient only for certain classes. It is not particular to the New York context but to urban concentrations, particularly in the Global North.

Neil Brenner's concept of "operative land-scapes" (Brenner, 2016) offers another perspective on relentless global urbanisation. These are the reciprocal landscapes that fuel urban agglomerations, made visible in the planetary cartographies of the essay "Operational Landscapes: Hinterlands of the Capitalocene" (Brenner & Katsikis, 2020). Both reciprocal and operative landscapes are not considered by design. Unlike designed landscapes such as Stowe Gardens or Versailles, their appearance is contingent and irrelevant (Olóriz Sanjuán, 2019). However, does the negation, ignorance or veiling -in short commodification- of these landscapes make it less part of design? They are designed by consequence or as we term them 'consequential landscapes.'

The majority of what we commonly refer to as "land-scapes" are consequential -they are not designed in the classic landscape discipline sense but by consequence. These consequences are shaped by policies, which operate as blueprints or strategic principles. Through laws, guidance or incentives, policies regulate or guide the exploitation of these hinterland landscapes, from immediate urban greenbelts to remote resource exploitation in the poles. In the following paragraphs, we will explore examples of academic research and projects that delve into the policies behind consequential landscapes.

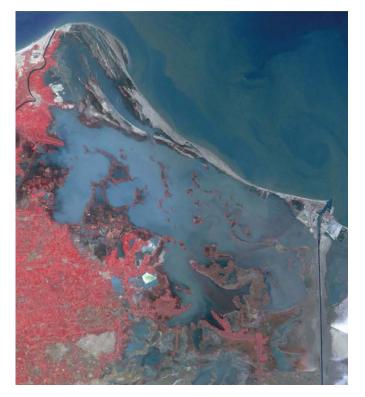




Figure 3: Satellite images showing the transformation of the Nile Delta in four decades. USGS/NASA Landsat 1975-2015.

For instance, the English gently rolling landscape framed by hedgerow fences covers nearly 70%1 of the English land and is shaped by the Common Agrarian Policy (CAP). Accounting for no less than 40% of the EU budget, this policy keeps landscapes "looking productive" in George Monbiot's view. He criticizes this, noting that subsidies are awarded for owning land, not necessarily for farming; "[...] you don't have to produce any food to receive them. Your land just has to look agricultural, which means bare." The subsidies are received for owning land, thus for the landowning class, not necessarily farmers. As much as 80% of the funds go to the richest 25% of recipients, excluding the poorest farmers: "You cannot claim subsidies unless you own or lease at least five hectares" (Monbiot, 2016). Taxpayers' money not only funds these subsidies but also covers the cost of environmental disasters to maintain the productive appearance, such as flooding, resulting from biodiversity loss.

All of these developments are an ongoing legacy of the Enclosure Acts, the laws that enabled the fencing of common lands, most intensively in the 18th and 19th centuries. Cosgrove describes Rubens' A View of Het Steen in the Early Morning from the 17th century in Flanders as the representation of a pleasing productive landscape scene, fit for the land-owning class to validate the Enclosure movement. His argumentation underscores the alliances between landscape visions and the con-

cealed labour and power relationships behind them, validating the Enclosures Acts through aesthetically pleasing images. The CAP, with its associated rolling landscapes, becomes another layer in the palimpsest of agrarian productive landscapes tailored for the landowning class. In this instance, contemporary consequential productive landscapes find more resonances with the aforementioned historical landscape practices. Post Brexit, will the Agriculture Act 2020 challenge this palimpsest legacy of land ownership? What are the visions associated with it in the form of Environmental Management Schemes? And how can they be reimagined?

Within the framework of the Architectural Association Landscape Urbanism (AALU) master's agenda, students examine how policies shape landscapes. In the case of Flooding Mechanisms (Oloriz Sanjuan, 2019b) by Silvia Ribot, Lida Driva and Dimitra Bra 2014-15, students proposed a series of cartographies to visualise the impacts of the construction of an irrigation canal in Navarre, Spain (Figure 1). The second phase of the canal brings water from the Pyrenees to irrigate fields in the drier months, parallel to the rivers Arga and Ega. As this thesis and the organisation "URA Nueva Cultura del Agua" reveal, this irrigation infrastructure was accompanied by a policy that required a minimum of 5Ha (Ribot et al., 2015), same as

DEFRA National statistics, Agricultural land use in England at 1 June 2023, Updated 9 November 2023



 $\label{thm:continuous} \mbox{Figure 4: Mediterranean sediment at lass seen from the Suez Canal. Ting Fu Chang, Xiabin Hu and Liam Mouritz.}$

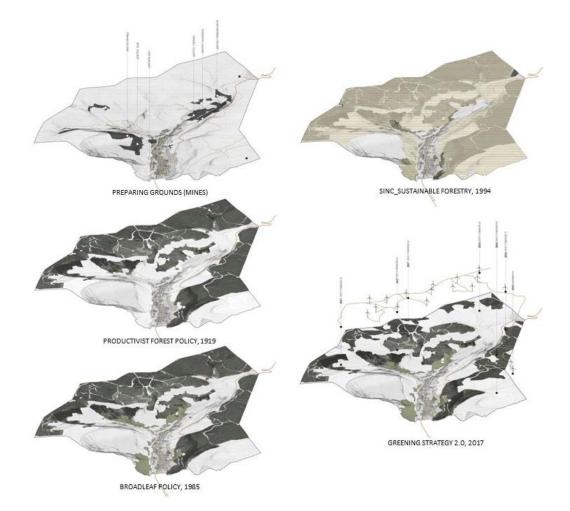


Figure 5: Policy palimpsest in Treherbert, Wales by Elena Luciano Suastegui, Rafael Martinez Caldera and Yasmina Yehia.

the CAP subsidy requirements, to benefit from the irrigation. This, in turn, led to the consolidation of land plots, as shown in Figure 2. Over the 12 years between the two satellite images land ownership has concentrated, resulting in more industrialised agricultural methods, more extreme labour peaks and less flooding resilience.

Another striking example is the transformation of the Nile Delta in recent decades, as shown in Littoral Negotiations (Oloriz Sanjuan, 2019a)AALU thesis 2014-15 by Ting Fu Chang, Xiabin Hu and Liam Mouritz. Satellite images (Figure 3) spanning the last four decades illustrate the impacts of agrarian policies and the construction of dams along the Nile River for irrigation. Sediments trapped in the dams are causing erosion of the delta and damaging the sand barriers protecting freshwater Lake Manzala (Mouritz et al., 2015). Simultaneously, soil erosion from farming practices is silting the lake. This is part of a broader scale of sediment flows (dredging and reclamation) shaped by a series of policies in the Nile area and Suez Canal, as well as globally across the Mediterranean. These policies are influenced by transport infrastructure, containerisation, tourism and coastal inhabitation (Figure 4).

Returning to Brenner's work, he emphasizes how urban age policies create problematic urban/rural distinctions that obscure the landscapes behind concentrated urbanization, "justifying" violent forms of resource and labour exploitation—a theme resonating with the histor-

ical validation and mentalities seen in landscape paintings. "The urban-age metanarrative has come to serve as a framework not only of interpretation but of justification, for a huge assortment of spatial interventions designed to promote what geographer Terry McGee has classically labelled 'city dominance.'" His work underscores how contemporary UN declarations of Urban Age inform "urban policy, planning and design discourse" (Brenner, 2016, p.120). Referring to this work, Kai Heron and Alex Heffron propose a series of Urban Age counter policies "Towards the Abolition of the Hinterlands," interpreting the Green New Deal framework as "Land-Sharing Eco-Communism." They propose a series of examples and organisations to challenge the core and periphery dynamics, questioning "who owns the land, who works the land and for what purpose" (Heron & Heffron, 2022). What would this reimagining of the hinterlands look like?

Another illustrative example of how policies reshape landscapes and people's relationships with them "by consequence" is conservation policies. Nothing embodies more, and in a more problematic way, the relation between nature and society than historical and some contemporary conservation areas and national parks. They stress the dichotomy of nature-culture; a distinction "reinvented and reinforced" by capitalism to exploit nature including humans and, especially women (Buscher & Fletcher, 2020). Jason Moore describes this dualism as dripping

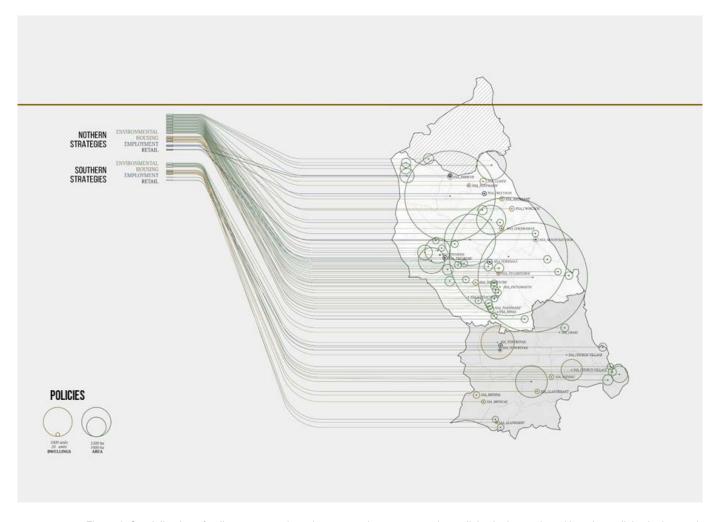


Figure 6: Spatialisation of policy grants to show the contrast between greening policies in the north and housing policies in the south of Rhondda Cynon Taf county borough, Wales. By Elena Luciano Suastegui, Rafael Martinez Caldera and Yasmina Yehia.

"with blood and dirt, from its sixteenth-century origins to capitalism in its twilight" (Moore, 2015). These policies have historically led to indigenous displacement, by conscious consequence, as shown in the work of William Cronon or Nick Estes. Cronon criticises the wilderness myth behind the US government's declaration of National Park, displacing indigenous people from areas like Yosemite and Yellowstone under the guise of the "uninhabited wilderness" (Cronon, 1995). Estes denounces the various layers of Acts enabling the construction of Army Corps of Engineers dams along the Missouri River causing violent flooding of Lakota and Dakota reservations, reinforcing power relationships of settler colonialism and nature-culture divides (Estes, 2019). This ettlers mentality is also critically ddepicted in the documentary fiction film Foragers (2022) by Jumana Manna where Palestinian foraging culture clashes with Israeli Nature Protection Authorities.

In concluding this reflection on how policies shape landscapes, we are introducing the notion of the policy palimpsest as a succession of re-territorialisations (Olóriz Sanjuán, 2019). Drawing inspiration from Thomas Siglers' territorial palimpsest (Sigler, 2014) and political-environmental history, the AALU project Just Transition by Elena Luciano Suastegui, Rafael Martinez Caldera and Yasmina Yehia visualises a policy palimpsest (Figure 5) in Treherbert, South Valleys of Wales (Martinez Caldera et al., 2019). The mining past of the area has been trans-

formed by successive forestry policies, preventing local communities from accessing it. The closing of the mines was characterised by a non-existent transition for coal mining workers. In 1919, it was densely planted with pines under the productivist forest policy to supply timber in the case of war. Environmental concerns and the poor biodiversity led to the introduction of the broadleaf policy in 1985, followed by a declaration as a Site of Importance in Nature Conservation SINC in 1994 that closed off the area for the local community. More recently renewable policies have enabled the arrival of multinational energy companies to install windfarms among the densely planted pines in the last stages of a palimpsest of exploitation and conservation to the detriment of local communities. The detailed spatialisation of the Rhonda Cynon Taf policies in the Local Development Plan (2017) shows a concentration of housing, retail and employment strategies in the southern areas, closer to Cardiff, and a "greening" of the northern areas to depopulate them (Figure 6).

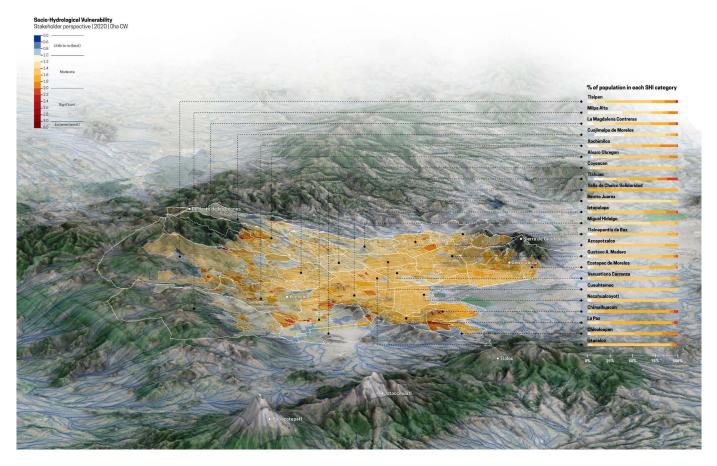


Figure 7: Socio-Hydrological Index (SHI) in Mexico City.

POLICIES AND LANDSCAPE-ORIENTED DESIGN PRACTICES: WHY POLICIES?

The examples presented illustrate how hinterland landscapes are not only shaped by policies but also how these policies, in turn, are influenced by mentalities and power relationships. From the perspective of landscape-oriented design practices, we would like to share our professional experience with Groundlab, which marked a pivotal moment in our understanding of design agency.

In 2015, we received an invitation from our AA colleagues Lyon Bosch in Chile to participate in a competition. The competition presented an exciting opportunity as the government called upon architects to collaborate with transport and civil engineers on the design of a Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) corridor along the main avenue of Santiago de Chile: Alameda-Providencia. The government's goal in this project extended beyond solving a public transport issue; it aimed to create quality public spaces for the city's residents. This avenue is where both national celebrations and protests happen. It goes through central government buildings, Central Station, National Library, important plazas and cultural and educational buildings. In some sections, it has some sort of linear park in the centre. In some others, there is very little space for pedestrians. Our proposal aimed to interweave green, blue and transport infrastructure, reflecting the historical character of Alameda with its Alamo trees. We envisioned the arborization of the avenue to cool down public spaces, frame historical buildings with Chilean palms, and signal BRT stops with Wisteria, thereby addressing the heat-island effect. A blue network of Sustainable Urban Drainage (SUD) would assist in maintaining green spaces in the water-stress context of Santiago de Chile, emphasizing iconic spaces along the avenue through fountains, such as Plaza Baquedano. The proposal included an intermodal strategy encompassing various forms of public transport, pedestrian pathways, and cycle routes.

Fortunately, we won the competition and we teamed up with Lyon Bosch Martic, Sergio Chiquetto and Idom to develop the project. However, we soon encountered obstacles within the policy framework of the project. Social evaluation parameters, rooted in the 1980s Washington Consensus, penalized the reduction of private vehicle velocity, despite the prevalent high congestion. Pedestrian-friendly crossings and accessible shared surfaces proposed in the competition were disallowed due to the street type, and open urban drainage SUDs were prohibited. The clash between the principles of our competition proposal and outdated urban policies highlighted the conflict between policies and design principles, showcasing the constraints on the agency of designers imposed by legal frameworks.

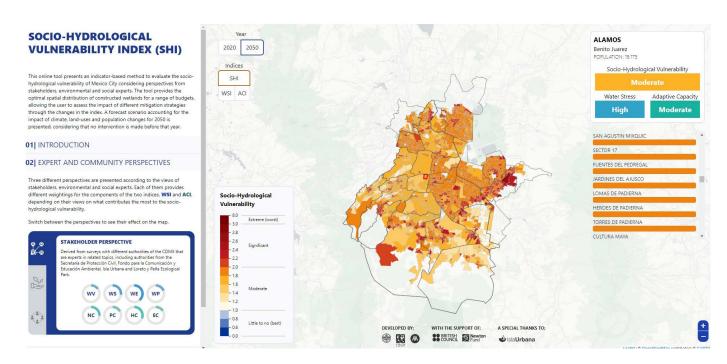


Figure 8: Interactive website screenshot showing SHI in 2050.

This conflict mirrors the challenges faced by designers, as illustrated by Finn Williams' argument about the role of architects in projects in London. Williams emphasizes that architectural design often comes towards the end of a lengthy process (Williams, 2018). Out of 13 stages, the architectural design comes the third from the end. To start the process, the Central Government, London and Local plans determine what is needed and how it is used. After this, investors, property development, market testing and procurement determine when it happens and who is it for. Then, planning appraisal and engineering define how big it is. Then it comes architectural design to say how it should look, after this, cost engineering and build construction determine how it is built. Through his work at Public Practice, he has called for the presence of architects in public councils to be involved in the earlier planning stages. Nearly 50% of architects worked for the public sector in the UK in the 1970s; today is less than 1%. These statistics are extracted from his article "We need architects to work on ordinary briefs, for ordinary people" where he states "The extraordinary wealth of design talent we have is invested in too few projects, and too few places" (Williams, 2017). Following this reasoning, we can advocate for architectural design and thinking in the policy phases to open up design practices beyond the final embellishment touches and the private hire conditions.

In the final stages, when design is finally involved, many proposals face the wall of outdated regulations and vice versa, those who intelligently manage to by-pass these constraints are pigeonholed as exceptional singular projects. For impactful, influential and profound changes, we propose feedback between these design exceptions and policies for them to become the norm. The objective here is to move beyond individual actions or outstanding strategies, many of which remain on paper due to rigid schemes, political terms or policy clashes. In Williams' words: "The extraordinary wealth of design talent we have is invested in too few projects, and too few places" (Williams, 2017) But how do we do this? How do we involve designers in policy-making and advocacy?

Indeed, after the protests of the Rainforest Relief and New York Climate Action at the High Line, which was part of a longer activism campaign advocating for tropical hardwood alternatives in New York, Mayor Bloomberg announced a 20% reduction. The second phase of the High Line used salvaged teak and the third phase reclaimed Angelique (Hutton, 2019).

In the next part of this article, we will explore two examples from the work of Groundlab, demonstrating instances where designers actively participate in transdisciplinary teams to co-produce future visions through policy advocacy.

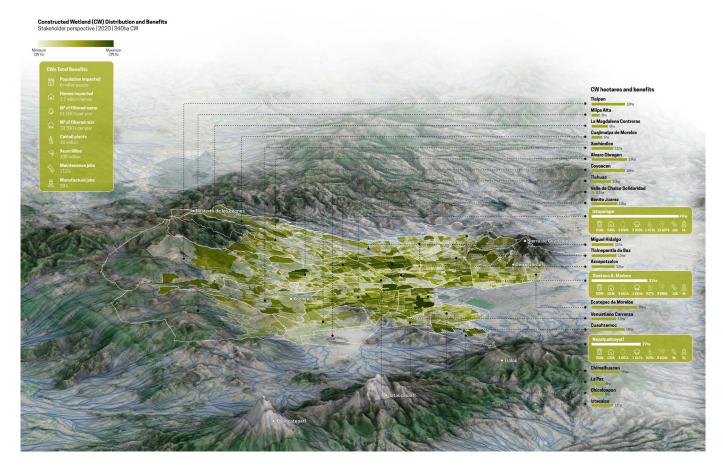


Figure 9: 3D view of Mexico City valley with Constructed Wetland Distribution and Benefits.

MEXICO CITY: A DECISION-MAKING SUPPORT TOOL FOR POLICY

An Institutional Links UK-Mexico research grant from the British Council enabled us to team up with the British Geological Survey (BGS), The Centre for Advanced Spatial Analysis (CASA) and Universidad Autonoma de Mexico (UAM). The purpose of this grant was to design an interactive cartographic tool² to visualise a Socio-Hydrological Index (SHI) in Mexico City (Figure 7). The tool was instrumental in evaluating the impact of decentralised water infrastructure facilities, particularly constructed wetlands, on vulnerable communities. Its purpose was to support evidence-based decision-making for the decentralization of water solutions, with a focus on social justice. Numerous studies have highlighted the inequitable distribution of green infrastructure in wealthier urban areas, often linked to greenwashing strategies and gentrification, a trend also observed in Mexico City.

Mexico City, situated in the Valley of Mexico, was originally a series of lakes and wetlands drained by Spanish colonizers to create land for colonial development. Centuries of water drainage policies and land expansion for elite interests have diminished the historic Chinampa system, with only small remnants remaining in Xochimilco today (Ramírez, 2022); a policy palimpsest driven by a thirst for land and mentalities of exchange

overriding subsistence (Candiani, 2012). The city's water supply now relies on aquifer extraction, leading to the gradual sinking of the city. The remaining 40% of water is extracted from remote basins such as the Cutzamala and Lerma rivers located up to 300km away from the city and 100 metres below Mexico City level, necessitating substantial energy for transportation. To add insult to injury, the drainage system in Mexico combines rainwater and sewage into a colossal engineering system called 'Drenaje Profundo' that discharges water out of Mexico City, polluting the surrounding productive landscapes and hinterlands and preventing rainwater from being recharged in its depleting aquifer (Uitto & Biswas, 2000).

The SHI, adapted from a similar exercise in Nepal (Jaramillo et al., 2018), uses hydrological parameters of water stress (Variation, Scarcity, Exploitation and Pollution) and socio-economic aspects (Natural and Physical Capacity, Human Resource Capacity and Economic Capacity) (Figure 8). The eight sets of parameters are weighted based on stakeholders, local communities, and environmental and social experts' perspectives, creating scenarios for the present 2020 and future 2050 with and without decentralised solutions. The forecasting scenario takes into account climate, land use and population changes.

2 https://app.mexicoshr.com/



Figure 10: Section of social housing retrofitting in Glasgow's tenements.

The open-source tool is currently being expanded to Oaxaca and is considered for use in South Africa and Canada.

The tool evaluates areas where decentralized solutions would be most impactful based on budget considerations, providing a valley-scale framework for decentralization (Figure 9). Despite being small-scale individual interventions, they can make an impact on the wider city scale. Groundlab's role was to translate scientific models into engaging visuals for local communities, connecting environmental and social sciences. Spatial design intelligence processed socio-economic data and common visions were developed to imagine how inclusive decentralised hydrological infrastructure could improve the quality of life for Mexico City's residents, enhance the environment and generate green jobs. This approach to urban infrastructure generates new knowledge, mentalities, and perspectives, challenging existing paradigms.

GLASGOW: CO-IMAGINING GND POLICY TRANSITIONS

In the case of Glasgow, the project is a collaboration with the policy think tank Common Wealth whose advocacy focuses on our economy and the interests behind it in the context of the climate crisis and the concentrated corporate power (Common Wealth, 2023). By aligning our practice with Green New Deal (GND) policies, designers can be involved in co-imagining alternative futures and the consequent policies, including laws, regulations and incentives, necessary for those principles to be realised. This policy proposal was showcased during COP 26 at the New Glasgow Society in an exhibition titled "Imagine Glasgow 2021." The collaboration aimed to translate written policies into co-created visuals, grounding GND principles in Glasgow's specific context and reimagining the city's existing and future climate challenges.

Common Wealth facilitated stakeholder meetings where a set of evolving images was discussed and co-produced. Stakeholders included representatives from governmental and community organisations, local climate advocacy think tanks, retrofitting technical expertise, local architects and energy institutions³. The first image, focusing on the building scale, addresses the retrofitting of a tenement building -a historical social housing typology in Glasgow. This view takes inspiration from Scottish artist Avril Paton's "Windows in the West" (1993) which depicts a tenement building at dusk, when the life inside the building can be seen through the characteristic tenement windows. This image (Figure 10) includes specific Glasgow tenement façade details as well as strategies to meet gold Passivhaus standards (John Gilbert Architects, 2013). The section view virtually constructs the retrofitting strategy. showcasing front and back façade systems, mechanical ventilation, roof and ground floor insulation and eaves



Figure 11: Street section view of public space retrofitting around tenements' area.

extension. Preservation efforts include restoring and conserving the front façade and historical art-nouveau tiles, with a focus on bay windows. Local natural material specifications prioritise Community Wealth Building and the community is empowered through maintenance training and repair workshops. Cooperative central heating's repairs and prices are managed by the community. Mechanical ventilation systems enhance air quality and energy efficiency, improving inhabitants' physical and mental health.

Expanding into the back courtyard, common open spaces transform into an edible forest with native deciduous spaces, replacing the existing fragmented and fenced areas. Ammenities include drying areas, bicycle storage, repair facilities, sorted waste facilities, a community kitchen and gathering spaces. Renewable energy is sourced from mine waters, while rainwater is used for garden maintenance and groundwater recharge.

3 Stakeholders involved: Malcolm Fraser, Andy Kerr (Climate KIC), Aled Thomas (Climate KIC), Samuel Gardner (Scottish Power), Katherine Trebeck (Wellbeing Economy Alliance), Martin Avila (Kinning Park Complex), Craig Dalzell (CommonWeal), Chris Morgan (John Gilbert Architects), Paul Sweeney, Rhiannon Valentine-Spear (Glasgow City Council), Graham Hogg (Lateral North), Laurie Macfarlane, and Megan Joy Barclay.14Stuart Elden, "Land, Terrain, Territory," Progress in Human Geography

This section dissects and questions materials, bringing inhabitants and ownership to the forefront, challenging historical veiling practices in landscape paintings of the 18th and 19th centuries (Olóriz Sanjuán, 2022). The vertical perspective scrutinizes concentrated power relationships, aiming to empower local communities within the retrofitting context, proposing radical change while preserving local communities.

The next vision addresses the neighbourhood scale within the streetscape (Figure 12). This street section prioritizes public transport, bicycles, electrical delivery vehicles, and pedestrian levelled crossings and shared pavements. Sustainable urban drainage addresses future climate challenges, mitigating flooding and restoring the aquifer. Derelict ground floor commercial spaces are repurposed into cultural facilities, repair shops and local businesses. Similar principles from the project in Santiago de Chile are applied, however this time, this vision is used for policy advocacy, aiming to transform the rules and regulations that guarantee the implementation of these principles as a foundational basis for streetscape transformations in Glasgow.

In the third large-scale view, the vision expands across the Clyde valley (Figure 13), imagining the consequences and scaling-up the proposed building and street retrofitting. These streets become connectors in a green and blue urban drainage infrastructure, linking existing parks and potential new green areas by reclaiming brown-



Figure: 12 Aerial view of Glasgow area transformation, showing blue and green infrastructure and renewable energy networks through time.

fields through hydrological networks. A renewable energy network expansion expands in the horizon and vertically to the mine waters and geothermal energy.

LANDSCAPE POLICIES 'BY DESIGN'

Common Wealth's opening statement on their website resonates with the we are striving to build upon: "Only by reimagining it can we build an economy that's democratic and sustainable by design" (our emphasis). From our perspective 'by design' takes on a dual significance. On the one hand, it suggests the pivotal role that landscape-oriented design can play in reimagining and visualising alternative futures through spatial and material intelligence, but also through critical ways of seeing. On the other hand, 'by design' underscores agency and intentionality. Returning to the introduction where we discussed hinterland consequential landscapes as the -more or less conscious- unintended aftermaths of urban agglomerations, 'by design' proposes a design thinking of policies that encompasses both policies themselves and the reimagining of future visions.

If we refer to the Oxford Dictionary definition of policy as "a course or principle of action adopted or proposed by an organization or individual," there is often less emphasis on the outcomes and policies might yield "unintended" consequences or conceal intended power rela-

tionships. In Williams' scheme, several levels below in the decision-making process, we encounter architectural projects that present a final scenario, often hindered by political terms, polemics, rigidity, and regulations. Instead, by involving designers in policy, we advocate for a back-and-forward process of imagining future scenarios of a certain strategic policy principle to interrogate both. Rather than proposing an unrealizable finalized master plan, regional plan urban or landscape design, thinking from the policy perspective addresses the reasons why a strategy may face implementation challenges and creates platforms for similar-oriented principles to shape future developments.

This is not about designers replacing or becoming policy markers, abandoning design or relinquishing agency (Spencer, 2019). As demonstrated in the Mexico City and Glasgow projects, it involves designers and their spatial, visual and material knowledges, tools and skills in transdisciplinary collaborations to critically examine the consequences of policy-making. This approach seeks to include stakeholders and various disciplines towards a common vision, often overlooked in abstract written documents. It openly frames design as a political practice and aims to re-think, expand and open-up the agency of landscape-oriented designers beyond the final embellishment touches.

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