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IMAGINARIES OF AMBIANCE IN URBAN CLIMATE ADAPTATION: FROM DISTURBING OPENNESS TO PACIFIED ENCLOSURE IN THE MAKING OF PARIS' URBAN FORESTS

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In the context of Paris' recently introduced *Plan Local d'Urbanisme bioclimatique*, this article critically analyses the evolution of tree planting for urban climate adaptation through a focus on two urban forests: the *Fôrét linêaire* and the urban forest on the *Parvis de l'Hôtel de Ville*, planted in 2014 and 2024 respectively. Comparing their spatial forms through a distinction between initial openness and later enclosure, it argues that the latter is implemented in response to cultures of inhabitation — namely migrant encampment — that disturb official imaginaries of the ambiance of urban climate adaptation, as pursued through planning policies which frame tree planting as a means to pacify urban public spaces. Through ongoing engagement with these two urban forests in the form of a series of walks in the posture of both researcher and inhabitant, the article traces the response of normative publics and authorities to what are described as 'counterpublic' uses of the *Fôrét linêaire* and asks how these may have shaped the later *Hôtel de Ville* project. Critiquing the policy of abandonment, it suggests the necessity of an 'ethics of disturbance' and a framework of 'intimate ecology' in the construction of broader imaginaries of cohabitation with the vegetal support structures of climate adaptation and their ambiances, protecting them against enclosure and further entrenchment of binary divisions in urban culture.

In the essay 'A Sisterly Witch Dance in the Walled Garden', curator and gardener Laurie Cluitmans confronts conflicting visions of the role of enclosure in the concept of the *garden*: that pocket of tamed vegetal life that is typically defined more by its separation from nature than its belonging to it.[1] Both the words *garden* and *paradise*, as she recounts, have etymological roots in fencing off, walling in, and creating a retreat from the threatening wilderness beyond the pre-modern city. In this context, as Cluitmans argues, Derek Jarman's refusal to enclose the garden he cultivated around his final home, Prospect Cottage in Dungeness, is a radical retort to the 'conservative dogma about what a natural landscape should be'.[2] 'My garden's boundaries are the horizon', wrote Jarman in his diary on 1 January 1989, and in this blurring of boundaries is the seed of a queer ecology that resists sharp spatial and ontological distinctions in favour of ethics of *disturbance* and *frottage*.[3] These ethics are a direct response to architectures and landscapes that, as trans performance artist and scholar Teo Ala-Ruona argues, act as machines for upholding separations between sensorial qualities (clean or dirty, healthy or sick) or binary categorical roles (male or female, intruders and insiders).[4]

Like many European cities, Paris is turning to versions of the archetypal garden of domesticated nature as a strategy to combat both the causes and effects of climate breakdown. The City of Paris' recently-implemented *Plan Local d'Urbanisme bioclimatique* (PLUb) lays out a vision in which a network of new spatial forms of 'vegetalisation' work as an infrastructural system for air filtration and cooling.[5] Supporting this vision, the related *Plan Arbre* (Tree Plan) is a municipal policy document guiding the planting 170,000 new trees within the city limits between 2020 and 2026 — an increase of 85 per cent on top of the existing number of trees within the city limits. The flagship of this policy is the creation of multiple new 'urban forests' in key public spaces in the city: specific forms of planting whose implications this article explores below. Both documents frame trees as technologies able to help maintain a habitable climate in the face of summer heatwaves increasing in both severity and regularity, and to counter the disordering of hydrological patterns that leads to both increased flood risk and the drying out of soils.

Trees considered 'as infrastructure' — as urban technology startup Dark Matter Labs describe them in a paper selling the concept of data monitoring of the environmental and economic performance of trees — and enclosed in specialised zones in the model of the walled garden, become part of a technical substrate of urban life valued primarily for its 'bioclimatic' role.[6] They are expected to maintain a healthy set of atmospheric conditions for the public realm through the reduction of heat and air pollution. However, the Tree Plan also refers explicitly to the roles of trees in managing what can be considered conditions of *ambiance*,[7] particularly by absorbing noise pollution and therefore contributing to what the PLUb describes as the 'pacification' of the public realm.[8] As we will see, there are tensions between 'official imaginaries' of trees as pacifiers of urban ambiance, and messier, more conflictual ways of experiencing and living within Paris' urban forests.[9] This article argues that these official imaginaries demonstrate a failure to cultivate what Nicola di Croce calls an 'ethics of disturbance': a welcoming of sensorial relationships that disrupt the centrality and dominance of the human.[10] As a result of this failure, the spatial form of urban forests in Paris has moved from

1. Laure Cluitmans, 'A Sisterly Witch Dance in the Walled Garden', trans. by Jan Kortman, *Pleasant Place 1: Enclosures* (Valiz, 2025), pp. 4–9.

2. Cluitmans, 'A Sisterly Witch Dance in the Walled Garden', p. 7.

3. See Nicola Di Croce, 'Attuning to Disturbance: Towards a Multi-Species Sonic Ecology', in *Crafting a Sonic Urbanism: Listening to Non-Human Life* (Theatrum Mundi, 2021), pp. 14–21; and Ama Josephine B. Johnstone, 'Intimate Ecologies: Queer Speculations on Pleasure, Blackness and Art', at 'Commons, Wilds, Infrastructures' (University of London Institute in Paris, May 2022) <https://vimeo.com/749119630>.

4. Teo Ala-Ruona, *Bodytopia* (La Biennale di Venezia, 2025).

5. Ville de Paris, *Projet d'amenagement et de Développement Durables*, PLU de Paris (Ville de Paris, 2023).

6. 'Trees As Infrastructure', Dark Matter Labs, 17 March 2020 <https://provocations.darkmatterlabs.org/trees-as-infrastructure-aa141acdf227>.

7. Jean-Paul Thibaud, 'The Sensory Fabric of Urban Ambiances', *The Senses and Society*, 6.2 (2011), pp. 203–15.

8. Ville de Paris, *Projet d'amenagement et de Développement Durables*, p. 12.

9. Alice Mah, 'Demolition for Development: A Critical Analysis of Official Urban Imaginaries in Past and Present UK Cities', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 25.1 (2012), pp. 151–76.

10. Di Croce, 'Attuning to Disturbance: Towards a Multi-Species Sonic Ecology'.

openness and porosity that afforded 'counter-public' or 'deviant' (from a normative municipal perspective) modes of life, towards stricter enclosure that looks to limit the close contact between the human and non-human that Ama Josephine B. Johnstone describes as 'frottage' as part of her argument for an ethics of pleasure in ecological thinking.[11] This article therefore proposes that ambient disturbance and the frottage of physical contact with the vegetal must be integrated into both official and popular imaginaries of urban climate adaptation to enable its spatial forms to be just and durable in the ways they integrate public life.

BIOCLIMATIC URBANISM AND IMAGINARIES OF AMBIANCE

Paris, according to a municipality-led exercise in imagining the city in 2050, is expected to become 'Mediterranean', experiencing a climate similar to that of present-day Seville in southern Spain.[12] The PLUb, therefore, can be understood as a piece of planning policy aiming to shape the built environment so that it works as an ecosystem managing the ambient effects of Mediterranean climate extremes such as heat, as well as those of human inhabitation such as noise, whilst minimising energy expenditure. The PLUb was developed between 2020 and 2024 as a joint project of the *Parti socialiste* and *Les Écologistes* political formations — who were in coalition during this period in the *Mairie de Paris* — integrating public consultations as well as reflections on material experiments (temporary forms of greening and re-programming of public spaces, often through the introduction of wooden planting boxes and public furniture).[13] Municipal schemes such as *Embellir votre quartier* (Beautify Your Neighbourhood) were explicitly framed as the formalisation of these experiments, many of which were falling into disrepair, as a new, standardised design approach to the adaptation of public spaces to new and future climate extremes.[14] The exhibition *La beauté d'une ville* (The Beauty of a City) staged at the city-owned architecture centre, the *Pavillon de l'Arsenal*, framed this new approach as forming part of a lineage of endeavours aligning infrastructural modernisation and aesthetic coherence, acting as a direct riposte to the #*SaccageParis* movement (evoking the sack of Paris in 845), a reactionary social media campaign claiming that climate adaptation was destroying the city's visual and spatial order, whilst also acting as a cover for pro-car activism. *La beauté d'une ville* made the counterclaim that new climatic imperatives were rather the opportunity to reinvent this aesthetic order.[15] Following Antoine Picon, bioclimatic urbanism can therefore be considered as the imposition of a new social imagination on urban society through a combination of concrete infrastructural transformations and the kinds of visual representations that Federico Savini describes as being 'crafted and delivered by an emerging constellation of agencies, specialized in the building of urban futures'.[16] Combining the framings of Picon and Savini, we can see how bioclimatic urbanism — in the form of material implementation and the production of new images and languages — looks to transform urban society through both its underlying conditions and the instilling of new 'official imaginaries' about how urban society 'should' work.[17]

However, the language of the PLUb is not limited to visual aesthetics but also encodes other sensorial norms into official imaginaries of the bioclimatic future, in ways that neither Picon or Savini consider. Ambiances — 'sensorial and bodily experiences, luminous, sonic and climatic phenomena, pressures and flows, movements and vibrations' — are not a neutral byproduct of urban life but a means through which politically charged imaginaries of society are experienced and imposed.[18] Emerging from the

11. Johnstone, 'Intimate Ecologies: Queer Speculations on Pleasure, Blackness and Art'.

12. 'À quoi ressemblera Paris en 2050 ?', 2024 <https://www.paris.fr/dossiers/a-quoi-ressemblera-paris-en-2050-202>.

13. In a public event at the *Hôtel de Ville* in December 2024, Fatoumata Koné (president of the *Écologistes* group in the *Mairie de Paris*) claimed principal credit for the PLUb for her party, even framing its more radical aspects as a victory against the will of *Parti socialiste*.

14. '« Embellir votre quartier » : 6 nouveaux quartiers lancés en 2025', 2025 <https://www.paris.fr/pages/embellir-votre-quartier-une-nouvelle-methode-pour-transformer-paris-16364>.

15. Alexandre Labasse, Marianne Carrega, and Baptiste Lanaspeze, *La beauté d'une ville: controverses esthétiques et transition écologique à Paris* (Pavillon de l'Arsenal, 2021).

16. Antoine Picon, 'Urban Infrastructure, Imagination and Politics: From the Networked Metropolis to the Smart City', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 42.2 (2018), pp. 263–75. Federico Savini, 'Crafted Imagination: Future-Builders and the Contemporary Logic of Experimentalism', in *The Routledge Companion to Urban Imaginaries* (Routledge, 2018), pp. 424–437 (p. 427).

17. Mah, 'Demolition for Development'.

18. Grégoire Chelkoff, 'Expérimenter l'ambiance par l'architecture', *Ambiances*, 4 (2018), p. 1.


Site

interactions of a complex set of human and non-human actors with their material and technical environments, shaping ambiances requires control over these interactions. In the PLUb, certain expressions of these possibilities — coolness, peacefulness, cleanliness, and the colour green — are held up as desirable through intensive repetition, suggesting how they are valorised as evidence of bioclimaticism at work. Their opposites — heat, noise, the brown of dirt and mud, the 'greyness' or 'minerality' of hard building and streetscape materials — are posed as the ills against which bioclimaticism will operate.

Bioclimatic urbanism is promised as a reduction of ambient disturbance, perhaps surprisingly given the radical climatic disturbance to which it responds. The PLUb contains numerous references to the capacity of green infrastructure, along with other measures to reduce car use, to *pacifier* (pacify, in terms of both noise and social dynamics) and *appaiser* (make peaceful but also appease) environments that have typically been antithetical to normative modes of public life. Not least areas just around the *Boulevard Périphérique* (ring road) and particularly the *portes* where Paris' radial boulevards meet it in sometimes vast traffic interchanges which are the focus of a desired '*reconquête*'[19] a 'reconquest' of the edges surrounding the ring road that have long histories as sites of subaltern public cultures including informal markets, encampments, informal settlements, and more recently alternative queer nightlife spaces.[20] *Reconquest* is a startlingly honest, almost military term to describe what amounts to a war against some of the most oppressed people in the city — those fleeing conflict and the ravages of climate breakdown or suffering severe exclusion from society — with the aim of reclaiming and pacifying urban territories for middle class lifeways that correspond with official imaginaries. Consumption, promenade, and children's play are the performances to be staged by environments appeased of disruptive ambiances with the help of green infrastructure. Bioclimatic urbanism, then, aims not only to stabilise heat and humidity as aspects of urban climate, but more cultural dimensions of urban inhabitation too, framing certain ways of inhabiting, moving through, and sounding with/in its architectures in terms of their contribution to an idealised set of climatic ambiances.

Read together, the three media devices mentioned here — the PLUb, *La beauté d'une ville* (Fig. 1), and *Embellir votre quartier* — work together as a coordinated campaign to produce a new bioclimatic imaginary constituted around an ordering of urban ambiance, and therefore with it a new ordering of the cultures of everyday life that produce that ambiance. However, the urban forests that form one of the key mechanisms of bioclimatically-designed public space in Paris, have not necessarily served this ordering, and are capable instead of staging cultures of inhabitation that act as disturbances to official bioclimatic imaginaries. The question then is how public bodies react to these disturbances: do they expand underlying imaginaries to include other ambiances, or reshape the implementation of green infrastructures to circumscribe even more clearly desired social orderings?

Figure 1. The exhibition *La beauté d'une ville* at the *Pavillon de l'Arsenal*, Paris. Photograph by the author.

19. Ville de Paris, *Projet d'amenagement et de Développement Durables*, p. 54.

20. See Justinien Tribillon, *The Zone: An Alternative History of Paris* (Verso, 2024); and Florian Bardou, 'Sous le périph, FA /WA veut casser les barrières', *Libération*, 27 September 2023 <https://www.liberation.fr/lifestyle/gastronomie/sous-le-periph-fa-wa-veut-casser-les-barrieres-20230927_WIVUUG6GRFBVHNIKCVP3AZSIUE/>.

FROM OPENNESS TO ENCLOSURE IN PARIS' URBAN FORESTS

A response to this question can be found in the ways the form of Paris' urban forests has changed. The first explicitly named urban forest to be planted in Paris looked a little more like Jarman's garden, blurring into its surroundings and inviting inhabitation, than it did the walled garden of tamed nature. More recently, in a reversal of the pre-modern archetype of the *pairidaiza* (paradise, meaning surrounded by a wall in Persian), which kept out wild nature to protect the anthropic garden, these infrastructures look to keep out human presences framed as 'deviant', according to the term proposed by queer ecologist Cy Lecerf Maulpox.[21] In what follows, a comparison between two urban forests planted ten years apart illustrates a shift from openness to enclosure in the vegetal architectures offered as solutions for inhabiting a hotter future, and the circumscribing of our (Parisians) relationship to plants as bioclimatic infrastructures. The first is the *Fôrét linêaire* (Linear Forest) planted in 2014 alongside the *Boulevard Périphérique*; the second is the recent (2024) urban forest of planted on the *Place de l'Hôtel de Ville*. I read them here through tools derived from multi-sensory ethnography combining embodied visual, sonic, and choreographic sensibilities with readings of mediated controversies around a site, as well as a practice of (auto)ethnographic walking, allowing for both perception of and participation in the ambiances of public life.[22] Regular, individual research walks through these forests, both within a posture of 'researcher' and as part of the everyday trajectories of my personal lifeworld in Paris, are supplemented by several collective walks led in connection with university pedagogical and research university settings. The first of these was enacted in 2022 during a study day forming part of a research fellowship held at the University of London Institute in Paris (ULIP), which gathered urbanists, geographers, and architects in an exercise in multi-sensory mapping of new green linearities in the north of Paris.[23] Two further walks were carried out with a total of around 30 students in 2023 and 2024 as part of a study abroad initiative of the Community, Environment, and Planning programme of the University of Washington.[24] Building on well-established ethnographic walking methods, these collective walks allowed diverse and dialogical perspectives to emerge (remaining, of course, those of outside observers), whilst also tracing the changes undergone by the forest over a number of years. In this sense, rather than framing walking as an empirical methodology, I follow Andrea Pavoni's call to use walking as a way of writing in and about place through an 'inescapable situatedness' with the 'potential to *queer* [original emphasis] taken-for-granted assumptions about methodology and knowledge in the first place'.[25]

Openness: the 'failure' of a forest that allowed too much

Lining the *Boulevard Périphérique* between the *Canal Saint-Denis* to the north and the Claude-Bernard footbridge to the south grows a relatively dense band of trees, around 300 metres from east to west, and 30 metres thick from each edge of the motorway (Fig. 2), presented as the first urban forest, part of a *grand projet* of urban renewal of the long neglected north-eastern periphery of the city proper. Through the centre of these bands run gently curving paths, not paved but surfaced with loose, natural material 'recalling the ground of a forested path', according to the information sheet released by the Ville de Paris with its planting in 2014.[26] At the eastern edge, a set of jaunty red and white striped columns invite neighbours to observe the growth of the young

21. Cy Lecerf Maulpoix, *Écologies déviantes: voyage en terres queers* (Cambourakis, 2021).

22. See Emma Jackson, Michaela Benson, and Francisco Calafate-Faria, 'Multi-Sensory Ethnography and Vertical Urban Transformation: Ascending the Peckham Skyline', *Social & Cultural Geography*, 22.4 (2021), pp. 501–22Michaela Benson, and Francisco Calafate-Faria, \\uco\\u8216{}Multi-Sensory Ethnography and Vertical Urban Transformation: Ascending the Peckham Skyline\\uco\\u8217{}, {\\i{}Social & Cultural Geography}, 22.4 (2021; and Tim Ingold and Jo Lee Vergunst, *Ways of Walking: Ethnography and Practice on Foot* (Ashgate, 2008).

23. John Bingham-Hall, 'Green Infrastructures and the Democratic Public', at 'Commons, Wilds, Infrastructures' (University of London Institute in Paris, May 2022). The programme was organised by John Bingham-Hall as part of the Banister Fletcher Global Fellowship in Urban Studies 2022.

24. See 'Walk: Grand Parc Promenade (Paris)', John Bingham-Hall <https://johnbh.co/work/walk-paris-grand-parc/>.

25. Andrea Pavoni, 'Dwelling in Intervals: A Speculative Walk Eastward Lisbon', *Cultural Geographies*, 32.4 (2025), pp. 549–76 (p. 552).

26. Ville de Paris, 'Paris Plante Sa Première Forêt !', Public notice, 2014 <https://cdn.paris.fr/paris/2019/07/24/9a4e77f-ba710d31cca56bb3134562b6a.pdf>.



Figure 2. Location of the linear forests shown in orange. Aerial imagery from Microsoft Bing Maps (2026), additional mapping by the author.



Figure 3. Measuring pole in the linear forest during a walk led by the author. Photograph by Aude Vuillominet republished with permission.



Figure 4. Mail Émile-Bollaert Photograph by the author.

trees in relation to their own offspring (Fig. 3). Making reference to the cherished, if questionably practiced, French notion of *vivre ensemble* (living together convivially and in proximity) the forest promised a new idea of *grandir ensemble* (growing together). In other words, the young families being invited to take up residence in the new housing developments lining the south of the forest might see their children's growth as being intimately tied to the growth of the trees. The layout of the forest spatialises this imaginary of intimacy and connection. Like those in the kinds of woodlands that children of more rural areas might know, the path through the *Forêt linéaire* is not strictly bounded, its blurred edges suggesting an invitation to step over and into the trees, echoing the information sheet's call to 'discover and to make this new space your own'.[27]

Whilst many projects in the line of networked 'green corridors' of vegetalised routes and pathways act as infrastructures for 'soft' or unmotorised mobilities (principally walking and cycling),[28] with paved paths allowing for this, the suggested choreography of this linear forest seems more descended from idea of the public promenade. With a cycle lane running alongside it, and a central path unsuitable for bikes, the spatial and material disposition of the forest suggests walking as a value in itself rather than as a mode of transport — a continuation of the hygienist imaginary behind Haussman's boulevards that helped popularise the promenade as beneficial for health against a backdrop of neatly aligned street trees, as Laurent Turcot describes in his history of walking in Paris.[29] In the linear forest, at least as imagined in its design, this social performance is filtered via the new bioclimatic imaginary, resituating the urban walk from the formal gardens or boulevards to the staged wildness of the woodland. In this sense, the linear forest corresponds to a combination of two of the 'cultures of nature' laid out by Matthew Gandy as lenses through which the same nature might be perceived and therefore used: a *rus in urbe* or romanticised rurality transposed onto the city, as well as a *techno-pastoralism* of 'newly emerging discourses of urban ecology that emphasize the pre-eminence of biodiversity'.[30] In line with this, the forest is also framed by the municipality as an infrastructure for non-human mobility, a corridor of vegetation allowing insects, birds, and small mammals to move safely from the canal to the east, through the linear forest to the *Mail Émile-Bollaert* — a pedestrian avenue alongside the *Périphérique* (fig. 4) — to the west.

Though predating the introduction of the PLUb and the *Plan Arbre* by a decade, the *Forêt linéaire* was an early experimentation for what would become one of its most emblematic, and most mediatised, measures. As pointed out by geographer Hugo Rochard in his analysis of their origin and implementation, urban forests represent a new and unprecedented milieu in Paris, their social 'performance' not yet stabilised in the ways typical gardens and squares are, where movement stays to paths and rest to benches.[31] In order to act as technical solution to anthropogenic problems — air and noise pollution, excess heat, and rain — urban forests have followed the much-vaunted 'Miyawaki' technique, in which young trees are planted close together to encourage competition leading to fast growth.[32] This density introduces a set of spatial and ambient conditions that is in stark contrast to the visual and spatial order of both public gardens and the alignment trees of Haussman's boulevards, whose neat lines choreograph and separate channels of movement without interrupting the sight lines that allowed for the policing of social order — a key aim of the boulevards' implementation.[33] As can be seen in the stark contrast with the *Mail Émile-Bollaert*, the new spatial form of the urban forest disrupts these orderly choreographies by introducing the kinds of knotty, dense, and opaque space that invite what queer theorist Michael Warner calls 'counterpublics': subaltern social assemblages based around embodied gathering rather than framing in media as idealised publics in the model

27. Ville de Paris, 'Paris Plante Sa Première Forêt !'

28. Pedro Serrano Gomes, 'Prendre en compte les usages sans prendre en compte les usagers: la mise en œuvre de la trame verte de Lisbonne (2007-2013)', *URBIA. Les Cahiers du développement urbain durable*, 2016, pp. 197–211.

29. Laurent Turcot, *Le promeneur à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Le Promeneur, 2007), p. 89.

30. Matthew Gandy, 'Queer Ecology: Nature, Sexuality, and Heterotopic Alliances', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 30.4 (2012), pp. 727–47 (p. 730).

31. Hugo Rochard, '« Plantons des micro-forêts urbaines » : nouveau récit d'action publique et coproduction citoyenne d'une solution fondée sur la nature à Paris', *Développement durable et territoires. Économie, géographie, politique, droit, sociologie*, 14.3 (2023).

32. Rochard, 'Plantons des micro-forêts urbaines', p. 18.

33. John Bingham-Hall, 'Toward a Queer Arboreal Heritage', *The Avery Review*, November 2024 <https://averyreview.com/issues/69/infrastructural-trees>.

of the Habermassian 'reading public'.[34] For example, whereas young families and individual *promeneurs* appreciating the cool shade of the woods are the idealised publics framed within official imaginaries of the urban forest, their dense and opaque spatial dispositions support counterpublics including cruising, communities of drug users, and migrant encampments — all of whose presence in urban green spaces is seen by public bodies as threatening to their idealised ambiance, sometimes even leading to greenery being destroyed to prevent their 'misuse'.[35]

I have been visiting the *Forêt linéaire* regularly since 2021, on my own *dérives* through the new ecologies of Paris' bioclimatic transitions as well as leading walks with students, visiting architecture practices, and seminar groups. The evolution and conflicts of usage I have witnessed during this time reflect this same pattern: modes of inhabitation and use that come into conflict with limited imaginaries of the desired ambiances of bioclimatic urbanism, with neglect or even destruction as the result. Even on one of my earliest visits, though, before the forest became the setting for an encampment of unhoused refugees and asylum seekers, there was already a sensorial disjuncture between the project's framing and its lived, multi-sensory reality. Frozen into an image, it was a bucolic pathway shaded by a lush canopy and surrounded by thick low-lying undergrowth, seeming to suggest the way to a quiet forest clearing. The mind's ear might easily imagine the gentle sound of leaves rustling in the wind. Animated, the image is transformed by noise, the constant rush of tyres hammering tarmac at up to eighty kilometres per hour, punctuated by police sirens so loud it seems strange their source is invisible, as captured in a film I posted to Instagram in 2022.[36] The PLUb and the *Plan Arbre* present trees as solutions to the noise of the *Périphérique*, able to absorb sound waves. The urban forest in this sense is idealised as acoustically negative, absorbing noise but having no sonic qualities of its own. It is hard, though, to perceive this forest as a sonic barrier between the motorway and the neighbouring 'eco-neighbourhood' when its emptiness seems rather to act as a canvas where these acoustic palettes overlap in a hybrid composition of bioclimatic space and petrol-fuelled infrastructure (fig. 5).

The hybrids and overlaps that result from the proximity of difference are arguably, though, what characterise successful urban life. Why then claim that the forest will be quiet when it is planted within touching distance of a six-lane motorway? Why imagine that *promeneurs* will come here to wander amongst the trees and pause on a bench to contemplate nature, as if deep in a real forest, despite this cacophony? These limited imaginaries of what it means to live with the vegetal infrastructures of climate adaptation fail to engage with the reality of the urban forest as a site of the sensorial disturbance that, as Nicola di Croce argues, carries the potential of a multiplication of modes of possible relation in a more-than-human public sphere.[37] Across all my visits, I have not even seen a handful of people taking the 300-metre promenade through the trees, apart from the groups I myself had led there. However, visiting in the spring of 2024 when I returned to plan a walk with visiting students from the University of Washington, I found the southern part of the forest dense with activity. Not the public life of promenade framed in the previously cited public information sheet as a correct enactment of the forest, but another kind of counterpublic, an encampment of unhoused refugees and asylum seekers. Taking the path through its centre, my presence was clearly an intrusion, one I regretted and whose unwelcomeness was subtly made known to me. A raised part of the forest, described by the municipality as being inaccessible to *promeneurs* so as to make it a 'refuge for fauna', housed a series of tents nestled amongst the trees, that must have provided some shelter from both rain and hot sun.[38] In the lower section, the

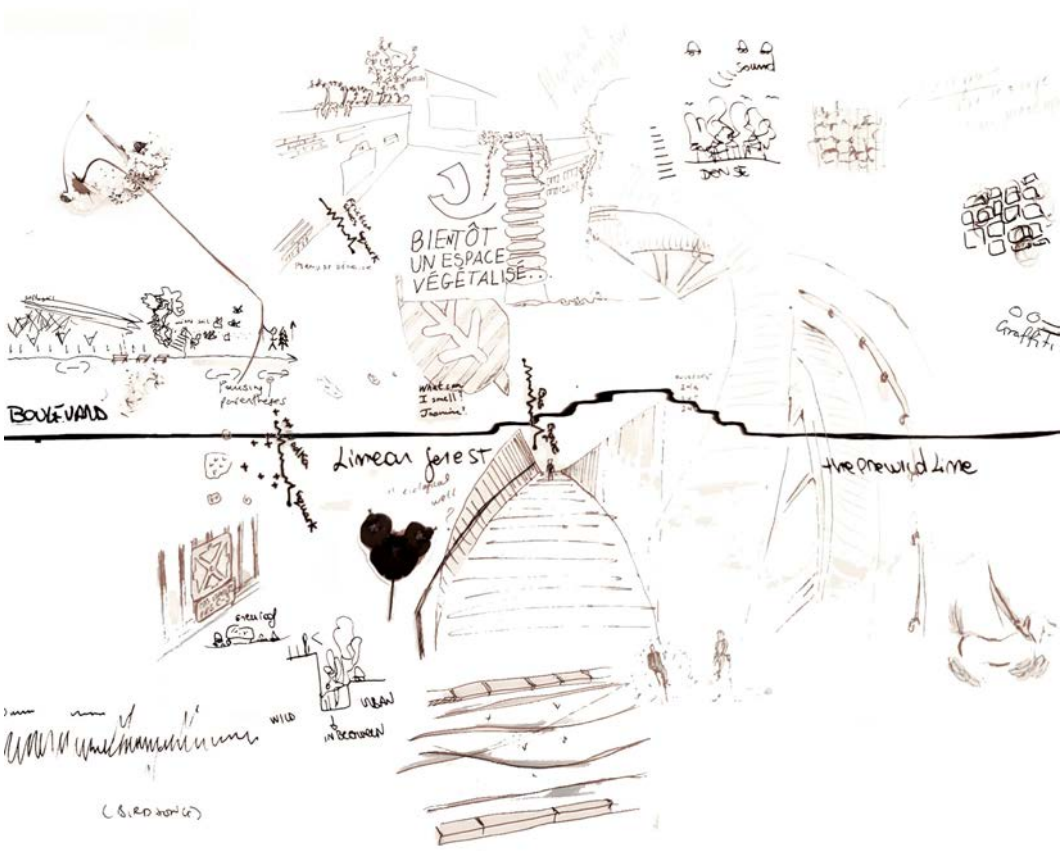
34. Michael Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics* (Zone Books, 2002), p. 124. See also John Bingham-Hall, 'Adaptation without Queer Ecology?: Straightened Green Infrastructures and the Destruction of Environment-Worlds', *I2 Investigación e Innovación En Arquitectura y Territorio*, 13.2 (2025), pp. 75–92.

35. Bingham-Hall, 'Adaptation without Queer Ecology?', p. 87.

36. John Bingham-Hall, 'The Stretch of Trees Bordering the Périphérique Motorway Is Imagined by the City Government as an "Ecological Continuity" Allowing Animals to Move between Other Green Spaces, and as a Green Infrastructure for the Reduction of Noise and Air Pollution.', *Instagram*, 2022 <https://www.instagram.com/public_culture_/reel/Cc5vkxqKlJA/>.

37. Di Croce, 'Attuning to Disturbance: Towards a Multi-Species Sonic Ecology'.

38. Ville de Paris, 'Paris Plante Sa Première Forêt !'


BIENTÔT
UN ESPACE
VÉGÉTALISÉ...
BOULEVARD
Linear forest
the renewed line



trunks laid down as benches for contemplative pauses (which I had never before seen used) were animated with conversation between residents of the small tent city up behind the enclosure. The very openness that was meant to allow young families an intimate relationship to trees was being enacted as something even more intimate, the turning of those trees into an architecture of survival and shelter for bodies fragilised and illegalised by their crossing of borders and seas.[39] Having planned to lead the students through the forest to experience Paris' new green infrastructures, I of course changed the route, leaving in privacy those who, with no other choice, had found some temporary refuge in an ecological configuration whose density and partial inaccessibility must have at least left them less exposed than on the street.

On another visit that autumn, all of this was gone. In its place were two private security agents: one posted on the footbridge, watching over the northern forest, and another at the western end of the southern forest. Banking and property giant BNP Paribas, whose HQ looks over the northern side of the forest, engaged them to 'protect employees' on their way from the closest station just inside Paris, to the offices within the *Millénaire* business park just over the municipal boundary in Aubervilliers, according to a report by the public broadcaster France 3.[40] Extracts from this report demonstrate the tense relationship between the normative publics of office workers and the counterpublics gathering in the forest:

> "To go from the RER station, we have a specific route they recommend we follow."
>
> Like all employees of the bank BNP Paribas, Estelle and her colleague Eric (not their real names), who take the route by foot morning and evening between their work and the RER station Rosa Parks, "know the places to avoid" […]
>
> When leaving work to go to the station, you first have to "pass quickly" in front of the entrance to the "Forét linéaire Nord", a green band of 11,000 square metres that follows the Péripherique — shut today by a gate, but which drug users regularly get across. Then take the Claude Bernard footbridge that crosses the motorway. Hurry along again in front of the "Forét linéaire sud" on the other side, also condemned.[41]

The north-east of Paris has been the scene, for the last half decade at least, for a constant series of violent evictions of temporary encampments, often involving police raids at night or the very early morning, when tents are most likely to be occupied, using physical force not only to clear those tents but to instil a terror presumably intended to quell any ideas of returning. With no infrastructures of shelter provided, or longer-term mechanisms of integration and housing proposed, camps are simply pushed from one place to another.[42] Municipalities (Paris and its surrounding communes, whose borders meet at the *Périphérique*) look to export migrant bodies beyond their limits so as to avoid both responsibility for their assistance and the ire of their citizens, who rail against the material pollution that is inevitable when people are forced to live with no access to services or infrastructure, but also against a perception of danger that is imbued

Figure 5. Extract from a collective sensory mapping facilitated by Eleanora Schiavi of a walk led by the author in the north of Paris, including the *Forêt linéaire*, as part of the study day 'Green Infrastructures and the Democratic Public', at 'Commons, Wilds, Infrastructures' (University of London Institute in Paris, May 2022).

Figure 6. The *Forét linéaire* after being cleared of its encampment. Photograph by the author.

39. Tom Western, 'Listening with Displacement: Sound, Citizenship, and Disruptive Representations of Migration', *Migration and Society*, 3.1 (2020), pp. 294–309.

40. Jean Forneris, 'REPORTAGE. "Si quelqu'un m'attaque, il y a un agent de sécurité", des salariés accompagnés par des vigiles pour se rendre au travail', *France 3*, 15 November 2024 <https://france3-regions.franceinfo.fr/paris-ile-de-france/paris/reportage-si-quelqu-un-m-attaque-il-y-a-un-agent-de-securite-dans-le-quartier-rosa-parks-le-chemin-pour-aller-au-travail-sous-surveillance-3060676.html>. Translation by the author.

41. Forneris, 'REPORTAGE'.

42. Tribillon, *The Zone*.

with racist prejudice. It seems clear that, in this context, urban forests have become the focal point onto which such fears are projected, as dark spaces where dangerous, unclean bodies might hide, whether queer or racialised. This might come as no surprise. As Shannon Mattern has pointed out in her survey of modes of public gathering amongst and around trees:

> in Western cultures, the forest has traditionally symbolized the unconscious, the Kantian sublime, the chaotic — a primordial place, the opposite of civilization. And while individual trees might embody ideals of knowledge and enlightenment, their dense aggregation can provoke disorientation and confusion.[43]

So, while the planting of these forests was intended to form part of the reconquest of the zone around the *Périphérique*, its effect has been the opposite. Beyond failing to attract the desired choreographies of promenade and contemplation, they have become negative attractors, causing the *classes favorisées* to rechoreograph their trajectories to avoid even walking past the forest, let alone promenading through it.

During a late winter walk in February 2025, I found the forest mostly bare of leaves, its path a muddy trail embedded with the debris of a temporary, ejected community: food packaging, toilet paper, and a few clothing items perhaps lost during a raid (Fig. 6). The gates of the northern forest remain locked (Fig. 8) while the southern forest, lacking any enclosure, is abandoned to non-maintenance. The city's website lists the southern forest as 'closed to the public' despite its unboundedness, warning people to stay away in the absence of being able to prevent access.[44] The raised part designed as a wildlife refuge is thick with the remains of encampment, left by the municipality many months after the ejection of the camp. A few tents remain behind a pile of logs installed to encourage insect life and the nesting of small mammals. Just as the forest has repelled the kind of movement it aimed to attract, it has become a magnet for the kind of pollution against which it claimed to fight.

In pointing this out, I wish in no way to align myself with reactionary framings of migrant counterpublics as polluting presences, rather to highlight what happens when narrow imaginaries of the urban forest meet more complex realities, and when sensorial disturbance is maligned rather than being integrated as a value in itself. What other future could have been possible if more-than-human cohabitation and its ambiances could have been imagined as natural to the urban forest? Even if it had not been completely abandoned by the municipality, it is a reminder that the promise of bucolic green spaces that undo the classic urban division of paved and planted is also the reality of brown ones — rotting leaves, mud, and naked branches. In this case, these non-human materials that disturb official imaginaries of urban ambiance are mixed with the traces of human inhabitation-without-infrastructure — excrement and material waste — that are also inverse to the hygienist ordering that still imbues urban planning, despite its new ecological penchant. It is also a reminder that the promised natural soundscapes of any new urban forests will be seasonal: in summer, the patter of light conversation in counterpoint with birds and

43. Shannon Mattern, 'Tree Thinking', *Places Journal*, 21 September 2021 <https://places-journal.org/article/tree-thinking/>.

44. Ville de Paris, 'Forêt linéaire sud', paris.fr, n.d. <https://www.paris.fr/lieux/foret-lineaire-sud-17595>.



Figure 7. The northern linear forest in 2023. Photograph by the author.



Figure 8. The northern linear forest closed to access in 2024. Photograph by the author.

rustling leaves, perhaps blocking a small amount of traffic noise with its density of vegetation; in winter, bare trunks allowing the hiss of wind and car tyres equal passage, any semblance of sonic refuge fallen and rotting with the leaves on the ground.

So, if we are to transform cities with the vegetal densities necessary for climate adaptation, we must surely widen the range of modes of publicness, and of ambiances that arise from them, which can be framed as the results of urban greening. Policy documents such as the PLUb must go beyond pacification and reconquest, asserting that green infrastructures may also be muddy, noisy, and full of counterpublic life with its own sonic cultures, like the free parties that take place deep in the woodlands of Vincennes on the eastern edge of Paris.[45] If the very notion of adaptation implicitly accepts that the global climate will heat, this reality means accepting that millions, if not billions of people will be forced to leave parts of the earth that will become inhabitable, coming to cities like Paris to find shelter from the heat amongst its vaunted new bioclimatic architecture of cool streets. What are now marginal conditions of inhabitation, corresponding with what AbdouMaliq Simone names the 'surrounds', may become central features of European cities, as they green their cores ever more intensively.[46] Once again, therefore the question comes to the fore as to how municipalities will respond to these tensions between current official imaginaries and more diverse lived realities of urban climate adaptation.

Enclosure: the return to a form that clarifies roles

The answer in Paris, for now, is a shrinking of new green infrastructures into neat, enclosed parcels that implicitly circumscribe access and draw clearer lines between permission and exclusion. In late 2024, the Ville de Paris once again announced a new 'first' urban forest, at the *Place de Catalogne* near to Montparnasse station in the south, followed by a second on the *Parvis de l'Hôtel de Ville*.[47] The *Foréts linéaires* surrounding the Périphérique, it would seem, had been abandoned as failed experiments, no longer innovative tests of a model to be expanded but discarded mistakes showing what happens when you invite too much contact between arboreal and human city-dwellers — the 'frottage' or rubbing up between human and non-human that Ama J. Johnstone argues is central to an ecology that centres 'desire' for cohabitation over the techno-pastoral 'necessity' of nature.[48] If the frottage of inhabitation can, based on the example presented above, lead to a green space being abandoned, the new approach at the *Hôtel de Ville* looked to remove its possibility: a clear division between paved zones for human passage, and a forest floor forbidden to entry. In terms of access, this marks a return from imaginaries of 'growing together' to something closer to the nineteenth-century spatial form of Paris' gardens of public promenade, such as Luxembourg or the Tuileries, where nature played a scenographic rather than sensorial role. Here, the feet of nobles were to stay strictly within neat alleys of trees that 'the honest man could take', not to be dirtied, where to find oneself occulted or hidden amongst the trees could be read as a sign of 'illness' of character.[49] The edict 'please do not walk on the grass' remains as a heritage of these social codes.

An initial project for the *Parvis de l'Hôtel de Ville*, announced by the municipality in 2020, was accompanied by visualisations of a woodland glade in which families might stroll on grass in the shade of trees, with butterflies flitting around their heads.[50] The design reflected the openness of the *Forét linéaire*. This project was cancelled in 2021, citing issues of the interference of roots with a subterranean car park.[51] However, it seems reasonable to speculate that the seemingly failed experiment of the linear forest might have played a role, sparking the kinds of primal fears evoked by Mattern in the minds of the city's

45. John Bingham-Hall, 'Wildness and Queer Counter-Publics', in *Encounters*, ed. by Fani Kostourou and Elahe Karimnia (Theatrum Mundi, 2022), pp. 58–65.

46. AbdouMaliq Simone, *The Surrounds: Urban Life within and beyond Capture* (Duke University Press, 2022).

47. Arnaud Garrigues, 'Forêt urbaine : le concept sur lequel mise la ville de Paris', La Gazette des Communes, 21 June 2024 <https://www.lagazettedescommunes.com/934909/foret-urbaine-le-concept-sur-lequel-mise-la-ville-de-paris/>.

48. Johnstone, 'Intimate Ecologies: Queer Speculations on Pleasure, Blackness and Art'.

49. Turcot, *Le promeneur à Paris au XVIIIe siècle*, p. 89.

50. See Christophe Leray, 'La ville à la campagne des municipales', *Chroniques d'architecture*, 25 June 2019 <https://chroniques-architecture.com/la-ville-a-la-campagne-des-municipales/>.

51. Denis Cosnard, 'A Paris, les rêves de « forêts urbaines » se heurtent à la réalité', *Le Monde*, 7 July 2021 <https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2021/07/07/a-paris-les-reves-de-forets-urbaines-se-heurtent-a-la-realite_6087397_823448.html>.

planners. The updated design in completed in 2025 contained all new trees within rectilinear beds that are raised up, sloped, and planted with dense, low-lying vegetation. Whilst it is not impossible to step over the paved borders and walk within the banks of planting, the sanctioned 'choreography' implied by the material form of the new forest is extremely clear.[52] To walk on these delicate low plants could legally be framed as the crime of degradation of public property. Like with the technical zones of transport and energy infrastructures, only agents of the public sector such as maintenance workers can legitimately tread within these beds of green infrastructure and touch the trees that constitute them.

In this sense, the spatial model of the new urban forests inscribes social roles into material form, as Ala-Ruona observes in Modernist architectures.[53] The updated design institutes clear divisions of nature and of human circulation infrastructures in order to separate human bodies from an earthy ground that is 'dirty, corrupting and harmful, a harbourer of diseases'.[54] In this case we can assume that the municipality is looking to protect a virgin patch of nature imagined as able to cleanse the city of disturbing ambiances produced by bodies framed implicitly as dirty, corrupting, and harmful by their disruption of this ecological virginity. In a seminar forming part of the aforementioned ULIP research fellowship, Marion Waller, a previous advisor on ecology to the Mayor of Paris, described tensions between socialist and green camps within the municipality around the designs of these emblematic urban forests: the former imagining them as new bucolic public spaces (Gandy's *rus in urbe*); the latter willing to enclose parcels of public space in order to protect the value of the forests in terms of biodiversity and ecosystemic services (*techno-pastoralism*).[55] The social imaginaries of closely related but nonetheless distinct political worldviews, therefore, translate into material configurations that frame normative publicness and transgression in contrasting ways. As well as avoiding interference with the underground car park, this new configuration, corresponding with the ecologists' vision, also allows the *Hôtel de Ville* to retain a classical paved 'place of gathering and festivity for Parisians' according to its own website.[56] Again, despite the existence of regular self-organised parties in the woodlands bordering the *Périphérique*, a normative imaginary of festive ambiance required preserving historical morphologies of Parisian public space from the material disruption of an urban greening that genuinely looks to imbricate the human and non-human (Fig. 9).

Returning to the *Périphérique*, an even stricter enclosure of urban forestry can be observed at the *Porte de la Chapelle*, a little over a kilometre to the west of the *Forét linéaire*, following the boulevard inside the ring road. According to statistics published in 2024, fifty per cent of the trees planted under the *Plan Arbe* were located on the embankments of the motorway. Though these embankments butt up against housing and public spaces, they are fenced off, formally inaccessible to human bodies (again, other than maintenance workers), to be touched only by the eyes from within vehicles skirting the city via its ring road. Here, trees can be planted densely without the fear of inviting the unwanted counterpublics drawn to the opaque spaces amongst their trunks. In fact, the planting of trees along the embankments appears to aim explicitly at their de-humanisation. My research walks have included a dense cluster of trees planted on a specific stretch of embankment that was once labelled *la colline du crack* (Crack Hill) by French media, long being home to a mix of encampments and drug users seeking distance from the exposure of the street within the motorway interchange at the *Porte de la Chapelle* — one of the focal points of the 2024 Paris Olympics.[57] Here, high fences prevent access, working together as a defensive architecture that secures these marginal

52. See John Bingham-Hall and Ellie Cosgrave, 'Choreographing the City: Can Dance Practice Inform the Engineering of Sustainable Urban Environments?', *Mobilities*, 14.2 (2019), pp. 188–203; and David Prytherch, 'Rules of the Road: Choreographing Mobility in the Everyday Intersection', in *Transport, Mobility, and the Production of Urban Space*, ed. by Julie Cidell and David Prytherch (Routledge, 2015), pp. 45–63.

53. Ala-Ruona, 'Bodytopia'.

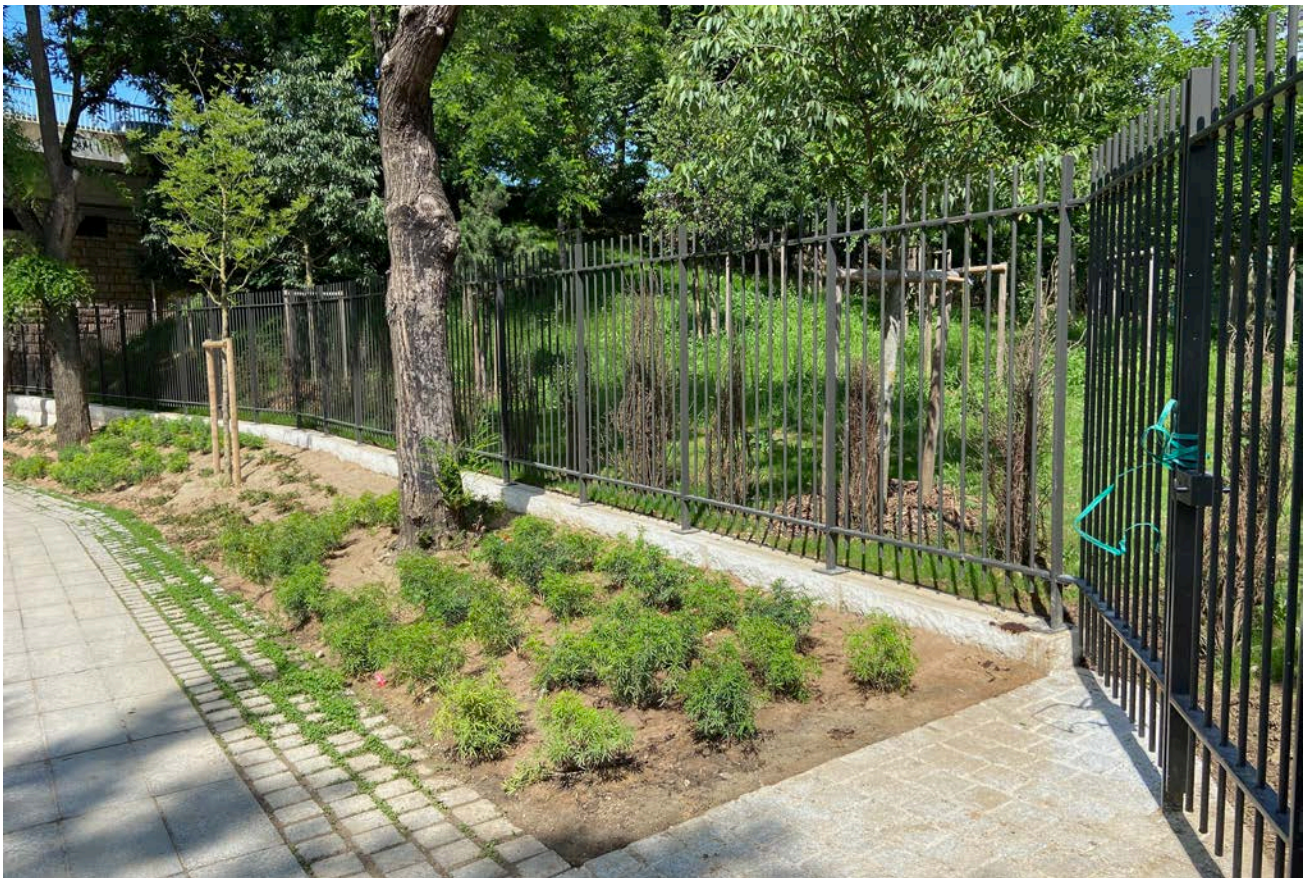
54. Le Corbusier, quoted in Beatriz Colomina, *X-Ray Architecture* (Lars Müller Publishers, 2019), p. 20.

55. 'Public Ecologies: Imaginaries of Urban Nature-Culture' (University of London Institute in Paris, March 2022) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zb3reGKtork>.

56. Ville de Paris, 'Une forêt urbaine bientôt plantée sur le parvis de l'Hôtel de Ville', paris.fr, 2024 <https://www.paris.fr/pages/une-foret-urbaine-bientot-plantee-sur-le-parvis-de-l-hotel-de-ville-28926>.

57. This nomenclature is established enough to have its own Wikipedia page: 'Colline du crack', *Wikipédia* <https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colline_du_crack>.





green spaces from counterpublic gathering (Fig. 10). The PLUb, as well as the related *Plan d'amélioration de l'environnement sonore* (Sonic Environment Improvement Plan), frame this planting as an environmental justice measure, aimed at reducing noise and air pollution for low-income communities surrounding the northern and eastern parts of the *Périphérique*.[58] Once again, we can see how the role of green infrastructures as pacifiers of ambiance seems to require strict segregation between the human and non-human, as well as expulsion of modes of inhabitation framed as polluting and disturbing.

EXPANDED IMAGINARIES OF AMBIANCE FOR THE BIOCLIMATIC CITY

An accent on what Shannon Mattern calls a 'techno-solutionist' approach to green infrastructure for the future habitability of the city, along with a narrow range of normative imaginaries for sensorial and bodily relationships to trees, is leading the municipality to institute strict spatial divisions in the design of new urban forests in Paris.[59] All of this raises urgent questions about the ways that strict, segregative norms are being ossified into the vegetal infrastructures of bioclimatic urbanism, in their material configurations as well as the expectations produced by ambient language of pacification and appeasement. In a present and a future of mass climate-driven human migration, cities cannot expect to act like walled gardens, bounded zones of tranquillity keeping out unwanted human and non-human presences. The enclosed urban forests discussed in this article, though, attempt to uphold this fantasy. Their trees are reduced to a combination of technical solution and urban image-making that, in the face of a climate breakdown threatening to destabilise the very fabric of society, tries to maintain even clearer socio-spatial binaries.

A range of conceptual and analytical approaches to ecology, though, offer possibilities for the expansion of these imaginaries, and potentially then for climate breakdown to manifest in new architectures of more-than-human cohabitation rather than in reinforcements of inherited vegetal geometries. Nicola di Croce's 'ethics of disturbance' calls for 'creative forms of negotiation among humans and more-than-humans […] tested and sustained by a radically different urban policy approach […] one that acknowledges the role of affective atmospheres as witnesses of a possible multi-species coexistence'.[60] Whereas the notion of ambiance is centred around human perception and comfort, he moves towards a 'multi species sonic ecology' that requires hearing beyond what is framed as comfortable from a privileged viewpoint, and treating the unexpected or disturbing as an opportunity to become sensitive to the place of other elements of ecosystems. Building on di Croce's sonic disturbance, I would argue for the necessity of an engagement with brownness, mud, insect life, and rotting fruit — vegetal realities purposefully excluded from representations of green infrastructure in order to drive their acceptance as part of an industry of urban image production.

Figure 9. Normative performances of publicness at the *Parvis de l'Hôtel de Ville* urban forest. Photograph by the author.

Figure 10. Fenced off tree-planting at the so-called 'Crack Hill'. Photograph by the author.

58. François Croquette, *Plan d'amelioration de l'environnement Sonore 2021–2026* (Ville de Paris - Direction de la Transition Écologique et du Climat, 2022).

59. Mattern, 'Tree Thinking'.

60. Di Croce, 'Attuning to Disturbance', p. 20.

Cohabitation with the urban forest also requires overcoming the imaginary of 'wild' ecological landscapes devoid of human presence, a category produced through colonisation to support the expulsion of indigenous lifeways, as Malcolm Ferdinand argues in his account the ongoing colonialism within the 'ecological restoration' of Haïti's forests.[61] Echoes of this colonial fantasy can be heard in contemporary urban rewilding, when this process is used to demonise unwanted human presences. Moving past the 'ecologist' imaginary of the urban forest as a dehumanised support for biodiversity, we might rather insist on the urban forest as an 'environment-world,' an inhabited ecology in which plants are woven into cultures of life, as Hélène Frichot describes in relation to the pre-modern lifeways of those called 'witches'.[62] In the inhabited urban forest, future survival is not more important than the immediacy of contact, the frottage Johnstone describes as part of an 'intimate' ecology in which desire for the sensorial richness of coexistence comes before a 'need' for plants as green infrastructures.[63] These alternative imaginaries are not speculative possibilities but urgencies in the construction of a just and durable approach to urban climate adaptation.[64]

Furthermore, to return to walking as an ethic rather than a method of knowledge extraction, I argue that these are ideas that cannot simply be 'known' and must rather be 'felt', through a walking that goes beyond mobility and expands its sensibilities, for example through scores for listening and moving otherwise.[65] These sensibilities are critical to the production of urban imaginaries that can incorporate the sensorial disturbance and physical frottage that can never be communicated in a static image. 'Architecture here,' as MOULD argue, 'moves, with a spring in its step, from being an isolated discipline to being part of an *ecology of practices*, portraying knowledge as a tool which is active rather than neutral — a constellation of possibilities essential for comprehending ongoing processes around us. […] It calls for rethinking the very foundations of architectural education and practice, making room for relational and experiential ways of knowing'.[66]

'Architecture is climate'.[67] The framework of bioclimatic urbanism highlights this: the interaction of building materials and spatial forms with air, water, and sunlight shapes the environments we inhabit every day. Those environments — the ways we modify and inhabit them — become cultures. As trees are rethought as technical systems for managing the urban environment, they become part of this bioclimatic architecture, and part of climate, but the cultural dimensions of this infrastructuring of trees has been little thought through. So, when MOULD argue that we should ask not what can architecture do for climate, but rather what climate does to architecture, I see in this question the issue of how climate is driving new configurations and performances of inhabitation of urban forms. With this newness, of course, comes conflict and irresolution, the need to interrogate the new spatial propositions responding to climate emergency as well as the worldviews through which their success or failure is viewed. We need to replace green infrastructures of 'authority and control' with ones of 'opportunity, agency, and reinvention'.[68] Reinhabiting climate should be an opportunity to reinvent public life, 'opening up worlds as opposed to the exercise of closing down futures'.[69] Perhaps Jarman's garden could offer a model for this, by showing that cultivation and care do not require clear boundaries, that a new ethics of cohabitation can protect new urban ecologies from future enclosure and support genuinely just and progressive forms of urban climate adaptation.

61. Malcom Ferdinand, *Decolonial Ecology: Thinking from the Caribbean World* (John Wiley and Sons, 2021).

62. Hélène Frichot, 'The Smoke of Burnt Witches in Our Nostrils', *The Avery Review* (2023) <https://averyreview.com/issues/65/burnt-witches>.

63. Johnstone, 'Intimate Ecologies: Queer Speculations on Pleasure, Blackness and Art'.

64. Bingham-Hall, 'Adaptation without Queer Ecology?'

65. John Bingham-Hall, 'From Performance to Grounds and Back Again: Re-Staging Practice for a Mobile Urban World', in *Staging Ground: Infrastructure, Performance, and Bodies in Movement* (dpr-barcelona, 2025), pp. 140–47.

66. Anthony Powis, Tatjana Schneider, Christina Serifi, Jeremy Till, and Becca Voelcker, *Architecture is Climate* (dpr-barcelona, 2025), pp. 40–41.

67. Powis, Schneider, Serifi, Till, and Voelcker, *Architecture is Climate*.

68. Powis, Schneider, Serifi, Till, and Voelcker, *Architecture is Climate*, p. 102.

69. Powis, Schneider, Serifi, Till, and Voelcker, *Architecture is Climate*, p. 140.

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