RESEARCH VIRUS
XXL

CHARLES AMBROSINO, BASILE MICHEL
& DOMINIQUE SAGOT-DUVAUROUX (EDS.)

ARTISTIC SCENES AND THE CITY

VOLUME 2: INTERNATIONAL CASE STUDIES AND PERSPECTIVES

PUG

Collection and series coordinator,
publication manager: Alain Faure
Proofreading: Marc Smyrl
Design and layout: Catherine Revil

ISBN 978-2-7061-5860-5 (e-book PDF)
ISBN 978-2-7061-5861-2 (e-book ePub)

5, rue de Palanka – F-38000 Grenoble
www.pug.fr

XXL

A SERIES IN THE **RESEARCH VIRUS** COLLECTION

In the digital "Research Virus" collection, PUG is launching the XXL series to promote scientific essays of 50,000, 100,000, or 150,000 characters (including spaces).

The authors—researchers and expert practitioners—share with us a thesis, a mystery, a journey, a struggle, or a *terra incognita*. The format? An accessible and direct style. The aim? To explore the transformations of society with enthusiasm, reason, and conviction.

Enjoy your reading!

CREDITS

The book *Artistic scenes and the city* is composed of two volumes:

• ***Volume 1:*** *A theorical approach*
https://doi.org/10.60666/sed8-q492

• ***Volume 2:*** *International case studies and perspectives*
https://doi.org/10.60666/qad6-2w92

It is the result of the restructuring and translation of the book *Scènes artistiques. Au-delà de la ville créative*, edited by Charles Ambrosino, Basile Michel & Dominique Sagot-Duvauroux, published by the PUG in 2025.

→ View the book HERE.

It is the result of the Scaena research project, funded by the French National Research Agency.

anr

SCAENA
Scènes Culturelles Ambiances Et traNsformations urbAines

Granem
Groupe de Recherche ANgevin en Économie et Management

Pacte
Laboratoire de sciences sociales

ABSTRACT

How do artistic and cultural activities interact with urban dynamics? Drawing on the theoretical proposition defined in the first volume of the book, this second volume offers a methodological and empirical approach to test the artistic scene perspective. Based on five international case studies, it provides answers to the questions raised by the urban dynamics driven by arts and culture. It reveals the diversity of characteristics and developments of artistic scenes, as well as the many related cultural, urban, and social issues: cultural participation, gentrification, commodification, etc. An essential tool for understanding the links between art, culture, and urban development, intended for researchers, students, and professionals in the fields of culture and urban planning.

KEYWORDS

art, culture, city, scene, methodology, case studies

HOW TO CITE THIS PUBLICATION

Charles Ambrosino, Basile Michel & Dominique Sagot-Duvauroux (Eds.), *Artistic scenes and the city. Volume 2: International case studies and perspectives,* "Research Virus" collection, "XXL" series, PUG, 2026.
On line : https://doi.org/10.60666/qad6-2w92

THE EDITORS

Charles Ambrosino holds a PhD in urban planning and is professor at the Institute of Urban Planning and Alpine Geography (University of Grenoble Alpes).

Basile Michel holds a PhD in geography and is professor at the University of Cergy Paris.

Dominique Sagot-Duvauroux holds a PhD in economics and is professor emeritus at the University of Angers.

With contributions from: Charles Ambrosino, Sandrine Emin, Gérôme Guibert, Basile Michel, Nathalie Moureau, Mariella Pitombo and Dominique Sagot-Duvauroux.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION: INVESTIGATING THE SCENE

CHARLES AMBROSINO, BASILE MICHEL & DOMINIQUE SAGOT-DUVAUROUX

What do artistic and cultural activities bring to the dynamics of a city? Conversely, how does the city impact these same activities? In order to answer these two related questions, Volume 1—*Artistic scenes and the city. A theoretical approach*—has defined a theoretical proposal around the concept of the scene. This proposal is based on a cross-referencing of literature on pioneering approaches to scenes (e.g., Straw, 1991), on the agglomeration of artistic and cultural activities (e.g., Lloyd, 2006; Montgomery, 2003), their interweaving in the symbolic, narrative, and urban production of the city (e.g., Bianchini & Parkinson, 1993; Zukin, 1982), and their transformative effects on urban atmospheres (e.g., Debroux, 2017; Gravereau, 2013). It calls for a re-examination of the complex interrelationships between urban spaces and artistic and cultural dynamics, in particular to shed light on the limitations of urban policies for the "neoliberal creative city" focused on attractiveness and to open up discussions on moving towards a "post-creative city" (Hollands, 2023; Miles, 2013; Mould, 2015) that would integrate the issues of cultural democratization, citizen empowerment, and resident participation in cultural life. This second Volume, drawing on the theoretical proposition of the scene, offers a methodological and empirical approach to test this conceptual framework and provide answers to the questions raised by the territorial dynamics driven by arts and culture.

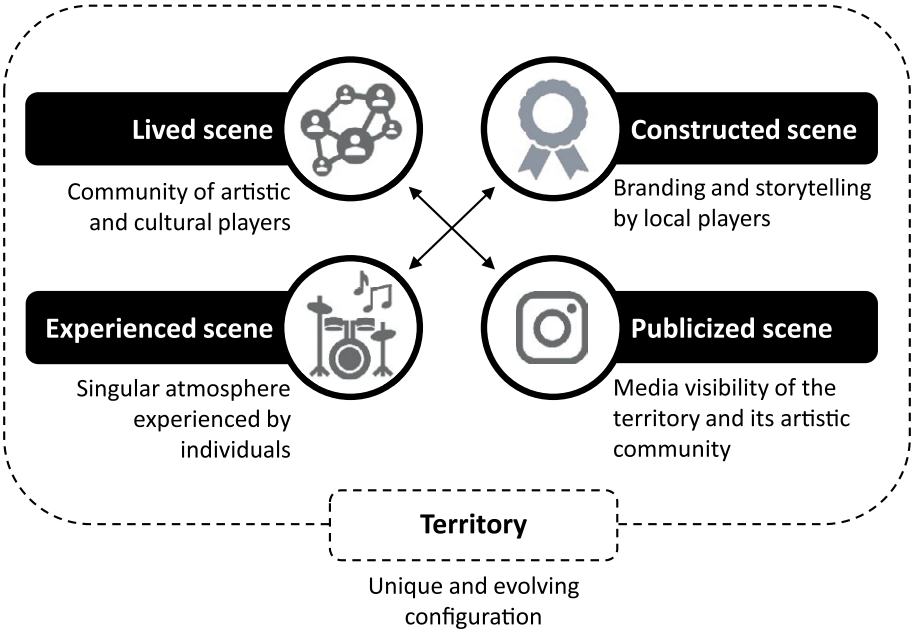
The theoretical approach of the artistic scene

To summarize our theoretical approach (see Volume 1), a scene is defined as an artistic and cultural ecosystem that is both the product of a territory and a component of its identity, an ecosystem where artists, businesses, developers, users, and audiences contribute, following more or less convergent strategies, to shaping the narrative, the aesthetic and cultural identity, and the development (particularly in terms of tourism) of a territory. These interactions are likely to generate distinct and ecstatic codes, norms, and social rituals, a form of

idiosyncratic urbanity, opportunities for experimentation, and a way of living whose outputs include certain cultural assets, atmospheres, and innovations.

The scene consists of four dimensions: (1) a network of artistic and cultural actors embedded in a territory—the lived scene; (2) a unique atmosphere produced by the strong presence of cultural activities and made accessible to the sensory experience of the users of this territory—the experienced scene; (3) a narrative, a branding of the territory by the actors involved—the constructed scene; (4) a media visibility and notoriety of the territory and its artistic community—the publicized scene. It is the combination and interaction of these four dimensions, within a territory with a unique and evolving configuration, that makes it possible to qualify the existence of a scene (**Figure 1**).

Figure 1. Diagram of the scene concept.



Source: Scaena project. Created by Basile Michel, 2025.

This scene—i.e., this embedded, ecstatic, and visible community—can thus be observed from different angles: that of the community itself, through its territorial anchoring and network dynamics; that of its intra-territorial ecstatic dimension, characterizing the various spillovers of the scene into its territory; that of its extra-territorial ecstatic dimension, revealing the strategies of storytelling and visibility, of labeling this "brand" territory; that of its media coverage,

revealing how the media and social networks contribute to its qualification, dissemination, and symbolic transformation in collective representations; and finally, that of its anchoring (or even embedding) territory, which is both the foundation and the product of the scene's reality.

Investigating the scene

Understanding the realities of the scene involves informing these different angles of analysis through diverse and complementary research methods and tools. The specificities of each case study call for these methods and tools to be used in a differentiated manner, adapted to particular contexts, as in the case of a significant temporal distance from the object of study (see in particular Chapter 1 on the Montmartre art scene at the turn of the 20th century or Chapter 5 on the evolution of the alternative rock scene in Angers from the 1980s to the present day).

The identification and analysis of the territory in which the scene is embedded appears to be an essential prerequisite. The social, economic, architectural, urban, historical, etc., configuration of the territory constitutes a decisive breeding ground for the factors and ways in which artistic and cultural dynamics unfold here or elsewhere, as exemplified by neighborhoods such as Montmartre in Paris (Chapter 1) or the M50 in Shanghai (Chapter 2), whose history has been decisive in establishing an artistic network and the unique atmosphere that results from it. Conversely, understanding the impact of cultural dynamics on the territory requires paying attention to its other dimensions. An assessment of the territory is therefore necessary in order to establish a dynamic overview of its configurations, realities, challenges, and transformations. Without providing an exhaustive list, interviews with local stakeholders (elected officials, developers, cultural professionals, etc.), in situ observation, and the collection and analysis of statistical data (e.g., changes in social composition) are all tools that can be used to achieve this objective.

In order to understand the lived scene, it is first necessary to identify the artistic and cultural actors in the territory: who are they, what is the nature of their activity, where are they located, and what places do they frequent? These last two questions raise the issue of the relevant spatial scale of analysis, as the scene may be structured within a neighborhood (as shown in the example of Montmartre, Chapter 1) or more broadly within a city (as in the case of Arles, Chapter 4). The inventory of artistic and cultural activities in the area, based on online and field research, enables the creation of a geolocated database (number of cultural venues, artistic sector, type of activity, geographical location, etc.) and

cartographic processing that facilitates, for example, the highlighting of the spatial concentration of artistic activities in certain urban neighborhoods (see Chapter 2). To understand the lived scene, it is then necessary to capture the relational networks woven by cultural actors in the area in order to identify the existence (or absence) of an artistic community and to measure its vitality. This involves describing the networks of actors, characterizing the nature and density of relationships, identifying common values and commitments, and pinpointing the leading actors and meeting places. The inventory of existing relationships, through interviews and additional research (in activity reports, etc.), can give rise to a network analysis using, for example, Gephi software, which offers possibilities for measuring and visualizing the networks that form the basis of the scene (see Chapter 2 in particular).

Shedding light on the experienced scene involves characterizing the atmosphere of the territory and identifying the extent to which artistic and cultural activities influence these realities. This atmosphere is linked to the physical and architectural characteristics of the territory, the sensory phenomena that characterize it, and the social practices and interactions that take place there. It can be captured through in situ observation using specific tools (note-taking, counting users and uses, photographs, commented walks, etc.). This immersive work in the area can be structured around three atmosphere descriptors: first, consistency, i.e., the degree of unity and homogeneity of the components of an area; second, pervasiveness, i.e., the intensity of the atmosphere and its ability to impose itself on users of the area; and finally persistence, which corresponds to the degree of permanence of the atmosphere over time and refers to various temporalities. These descriptors make it possible to qualify the atmospheres of the scenes and show their multiplicity, from consistent, pervasive, and persistent artistic atmospheres (as in the historic center of Arles, Chapter 4), to more diluted atmospheres (such as the music scene in Angers, Chapter 5) or those whose intensity varies over the course of specific and ephemeral events (such as the carnival scene in the Santo Antônio district of Salvador de Bahia, Chapter 3).

Investigating the constructed scene involves understanding the strategies of labeling, storytelling, branding, and marketing deployed by the various categories of actors in the scene and the territory to build an image, assert values, and promote them on a larger scale. This involves analyzing the discourse of these actors, whether in interviews or official documents (brochures, charters, websites, etc.). It involves analyzing both the informal and formal narratives produced by the cultural actors themselves and the institutional narratives developed by local authorities and other stakeholders, including any discrepancies, confrontations, or complementarities between these different categories

of narratives, such as the official M50 branding strategy by local authorities, which takes precedence over the informal narrative of artists and gallery owners (Chapter 2), or the alternative narrative produced by underground actors in the Angers music scene (Chapter 5).

Providing information on the publicized scene also involves analyzing discourse, but this time focusing on the narratives disseminated by the media and social networks. Identifying the different registers of media discourse relating to a scene and its territory of origin should make it possible to understand its image and level of media notoriety. This involves compiling various corpora from a range of sources (press articles, review sites, social networks, internet search results, etc.) and performing a textual analysis, for example using the Iramuteq software, which supports the statistical analysis of large text corpora. This makes it possible to highlight the different forms of media coverage of scenes and their territorial embedding, such as the M50 in Shanghai, whose territorial image is inseparable from the artistic community rooted there, with an established international reputation as an artistic and tourist district (Chapter 2), while other scenes receive little media coverage or are even partially invisible (see Chapter 5).

Dynamics and life cycles of scenes

Defined conceptually and methodologically in this way, the four constituent dimensions of the scene only make sense when analyzed in relation to each other. Discussing them separately facilitates the conceptual definition and empirical observation of the different facets of scenes. However, this should not obscure their interdependence in the reality of the territories observed. The aim is to observe the coherence and complementarity, or conversely the discrepancies and tensions, between the four dimensions of the scene within the same territory. Thus, as we define it, the scene does not aim to offer a static, siloed analysis (network/atmosphere/narrative/media image), but rather a dynamic, cross-cutting analysis that highlights the ways in which these dimensions are composed and recomposed within a territory according to complex and evolving interactions. Emergence, development, maturity, displacement, decline, renewal, death, etc., are all potential stages in the life of scenes during which the four dimensions of the scene and the territory transform in an interdependent manner. This leads us to carefully consider questions of temporality, the life cycles of scenes, and the evolving trajectories of territories (Capron & Morteau, 2024). The challenge is to understand how the different dimensions of the scene evolve over time, interrelated with each other, but also with the territory and its social, economic, and urban transformations. Under what conditions

(particularly territorial ones) do scenes emerge? What are the consequences of the development of the scene on the underground artistic dynamic and on the social composition of the territory? Are mature scenes destined to become heritage, tourist, and commercial objects, stripped of their initial artistic vitality by processes of gentrification and/or institutionalization, at the risk of disappearing?

International case studies

The five case studies in this book shed light on these questions, while providing an opportunity to test the conceptual and methodological framework of the scene. The sample aims to offer international perspectives on the reality and diversity of scenes: diversity in their stages of maturation, diversity in the territorial contexts in which they are organized and deployed, and finally, diversity in the temporalities and forms of investigation necessary for their observation.

We have chosen to begin the presentation of our case studies with a portrait of a pioneering artistic scene, that of Montmartre in Paris, France (Chapter 1). The evolution of this Parisian neighborhood at the turn of the 20th century crystallizes many of the questions that form the basis of this book. A true textbook case, it appears both as a historical observation and as an early and revealing laboratory of the intersecting dynamics between urban change, the evolution of the art world, the advent of the cultural economy, and the social production of innovation. Finally, it keenly illustrates our interdisciplinary reflection on the logic governing the embedding of artistic and cultural activities within urban spaces and their spillover effects.

The contemporary transformations of the M50 district in Shanghai, China (Chapter 2) and Santo Antônio in Salvador de Bahia, Brazil (Chapter 3) offer two contrasting examples of scenes that were initially hotbeds of artistic innovation, but which were simultaneously confronted with the urban dynamics of touristification and gentrification. The changes in M50 clearly illustrate how the transition from an emerging contemporary art scene to the creation of a tourist enclave driven by international media coverage is orchestrated. The changes in Santo Antônio reveal the idiosyncratic co-evolutionary phenomena that arise between cultural expressiveness (around traditional samba and carnival practices), ways of living and social appropriation of space, and the associated risks of commodification and institutionalization.

The case of Arles illustrates an original process of cultural development driven by private initiatives—in the field of contemporary art, photography, and publishing—which are very present in the city (Chapter 4). The Arles case highlights the limits of the spillover effects of a concentration of high-profile

artistic activities on local populations, particularly the most disadvantaged, with a continuing dissonance between the city's prestigious artistic image and the needs of its inhabitants.

The final case study focuses on the city of Angers and explores the life cycle of a music scene—centered on the Black & Noir label and the band Les Thugs—from its emergence in the late 1980s to recent alternative heritage initiatives aimed at promoting it after a long period of invisibility (Chapter 5).

CHAPTER 1

THE IDEAL TYPE OF ARTISTIC SCENE: *FIN-DE-SIÈCLE* MONTMARTRE, FRANCE[1]

CHARLES AMBROSINO & DOMINIQUE SAGOT-DUVAUROUX

The transformation of Montmartre into an artistic district spanned a period of nearly half a century, stretching from the Commune (1870-71) to the years preceding the outbreak of the Great War—with 1910 marking a "symbolic" date, that of Picasso's departure, heralding, more broadly, the shift of artists to Montparnasse. This process was marked by a dual movement: two generations of artists successively colonized Montmartre, each spreading out into two areas that were contiguous but had very different profiles. While the first generation migrated to lower Montmartre (the "Boulevards") throughout the 1870s and 1880s, a scandalous and rebellious hotbed strategically located near the central areas of the capital, a second generation of artists retreated to upper Montmartre (the "Butte") between 1890 and 1910 not only to live, but also to work there. While these two areas together structured and organized the creative ecosystem of Montmartre, they remained distinct in terms of their atmospheres (village *vs.* metropolis), their functions (creation *vs.* market), but also—and perhaps above all—by the urban experience they offered artists, namely two contrasting ways of "living" in the big city and just as many opportunities to rub shoulders with highly diverse communities.

Montmartre, a specific urban configuration

In the aftermath of the Commune, lower Montmartre, located at the junction of the hill and the Parisian plain, had all the characteristics of a bustling suburb: a hotspot of Parisian nightlife, the work begun by Prefect Haussmann recon-

1. This case study is based on a critical review of the abundant literature on Montmartre at the beginning of the 20th century, which draws on a cross-analysis of works that are rarely discussed in relation to each other: the urban geography of the neighborhood, the social history of artistic innovations, and economic and managerial approaches to the art market.

figured the structure of a previously liminal territory into a resolutely modern urban area. Along the newly completed boulevards, there was a concentration of dance halls and cabarets, sex shops, places of pleasure and debauchery. Since the Commune, artists rubbed shoulders with alternative circles and intellectuals, radical trade unionists and supporters of the labor movement. These were the seeds of the "Montmartre spirit," "born of the blood of the Commune and characterized by arrogance, verbal violence, rejection of traditional values, and criticism of anything that might represent authority" (Pawlotsky, 1995). At Le Chat Noir, poems were read on Fridays, and the Bal des 4'zarts was organized at the Moulin Rouge by students from the École des Beaux-Arts, gradually dethroning the Élysée Montmartre at the end of the 19th century. People frequented the Dufayel stores, which sold decorative items for the working classes and attracted a large crowd. There were also art galleries clustered south of the boulevards, particularly on Rue Laffite. Jean-Paul Crespelle wrote on this subject:

> "All you had to do was walk down Rue des Martyrs to reach the only 'souk' for paintings at the time. […] There was a constant flow between Rue Lafitte and Montmartre, and for independent painters, these galleries were, along with the Salon d'Automne and the Indépendants, the only places where they could exhibit and see the paintings of their colleagues." (Quoted by Pawlotsky, 1995, p. 312)[2]

The lower part of Montmartre was also home to the "bohemian" community (Hamrick, 1997; Glinoer, 2018), a well-defined social group comprising second-rate artists, the underclass of the art world (especially literature). Functioning like a community (see Chapter 1 of Volume 1), its members had a keen sense of self-presentation (see Chapter 2 of Volume 1): it was not so much the artistic productions of the bohemian community that would mark history as the behavior of its members, their escapades, their attire, their excesses (see Chapter 3 of Volume 1), in short, their obvious intrusion into the space of others with strong "ecstatic" potential.

In contrast, the upper part of Montmartre had all the trappings of a rural village. The signs of agricultural activity were still very visible at the time (mills, cultivated gardens, orchards and vegetable gardens, dirt roads and fallow land, small livestock farming, etc.), and gave the place a striking rural character. Located on the slopes and plateau of the eponymous hill, its pre-Haussmannian urban

2. In the book, all excerpts from non-English sources have been translated by the authors.

morphology (a network of narrow streets linking small squares lined with modest houses and buildings) remained largely untouched by the modernization process underway on the plain—notably due to its unstable subsoil caused by the presence of old quarries. Living conditions there were harsh and miserable, especially in the "maquis," a vast slum that was destroyed starting in 1902. In this context, artists, particularly those of the second generation, rubbed shoulders with poor populations made up of migrants of peasant origin attracted by industrial development, workers and craftsmen driven out of the center undergoing construction, with whom they shared living conditions. Housing, with very low rents, was mostly unsanitary; furniture and other everyday items were often salvaged, borrowed, or cobbled together. It was a place where a culture of "doing" and resourcefulness shaped a social landscape of solidarity and mutual aid. Community practices marked by forms of popular sociability spilled out into the streets. This permanent intermingling of the domestic and public spheres was all the more striking given that this was a neighborhood with few shops, which means it hosted many street activities and numerous small cafés where a colorful crowd of residents, artists, and workers gathered at lunchtime. Two artistic cabarets, Le Zut, in homage to Charles Cros's Zutistes, and Le Lapin Agile, were exceptions. Émile Zola described Rue de l'Abreuvoir in *L'Œuvre* as follows:

> "You have no idea what the street or the galley is like: a country road filled with poultry, lined with grassy embankments; a galley like a child's toy, with small windows, a small door, a small garden, oh the garden, a strip of steeply sloping land, planted with four pear trees, cluttered with a whole farmyard made of green planks, old plaster, and iron fencing reinforced with string." (Quoted by Pawlotsky, 1995, p. 40)

Finally, in the upper part of Montmartre, was the Bateau-Lavoir, an old building with spartan comfort where many artists lived and worked, including Picasso, Braque, Laurens, and Gris, leading figures of the Cubist avant-garde.

An ecosystem of innovation put to the test by its territory

Under these circumstances, why did Montmartre prove to be such fertile ground for artistic innovation? Beyond the mere concentration of artists, what else was at play? Proponents of a spatial approach to the economics of innovation saw Montmartre as a typical example of how a territory can contribute to the emergence and dissemination of innovation (Sgourev, 2013; Cohendet et al., 2014). For them, the creative capacity of a territory depends not only on the presence of specific amenities (transport infrastructure, natural resources, etc.), but also on the mechanisms for coordinating the various actors involved

in a given productive activity. In particular, they highlight the role that a number of places, collective projects, events, and communities play in the dynamics of innovation (see Chapter 1 of Volume 1). From this perspective, the focus is on the capacity of a network of actors to support an original idea and turn it into a commercially viable innovation. From this point of view, the spread of Cubism in the art world at the time is a textbook case. At the turn of the 20th century, Montmartre was home to some of the most influential founding members of the Cubist movement (Picasso, Braque, Laurens, and Gris). This artistic community lived and worked in individual and/or collective studios (e.g., Le Bateau-Lavoir), and was supported by a number of galleries that sought out new talent (such as those of B. Weill, D.-H. Kahnweiler, etc.) and collectors (such as G. Stein). This network met in specific places (cafés, cabarets, etc.) and at events (salons, exhibitions, etc.) where common values were established and narratives were relayed by magazines and manifestos (e.g., Les Peintres Cubistes by Apollinaire, Metzinger's writings on Braque and Picasso). Finally, this network gained media coverage and recognition by fueling controversies relayed by critics and intellectuals such as Apollinaire and Fénéon (such as the nude controversy between Matisse and Picasso, the opposition between historical Cubists and salon Cubists, and the Fauve scandal in 1905) (Martin-Fugier, 2007; Joyeux-Prunel, 2018).

While such an analysis provides a relevant explanation for the rapid triumph of Cubism, it nevertheless suffers from being too detached from reality. Here, the territory functions as a platform that neglects the complex interconnections of the network it observes in real, lived, and experienced space. What roles might architectural, urban, and social configurations have played in the emergence of this artistic innovation? Developing a historical and ethnographic approach to the Cubist creative process, Claire Le Thomas (2016) demonstrates how Montmartre was the site of an original creolization between the daily practices of the local population and those of artists who, drawing inspiration from them, invented new techniques and new aesthetics (such as collage and stencils). As the author points out, "at the beginning of the 20th century, most of the population still knew how to make a large number of artifacts for themselves using common and sometimes recycled materials […]. These traditional skills penetrated the city and constituted a technical background that favored the introduction of non-artistic materials and processes into Cubist works; they were part of the everyday technical and conceptual tools of these artists" (Le Thomas, 2016, p. 10). In this context, some artists sought to combine the alternative spirit that reigned on the hill with the symbolic properties of this material and sociocultural environment. Identifying with manual laborers, they

went so far as to claim the status of workers, a sign of the "cubists' empathetic projection toward the working classes" (Le Thomas, 2018, p. 3).

In the early 1900s, Montmartre had all the ingredients of what we call an artistic scene: a dense network of actors (lived scene) that both fed off and helped shape a distinctly "bohemian" atmosphere (experienced scene), which built its artistic identity in resonance with that of the neighborhood where it was engaged in collective commitments (constructed scene) and which was publicized through events, controversies, and publications widely commented on by the newspapers of the time (publicized scene). This growing notoriety attracted not only opinion makers, but also curious visitors, initiating a surreptitious process of touristification, then heritage preservation, leading to real estate speculation. The atmosphere of upper Montmartre was transformed to such an extent that around 1910, artists began migrating to Montparnasse, the new El Dorado of the avant-garde (Joyeux-Prunel, 2018). For its part, lower Montmartre lost its subversive image, previously associated with its Communard past, becoming "the land of pleasure seekers of all kinds, a fair where foreigners and Parisians alike come to seek, amid the electric lights, gypsy orchestras, and the large crowd of feather-clad girls, a little pleasure priced by the hour or by the night" (A. Warnod, 1913, *Bal, cafés et cabarets,* quoted by Pawlotsky, p. 272). The resonance between the artistic ecosystem and the neighborhood gradually disappeared. The scene lost its capacity for innovation and its appeal to artists. End of a cycle? Since then, the neighborhood has retained its image as an artistic district, a knock-on effect that generates significant tourism and real estate revenue.

Learning from Montmartre

Ultimately, for many artists, living and working in *fin-de-siècle* Montmartre was not only about benefiting from a network of actors, but also about accessing symbolic resources, experimenting with new ways of life, and inventing innovative and idiosyncratic forms of expression. By sharing the humble and impoverished daily life of the inhabitants, which involved recycling and salvaging various materials, the Cubists immersed themselves in popular aesthetics, which they helped to promote to an urban audience. By reproducing the gestures and techniques of local populations, they familiarize themselves with ordinary practices of domestic creation while perpetuating traditional and popular skills from the worlds of craftsmanship and rural life. This transfer of elements of the culture of manual labor toward that of visual art is largely the result of the artists' immersion in a specific socio-geographical context.

More broadly, the example of artistic creation in early 20th century Paris allows us to give greater depth to the notion of territory in models of innovation. The friction between the epistemic community of artists and resident communities (bohemians, working-class populations, anarchist circles, café and cabaret patrons, etc.) multiplied the opportunities to create weak ties (Granovetter, 1973), which influenced the nature of innovations. Thus, the example of Montmartre reveals that artistic activities fit into territories in specific ways. On the one hand, artists draw on their immediate environment to produce new ideas. On the other hand, artists sometimes leave a lasting mark on the places they visit. One need only think of Honfleur or Pont-Aven in France or, on a completely different scale, SoHo in New York to be convinced of this. The dynamics of gentrification and urban transformation contribute to these same effects and reflect the recurring life cycles of these artistic neighborhoods.

Artistic creation is never decontextualized. Artists do not live in ivory towers, even if the myth of the autonomous artist sometimes seeks to give that illusion. An artist's creativity is influenced by both visible attributes (landscapes, cafés, populations) and invisible attributes of a territory (atmosphere). And if the artists' installation in turn becomes an attribute of the territory, the trajectory of the latter may change. Ultimately, different communities coexist and rub shoulders in a territory. This friction can give rise to diffuse creativity, a creative atmosphere that is nevertheless fragile. The case of Montmartre also reveals the ephemeral nature of a scene, an ecosystem in perpetual transformation.

CHAPTER 2

TOURISTIFICATION OF A CONTEMPORARY ART SCENE: M50 DISTRICT IN SHANGHAI, CHINA[1]

BASILE MICHEL

Analyzing the case of Shanghai's M50 district through the lens of the scene requires adopting a dynamic approach that is sensitive to the concurrent developments of the area and its artistic players.[2] This Chapter will therefore unfold in six stages to present (1) the historical and territorial context of the M50, from which (2) a dynamic agglomeration of artistic activities developed, leading (3) to the emergence of a lived scene in the early 2000s, before (4) local authorities institutionalized this scene starting in 2005 (constructed scene), which (5) contributed to accelerating the neighborhood's transformation, with a recent decline in the lived scene (6) leading to the gradual transformation of the M50 into a tourist enclave marked by an intense experienced scene and a well-established publicized scene. The aim is to summarize this case study and conclude with the main lessons to be learned for the concept of scene as defined in the Scaena project.

---

1. This case study has been analyzed in previous publications, which detail its methods, tools, corpus, and empirical materials (Michel, 2021a and b).

2. This Chapter is based on research conducted between 2018 and 2020 using the methodology explained in the introduction to this book. The research is based on a census of activities (particularly artistic) in the area, around twenty semi-structured interviews with artists and gallery owners, an analysis of their collaborative networks, in situ observation of the neighborhood and cultural venues, a study of official documents from local institutions, and an analysis of media discourse based on various corpora.

The industrial past of the M50 and its urban and architectural heritage

The M50 district is a former industrial site located along Suzhou Creek in one of Shanghai's central districts. It was one of the city's main cotton mills. From the 1930s to the 1990s, 50 Moganshan Road (hence the name M50) was home to intense textile production, with more than 1,000 employees working for the state-owned Shanghai Chunming Slub Corporation, a subsidiary of Shangtex Holding Corporation (Zhong, 2011). As part of an urban and industrial restructuring program decided by the local government, this activity declined before coming to a complete halt in the 1990s, leaving behind industrial wasteland. This industrial history, spanning more than 60 years, has left an important legacy in the urban and architectural layout of the neighborhood. The M50 is first and foremost an enclave separated from the rest of the city by a walled enclosure (having been designed as a closed industrial site). It is then structured around an irregular urban grid composed of alleys, narrow passages, interior corridors, and footbridges. Finally, it is characterized by industrial buildings (warehouses, workshops, etc.) featuring architecture representative of the different eras they have gone through (notably red brick facades) and offering varied spaces and high ceilings conducive to new uses.

Spontaneous artistic clustering at the turn of the 2000s

It was in this unique urban and historical context that Chinese artists spontaneously set up their studios at M50 in the 1990s (Michel, 2021a). They took advantage of the spaces left vacant by the decline of industrial activity to rent the available premises at low prices, as the obsolescence of industrial spaces perfectly met the needs of artists in terms of artistic production, offering cheap, malleable spaces steeped in historical and cultural value. These artists thus contributed to the spontaneous emergence of an artistic hub in M50 by settling there and developing underground practices in the field of contemporary art (mainly painting). These artists were later joined by art galleries, which contributed to the growth of the artistic and cultural movement in the neighborhood in the early 2000s. At the same time, other artists also converged on M50 following the destruction of the abandoned industrial spaces they had occupied along Suzhou Creek and elsewhere in Shanghai. The M50 then became an art district where Chinese artists such as Xue Song, Ding Yi, Xu Zhen, Zhang Enli, Zhou Tiehai, etc., rubbed shoulders with art galleries such as ShanghArt, Eastlink, BizArt, etc. Attracted by this artistic hub, creative companies such as design and architecture agencies also joined M50, reinforcing the neighborhood's new cultural and creative vocation.

Affirmation as a major center for contemporary art in the 2000s

The territorial concentration of contemporary art and creative actors at M50 has been accompanied by the development of a collaborative network linking artists and galleries (lived scene). The latter have played an intermediary role ("middleground")[3] by promoting previously unknown Chinese artists from M50 through the organization of exhibitions, participation in international fairs, etc. Visual artists such as Xue Song were officially represented by ShanghArt at the beginning of their careers and thus benefited from significant support in establishing themselves on the global contemporary art market. In the context of Chinese contemporary art, which was still little recognized internationally in the early 2000s, the artistic community based at M50 helped to raise the profile of Chinese artists who are now integrated and recognized in the globalized world of contemporary art. The artist Xu Zhen, for example, is ranked in the top 10 in China and the top 1,000 worldwide by ArtFacts, and is exhibited at major events such as the Venice and Sydney Biennales, as well as in renowned cultural institutions and private collections such as the Perrotin Gallery, the Louis Vuitton Foundation and the Centre Pompidou in Paris, and the Rubell Museum in Miami. This community has also fostered the emergence and dissemination of new aesthetics and artistic languages by facilitating exchanges between artists, gallery owners, collectors, and art critics. Artistic innovations in the field of Chinese pop art (Xue Song) and geometric abstraction (Ding Yi), for example, emerged from the neighborhood and its artistic community. As a result, in the 2000s, M50 proved to be a place for artistic creation, sales, exhibitions, incubation, and learning. It has established itself as an essential resource and a central place for emerging Chinese contemporary art (Zhong, 2012), i.e., as a major center for contemporary art in Shanghai and more broadly in China.

From a district slated for demolition to a branded tourist enclave

Initially, the territorial embedding of an artistic community and its resulting status as a center for contemporary art were ignored by local authorities. The latter planned to demolish M50 in order to continue the modernization of the historically industrial Suzhou Creek area by developing residential and commercial real estate projects (Michel, 2021a). The informal narrative promoted by artists and gallery owners made it possible to delay the deadline for such destruction. They mobilized to protect the neighborhood, supported by

3. See Chapter 1 of Volume 1.

academics from the Research Center for National Historic Cities, by promoting and publicizing the importance of preserving it for its industrial past and artistic present. In 2005, the Shanghai municipal government's strategy towards M50 changed radically: from a neighborhood to be destroyed, it became a district to be promoted as an artistic and creative hub.

This change took place in a particular political context: the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) made cultural and creative industries (CCIs) a new priority in its economic development and international influence policy (O'Connor & Gu, 2006; Keane, 2013). To this end, a creative cluster policy was developed to promote and use CCI as a lever for revitalizing former industrial neighborhoods, with a focus primarily on real estate and tourism development (Keane, 2009; Michel, 2020). Numerous creative clusters have thus been set up by Chinese cities, either by labeling spontaneously formed art districts or by creating urban parks dedicated to CCIs from scratch. The Shanghai municipal government was quick to embrace creative clusters and now has more than 75 in its central districts (Zheng & Chan, 2014). M50 is one of the first districts in the city and the country to be labeled a "creative cluster" and is one of the most renowned examples, along with 798 in Beijing. This label marks the local authorities' takeover of the management, operation, and image of M50, which has become a more institutional and planned art district after emerging spontaneously. From 2005 onwards, the authorities, notably through the state-owned company that had managed the district since the industrial period, developed a strategy of labeling and territorial branding (M50 logo, AAA Travel Tourist Attraction label, etc.), implemented new developments (street repairs, installation of signage, etc.) and ensured security in the area (video surveillance, guards, etc.) with the main objective of promoting the M50 as a tourist destination and attraction due to its artistic and creative attributes (constructed scene).

Change in activities in the district and decline of the lived scene

Coupled with the rise of cultural tourism (Richards & Wilson, 2007) and growing public interest in contemporary Chinese art (Mazzurana & Schultheis, 2016), the local authorities' strategy has contributed to the growth of the M50's tourist appeal and the increase in tourist flows to the area. In response to this success, rents have been increased by the district manager (multiplied by 10 between 2002 and 2009, Zhong, 2011), prompting a change in the activities present on site. Although prices remain reasonable compared to Shanghai's central districts, the number of artists with studios at M50 has fallen dramatically (from 100 in 2004 to 50 in 2009 and around 20 in 2018). On the contrary, art galleries have multiplied, as have creative businesses and

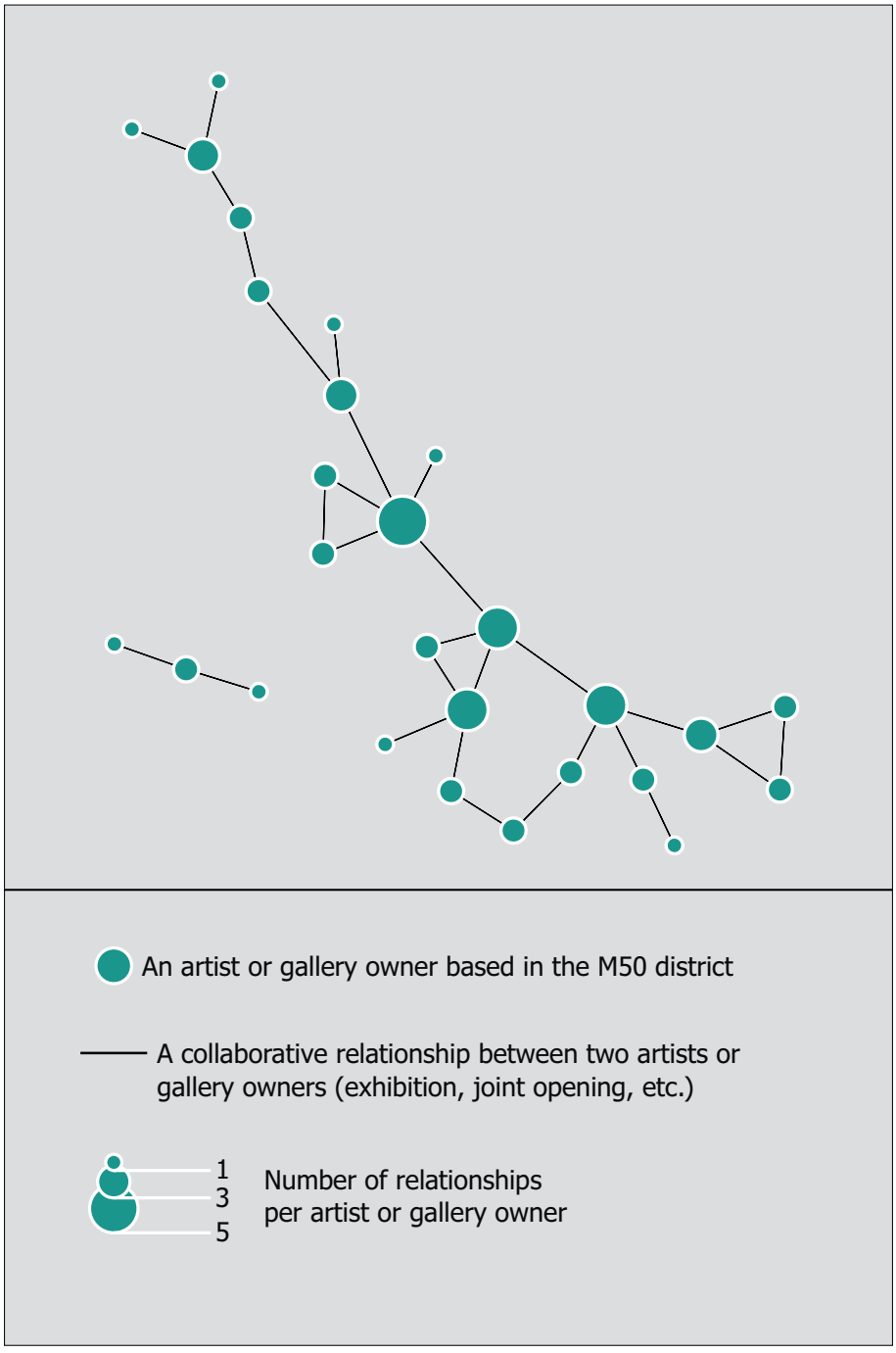
commercial establishments (shops, restaurants, cafés). Furthermore, faced with growing economic pressure, artists have had to adapt their creations to the expectations of tourists, or even sublet part of their studios, in the hope of being able to afford to stay at M50 (Zhong, 2012).

In light of the transformation of its activities, the M50 is increasingly oriented toward cultural consumption, to the detriment of artistic creation. This evolution has been accompanied by a decline in networking within the local artistic community: artists and gallery owners in the M50 are co-located to benefit from the district's image and tourist traffic, and they collaborate and interact only on an occasional basis (joint openings, friendly discussions, etc.). As a result, the collaborative networks of the art world embedded in M50 are now characterized by low density (**Figure 1**). There has also been a rise in commercial activity outside the field of contemporary art, with the arrival of bars and shops. This symbolizes the increasing commodification of the neighborhood and the accelerating process of tourist and commercial gentrification, although this phenomenon is still limited in the case of M50, particularly when compared to other Chinese art districts branded "creative clusters" (Tianzifang in Shanghai, 798 in Beijing, etc.) (Michel, 2020, 2021a).

Atmosphere, practices, and artistic and tourist reputation

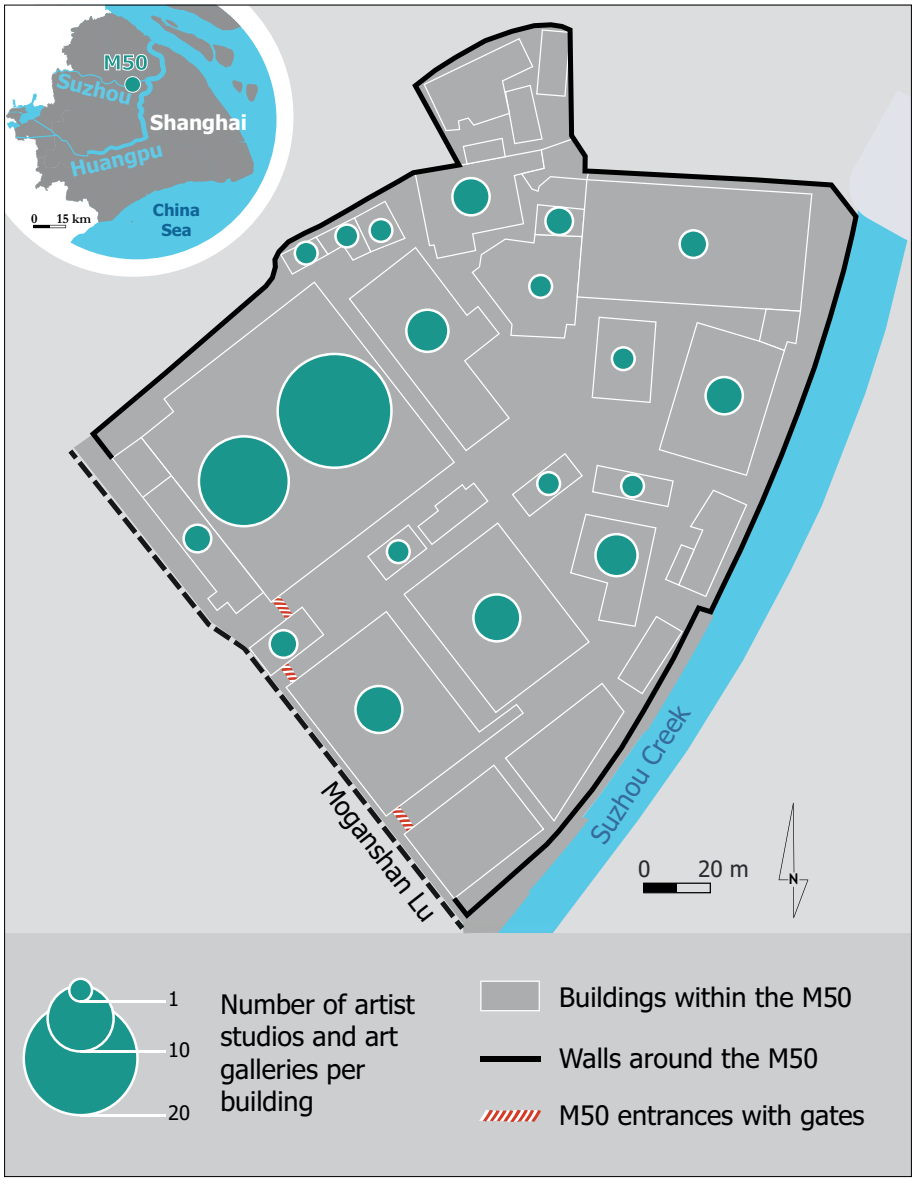
This evolution has made M50 both an artistic and tourist district. The neighborhood remains dominated by artistic activities, mainly contemporary art galleries (54% of the neighborhood's activities) and visual artists (13%) (**Figure 2**), with other activities including creative businesses (13%), shops (10%), and cafés and restaurants (10%). This predominant artistic presence creates a consistent, pervasive, and persistent atmosphere within the M50: this 2.5-hectare enclave is almost exclusively home to galleries and studios that are open to the public free of charge, hosts exhibitions and cultural events, and is filled with urban art. This creates a bubble whose homogeneous post-industrial atmosphere, blending contemporary creation and industrial past, imposes itself on users of the area. Thus, the presence of an artistic community at M50 spills over into the neighborhood, shaping its urban atmosphere and, to a lesser extent, that of its surroundings, notably with Shanghai's longest graffiti wall nearby and the occasional presence of art galleries and other murals.

Figure 1. Sparse networks in the art world at M50 today.



Source: created by Basile Michel, 2023; surveys by B. Michel.

Figure 2. The spatial agglomeration of artists' studios and art galleries at M50 today.



Source: created by Basile Michel, 2023; surveys by B. Michel.

Many tourists visit M50 mainly to enjoy the spatial concentration of galleries and artists and the resulting atmosphere (experienced scene). Arriving by taxi, subway, tourist bus, or Didi (the Chinese equivalent of Uber), most of them are attracted by the artistic offerings concentrated within a former industrial site that has been converted into a neighborhood of art galleries and artists (**Figure 3**). During their visit, they experience this enclave by strolling through the streets, visiting galleries, artists' studios, and shops, taking photographs of buildings and works of art, and eating in a restaurant or café. Tourist traffic, which is high in the afternoons or during specific events (vernissages, art fairs, etc.) and low in the mornings, creates an alternation of busy and quiet times that influences the atmosphere of the M50, which is more or less lively depending on the time of day.

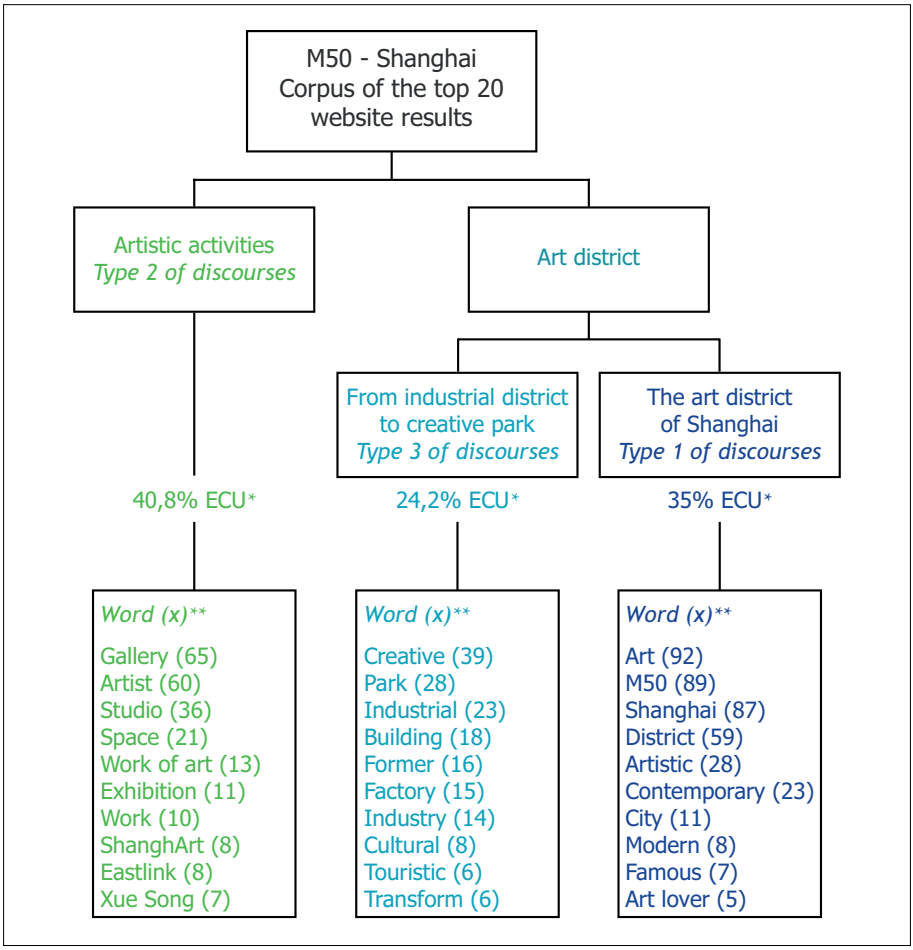
Figure 3. An art gallery at M50.

Source: Basile Michel, 2018.

The dual artistic and tourist reality of the M50 is widely reported in the media (publicized scene). Indeed, on the web, the neighborhood is mainly discussed by players in the tourism industry (15 of the top 20 results in a Google search on average): travel agencies, review sites, and tourist guides present the M50 as one of the attractions to visit during a stay in Shanghai as the city's main

art district (**Figure 4**). Beyond these narratives in the tourism world, M50 also benefits from media coverage in the general press (*New York Times, Shanghai Daily,* etc.) and specialized press (*The Art Newspaper, Frieze,* etc.), where it is mentioned as a center for contemporary art in Shanghai, hosting galleries and exhibitions of interest (Michel, 2021a). Thus, M50 has a strong media and tourist reputation as a contemporary art district and tourist attraction.

Figure 4. The M50 on the web: an established artistic image.



* Elementary Context Units (ECU) are coherent text segments identified using the Iramuteq text analysis software. The percentage of ECU associated with each type of discourse indicates its relative importance in the corpus.

** Main keywords representative of the type of discourse and the number of occurences of the word in the corpus.

Source: created by Basile Michel, 2023; surveys by B. Michel.

Theoretical issues regarding the concept of scene

The case of the M50 raises three main theoretical issues concerning the concept of scene. First, the case of the M50 highlights the question of the life cycles of scenes. Its evolution illustrates the trajectory that cultural scenes can take, with a decline in the lived scene (by the artistic community embedded in it), faced with the affirmation of an experienced scene (by tourists who experience a unique atmosphere), a constructed scene (through institutional branding), and a publicized scene (through its notoriety in the media). This trajectory highlights the tensions between the artistic and tourist dimensions of scenes, and the possibility of their decline or even death in the context of the advance of "artistic capitalism" (Lipovetsky & Serroy, 2013), which fuels tourism, commercial gentrification, and the increasing commodification of the city.

Secondly, the M50 highlights the local/global articulation—local buzz/global pipelines (Bathelt et al., 2014)—at the heart of which are scenes and their dynamics of creativity and innovation. In addition to the local roots of an artistic community and the spillover effects generated locally (urban atmosphere, etc.), the M50 artistic scene contributed to the global emergence of Chinese contemporary art in the early 2000s, thereby becoming integrated, in a complementary way, into global cultural circulations. Today, it remains at the heart of local/global dynamics, notably through the coexistence of Chinese and foreign galleries and artists of varying reputations, its integration into the branding battle between world-class cities such as Shanghai, and its inclusion in international media and tourist circuits.

Thirdly, the case of M50 illustrates the importance of contextual specificities in understanding the dynamics of scenes. First, the unique territorial configuration of M50 appears to be decisive in the emerging anchoring of an artistic community within it, in the resulting post-industrial artistic atmosphere, and therefore, ultimately, in the evolutionary trajectory of the scene. Second, the Chinese political context, marked by an authoritarian system (Cabestan, 2014), manifested itself at M50 from 2005 onwards through the local government's takeover of the neighborhood and its spontaneous artistic dynamic. This takeover was accompanied by control and surveillance of the neighborhood, which could lead to forms of censorship of artists and gallery owners, limiting their creative freedom.

CHAPTER 3

A CARNIVAL SCENE AT RISK FROM CULTURAL INDUSTRIES

THE SANTO ANTÔNIO NEIGHBORHOOD IN SALVADOR DE BAHIA, BRAZIL

MARIELLA PITOMBO

Santo Antônio Além do Carmo (hereafter Santo Antônio) is one of the oldest neighborhoods in Salvador de Bahia. It is located north of the city's historic center, within a heritage protection zone established according to criteria set by the National Institute of Historic and Architectural Heritage (IPHAN). The neighborhood developed on a site formerly occupied by the Tupinambás Indian tribes. It was also in Santo Antônio that the city's first Christian mass was celebrated in 1594, in a small chapel of the same name (Bahia, n.d.).

Since its origins, Santo Antônio has stood out as a predominantly residential neighborhood, a characteristic it still retains today, more than 400 years after its founding. Due to its somewhat insular characteristics, the neighborhood, established on a ridge surrounded by escarpments on the west side and valleys on the east side, has managed to preserve its main architectural (heritage preservation) and urban (little-altered typomorphology) features (Hernandez Muñoz & Olmos, 2001). The built environment consists mainly of simple houses and *sobrados*[1] (**Figure 1**), as well as historical monuments such as churches, forts, and a convent, giving the neighborhood a unique profile and a bucolic and tranquil atmosphere, similar to a country village, which contrasts with the increasing verticalization that the city has undergone over the last three decades. The landscape overlooking the Baía de Todos os Santos (Bay of All Saints), framed by the *sobrados,* popular houses, and historic monuments, plays a crucial role in the narratives constructed around the atmosphere of the neighborhood,

1. Sobrado is a type of building from the Portuguese colonial era.

whether by the media, its inhabitants, or the official agencies that manage the tourist and cultural policies of the city of Salvador.[2]

Figure 1. The streets of the Santo Antônio neighborhood.

Source: Ari Capela, 2024.

A neo-bohemian neighborhood? The establishment of a cultural scene

Since the 1990s, the neighborhood has undergone a demographic transformation, welcoming an influx of new residents, including foreigners and Brazilians from the Southeast region and, more recently, Bahians who have chosen to settle there. This new group is largely made up of a middle class of artists and professionals who live and work in the neighborhood.

Alongside this migration phenomenon, the neighborhood has also experienced a spontaneous cultural blossoming, resulting not necessarily from direct intervention by local governments, but from initiatives by artists, cultural collectives, small business owners in the restaurant and hotel industries, and residents. Although the neighborhood has a tradition of popular cultural events, such as carnival, capoeira, and religious and civic festivals, the establishment of small art galleries, studios, boutique hotels, bars, and restaurants, as well

2. The fieldwork was based on participant observation during the neighborhood carnival (2018 and 2019), as well as a series of interviews with local stakeholders, including *bloco* organizers, religious authorities, bar and hotel owners, and neighborhood residents.

as the acquisition of houses by famous artists, has given the neighborhood a cosmopolitan atmosphere.

Unlike mainstream analyses that focus on the creative economy (Florida, 2002), placing too much emphasis on the derivative aspect of technological innovation, the cultural scene in Santo Antônio seems to be based on a low-tech approach, relying on artisanal and experimental production. As many artists active in Santo Antônio's cultural scene are also residents of the neighborhood, the concentration of a class of cultural workers (designers, cultural producers, stylists, artisans, musicians) fosters a collaborative social and cultural network that has the potential to generate innovations in their practices. In this sense, Santo Antônio seems to follow the contemporary trend of producing "neo-bohemian" social spaces (Lloyd, 2002, 2004) resulting from the convergence between the spatial presence of an intellectual middle class and the establishment of urban atmospheres that combine the visibility of artistic and cultural activities with post-industrial economic logic.

As a residential neighborhood and important heritage site, its cultural scene has certain specific characteristics. Unlike other more central cultural districts, Santo Antônio does not have large cultural facilities such as theaters, opera houses, large art galleries, or concert halls. On the contrary, the network of cultural spaces and venues there is less traditional and more flexible, even unusual. To echo the proposal of Daniel Silver and Terry Nichols Clark (2015), who seek to understand the role of amenities (cultural institutions and venues) in a neighborhood in the formation of scenes, in Santo Antonio, it is the neighborhood's streets with their historical heritage, the main square, the sunset visible from Bahia de Todos Santos (All Saints Bay), the *sobrados* and houses, and even the church courtyard, which appear as spaces where cultural production and consumption intermingle. Thus, the architectural and spatial characteristics of the neighborhood are crucial in creating a specific atmosphere.

The lived scene: the neighborhood's alternative carnival

The neighborhood is animated by numerous collectives, groups, artists, and spaces that bring its cultural scene to life. However, it is perhaps *samba* that stands out as the most vigorous language among the cultural expressions that unfold there. In the early 2010s, the neighborhood's central square was occupied on the last Friday of every month by the *rodas de samba*,[3] organized by

3. A gathering of musicians playing samba while seated around a table. Participants form a circle around the musicians. The word *roda* refers to a circle.

the musical group Botequim. This initiative quickly sparked real enthusiasm and attracted new followers, most of whom were from outside the neighborhood. Importantly, the practice of *rodas de samba* does not take place in a cultural vacuum. Once limited to working-class neighborhoods, this practice is gradually becoming part of the cultural consumption habits of the middle classes, who are positively embracing these forms of expression that combine tradition and authenticity. These forms of expression act as true markers of identity and contribute to specifying local ways of living and social appropriation of space (Mira, 2009). Ultimately, these musical gatherings paved the way for the structuring of an entertainment, consumption, and leisure circuit, mainly aimed at young people and students. In addition, the *rodas de samba* inspired the creation in 2011 of the *bloco*[4] De Hoje a 8 (DHJA8), the main organizer of the neighborhood carnival. Presenting itself as "a collective initiative of friends, partners, and other samba enthusiasts seeking to enhance, promote, and encourage the tradition of samba,"[5] the *bloco* made its first appearance on the streets of Santo Antonio in 2012, on the Saturday before Carnival.[6]

From the outset, the intention was to create an alternative to the "industrial" model of the Salvador carnival, which is both standard in form and based on commercial logic, following the model of paid *blocos*[7] and *camarotes*.[8] From this point of view, DHJA8 is part of a very popular trend in certain Brazilian cities (Rio de Janeiro, Belo Horizonte, and São Paulo) seeking to revive the spirit of

4. In Brazil, a *bloco* is a gathering of people who decide to parade together for Carnival in a semi-organized manner.

5. DHJA8, 2012, *Apresentação*. http://dehojeaoito.blogspot.com/2012/ [accessed on 05/05/2026].

6. Its name is inspired by the Bahian expression *de hoje a oito* (from today to eight), meaning "in a week," which has become one of its defining characteristics: holding its parade on the Saturday before the official carnival week.

7. The paid *blocos* form around the *trio elétrico* (a large sound truck carrying renowned bands and artists) while revelers dance and sing behind the *trio* in the streets, wearing a kind of uniform called *an abadá,* distinguishing them from other participants. In addition, the perimeter of the *bloco* spaces is marked by a huge rope separating the associated revelers from others, a condition that many carnival analysts describe as the privatization of public space.

8. Considered one of the main vectors of the festival's increasing privatization, *camarotes* are private spaces located along the various carnival routes in Salvador. From the simplest to the most luxurious, *camarotes* are reserved spaces that offer, for a fee, an elitist private party experience, thus distinguishing themselves from the collective celebration that carnival traditionally inspires.

the old carnivals based on the free occupation of public space, the spontaneity of the celebration, and the revival of the practice of dressing up (**Figure 2**).

A dense network of actors is gradually organizing itself so that the DHJA8 *bloco* can take to the streets. United by emotional ties and close geographical proximity, the network is structured around artists, friends, and residents, all supported by religious institutions. Directly involved in organizing the festivities, they agree on ad hoc and spontaneous modes of organization. Added to this are the spatial and sensory characteristics of the neighborhood: the urban morphology and village atmosphere of Santo Antônio contribute greatly to shaping the carnival tradition there, while giving it a unique spirit. This is evidenced by the words of one of the organizers of DHJA8: "It's not just the *bloco*. It's the *bloco* within this neighborhood, because when the *bloco* plays elsewhere, it doesn't have the same expression."

Figure 2. The Santo Antônio carnival.

Source: Esperança Gadelha, 2024.

The spillover effects of the alternative carnival scene

Since its first parade in 2012, the *bloco* has attracted a growing number of revelers and participants each year. Originally an intimate initiative motivated

by a shared interest in art and aesthetics, the project quickly gained notoriety and distinguished itself on a metropolitan scale through the carnival experience it provides. Organizing an event of this magnitude is not without its tensions and conflicts. In 2018, the parade, somewhat a victim of its own success, attracted tens of thousands of people, who dispersed throughout the narrow streets of the neighborhood, generating unrest that was deemed undesirable by both residents and organizers, who were keen to reconcile their vision of an authentic carnival with a genuine social and ecological commitment (noise pollution, hygiene issues, damage and vandalism, etc.). A few months later, the situation was compounded by the organization of musical events that broke with the aesthetic previously defended by local cultural actors. There was then a risk of a possible "disfiguration" of the qualities associated with Santo Antônio, those of a residential, bucolic, and bohemian neighborhood attached to an ecology of cultural production and consumption practices recognized and claimed as alternative and underground. So when a "commercial" *bloco* announced plans to parade the following year (in 2019), it triggered a major crisis within the neighborhood collective and beyond. This *bloco,* a major player in Bahia's carnival industry, went so far as to propose parading on the same day as DHJA8. Worse still, drawing inspiration from the carnival practices initiated by the cultural actors of Santo Antônio (following the model of a marching band and inviting its revelers to dress up), the commercial *bloco* presented its parade project as an "innovative product," effectively capitalizing on the aura and notoriety of the Santo Antônio carnival. This unprecedented situation prompted DHJA8 to publicly express its position via social media. The collective, acknowledging not only its crisis situation but also the possibility of its own parade being suspended, stated: (1) its refusal to participate in the city's official carnival and what it considers to be "the media spectacularization of carnival"; (2) its rejection of sponsorship offers from the beverage industry and media coverage; (3) its desire to contribute to a free celebration, on the streets, that values diversity; (4) its social commitment and questions about the future of neighborhood carnival.[9]

The controversy, which became public, received extensive media coverage (print and television), in addition to massive support from the *bloco's* fans, who actively demonstrated their support on social media. Ultimately, the controversy led to the suspension of the "outsider" *bloco* parade, limiting its initiative to the organization of a private party in a closed venue within the neighborhood.

9. DHJA8, 2018, *Nota de posicionamento*. https://www.facebook.com/blocodhja8/ [accessed on 05/05/2026].

Such controversy is symptomatic of the spillover of cultural scenes into urban spaces (Straw, 2015). Indeed, the ecstatic nature of certain scenes can end up attracting other economic or social actors who may play a decisive role in their life cycle.

The institutionalization of cultural scenes: a gentrifying trend?

Since the end of the COVID-19 pandemic, the Santo Antônio Além do Carmo neighborhood has seen an even more pronounced increase in the number of visitors and tourists, becoming one of the city's most notable bohemian and tourist destinations in recent years. As a result, new establishments have sprung up (bars, restaurants, small art studios), leading to inflation in real estate prices, changes in the profile of visitors and in cultural production and consumption practices, which are classic markers of gentrification. And the carnival scene has probably contributed, as a catalyst, to this process of staging the neighborhood.

Aware of the spillover effects of the cultural, aesthetic, social, and urban experience created by the DHJA8 parades, the *bloco* organizers remain true to their values and strongly attached to the carnival model they invented. However, apprehension about the path towards the institutionalization of carnival and fears of becoming a vehicle for gentrification in the neighborhood hang over the minds of the collective's members and seem to be coming true. In 2023, at least fifteen carnival *blocos* took to the streets of the neighborhood, contributing to the formation of an "alternative" circuit within the Salvador carnival, one of the largest in the world. The inflation of the carnival scene in Santo Antônio continues to spark controversy among neighborhood residents and, more recently, has even mobilized the Bahia Public Prosecutor's Office, which has made recommendations to the Salvador City Council to ensure public order during the 2024 festivities (guarantees related to compliance with schedules and defined routes; compliance with legally established noise limits; reducing the number of participants in *blocos* or the number of carnival groups participating in parades in the neighborhood, among others). Thus, the lived scene is undergoing upheaval: the emergence of new actors and social practices and the increase in the influx of thousands of revelers who are expanding an event originally invented by a group of friends.

This phenomenon is similar to the processes analyzed by Elsa Vivant (2006) concerning the shift from the "off-space" ("underground") to the "in-space" ("upperground")[10] when she analyzes certain urban dynamics generated by artistic

10. See Chapter 1 of Volume 1.

activities. This process follows a somewhat universal logic (even while retaining local specificities) linked to the growing institutionalization of cultural practices initially considered alternative.

Do cultural scenes promote gentrification and institutionalization? As W. Straw (2015, p. 412) points out, cultural scenes provide a kind of "supplement of sociability" that transcends the boundaries of spaces, revealing the effervescence of cities. This phenomenon does not go unnoticed, either by public authorities or private actors, becoming an economic asset that enhances attractiveness and can trigger processes of gentrification/institutionalization, significantly affecting the life cycle of cultural scenes.

CHAPTER 4

THE CREATION OF AN ARTISTIC (META)SCENE BY PRIVATE ACTORS

THE CASE OF ARLES, FRANCE[1]

NATHALIE MOUREAU & DOMINIQUE SAGOT-DUVAUROUX

Few cities of comparable size to Arles[2] concentrate as many artistic activities with national or even international influence as Arles: ancient heritage, photography (around the Rencontres internationales de la photographie, RIP), publishing (notably with Actes Sud, the only major publishing house outside Paris) and, more recently, contemporary art (the LUMA Foundation). But does this make Arles an artistic scene that resonates with its inhabitants?

This Chapter aims to show how, based on a unique territorial configuration, three initiatives by Arlesian actors since the 1970s have profoundly transformed the economic trajectory and image of the city, making it an internationally recognized artistic scene. But while the first two (RIP and Actes Sud) are gradually expanding their activities to irrigate and enhance the territory, the third (the LUMA Foundation) is transforming the city to suit its own project, replacing local authorities in urban development at the risk of undermining the decision-making mechanisms inherent in a democracy.

A unique territorial configuration

Arles is distinguished by several specific territorial characteristics:[3]

---

1. This Chapter is based on fieldwork carried out between October 2020 and December 2022, during which 25 semi-structured interviews were conducted with key players in the Arles scene. In addition, third-year students studying for a bachelor's degree in cultural institution management surveyed the population's perception of cultural life in Arles. We also analyzed how the city of Arles was presented in the media (both local and national).

2. The municipality of Arles has a population of around 53,000.

3. Arles, *Plan local d'Urbanisme, Rapport de présentation, Livret A – Diagnostic,* March 2017.

– A very large city in the geographic sense (it is, by area, the most extensive municipality in France), but whose center is enclosed within the perimeter of the ancient city. The heart of the city functions like a village that can be crossed on foot in less than half an hour and where residents constantly bump into each other.
– A city located in an environment that is protected both internally (cultural heritage) and externally (the Camargue). The area in between the urban core and this rural periphery is made up of poor and largely neglected neighborhoods.
– A poor city, whose industrial activity has declined sharply with the closure of the Étienne paper mills, the SNCF workshops, and the Lustucru factories. Only 43% of Arles residents pay income tax, and 24% live below the poverty line (Insee statistics, 2021). This leads to stark socio-spatial contrasts: "Arles is a minimum-wage town that owns a castle."[4]
– A city in the Camargue, marked by bullfighting (*la bouvine*), gypsy, and Provençal traditions, where references to Mistral and the Félibrige remain very present.[5]
– A city with a rich heritage (boasting the greatest number of ancient monuments from the Roman era after Rome itself), whose historic center is composed of numerous mansions from the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries. The image of Arles portrayed by Van Gogh and the four museums it hosts (notably the Réattu Museum and the Museum of Ancient Arles) reinforce its appeal to tourists.

Three initiatives that have shaped the Arlesian scene

It is in this context that three initiatives developed, led by local actors, which both drew on this urban configuration and shaped the city's current image: the Rencontres internationales de la photographie, the Actes Sud publishing house, and, later, the advent of the LUMA Foundation.

An event: the Rencontres internationales de la photographie

Photography has been an important feature of the city of Arles since a trio of friends, Arles photographer Lucien Clergue (**Figure 1**), writer Michel Tournier, and photographer Jean-Pierre Sudre, supported by Réattu Museum curator

4. *Portrait identitaire du Pays d'Arles,* produced by CoManaging at the request of the Pôle d'équilibre territorial et rural du Pays d'Arles (Pays d'Arles Territorial and Rural Balance Cluster), 2019.

5. https://www.arlestourisme.com/fr/fr%C3%A9d%C3%A9ric-mistral-et-le-f%C3%A-9libRige.html [accessed on 05/05/2026].

Michel Rouquette, created a summer festival dedicated to photography in 1970, at a time when photography was not very visible in France or around the world.[6] In 1976, the Rencontres association was created with the aim of establishing the festival in the region. From the outset, the festival has been a venue for exhibitions, but it also offers debates on photographic creation. It has become one of the leading international photography events[7] and takes place in numerous heritage sites made available by the city.

Figure 1. Rue Lucien Clergue in Arles.

Source: Dominique Sagot-Duvauroux, 2020.

The festival led to the creation of new structures, the most important of which was the École nationale supérieure de photographie d'Arles (ENSPA), which was founded in 1982. Later, outside the city walls, the former SNCF workshops were restored thanks to sponsorship from Kodak. They were purchased by the LUMA Foundation in 2013, which continues to play an important role

6. The Réattu Museum began building a collection of photographs in 1965. It should be noted that the first French photography gallery was that of Agathe Gaillard, created in 1975.

7. More than 18,000 photography professionals are expected to attend each year (*Les Échos,* July 15, 2019).

in the Rencontres. The ENSPA moved in opposite the foundation in 2019. In the same neighborhood, a new venue, La Croisière, owned by Jean-Paul Capitani, then director of Actes Sud publishing, has been made available to the Rencontres since 2017.

Today, the Rencontres are at the center of a dense ecosystem around photography. Major Parisian galleries and agencies such as FishEye and Myop set up their summer quarters in Arles, while local galleries such as Anne Clergue Galerie are open year-round. Other cultural players (Actes Sud, LUMA, Musée Réattu, etc.) are also involved in this photographic specialization (collections, publications, exhibitions, etc.). An underground event (festival off) is organized in parallel with the main event in more than a hundred venues. The festival has a significant economic impact on the city's economy.[8]

A Publisher: Actes Sud

Arles' reputation as a cultural city also owes much to the presence of Actes Sud, the only major French publishing house outside Paris. Founded in Paradou in 1978, it moved to Arles in 1983, setting up shop in Le Méjan, a building on the banks of the Rhône that houses the company's headquarters and, on the ground floor, a bookshop, a restaurant, and a cinema,[9] followed a little later by a hammam. Subsequently, a nearby church was purchased to host readings, exhibitions, and concerts. This created a hub of activity around Le Méjan throughout the year. From the outset, the publishing house had the ambition to contribute to the cultural development of the city, both for economic reasons—it was necessary to retain skilled labor in the area and enhance the value of the real estate portfolio[10]—and out of a sense of corporate responsibility to contribute to the common good. Numerous initiatives would subsequently establish the city's specialization in books and culture more generally. In 1995, echoing the RIPs, the publishing house diversified into coffee table books, particularly photography, buying or acquiring stakes in several publishing houses specializing in photography (Photo Poche in 2004, Textuel in 2009). The International College of Literary Translators moved into the former Hôtel-Dieu and created the Assises de la traduction littéraire (Literary

8. In 2019, they amounted to around €30 million, according to Sam Stourdzé, then director of RIP, quoted by *Les Échos,* July 15, 2019.

9. Initially, a cooperative was responsible for managing these premises, but it went bankrupt in 1985 and was taken over by Actes Sud.

10. Jean-Paul Capitani, former director of Actes Sud publishing, was one of the city's largest property owners.

Translation Conference). In 1978, Actes Sud conceived a literary festival called "Arles se livre" (Arles opens up to literature).[11]

Today, Arles is home to around thirty publishers, including 12 associated with Actes Sud, nine bookshops, and numerous cultural and literary events, such as the Assises de la traduction littéraire, Paroles Indigo, Cosmos Arles Book, Lectures en Arles, De ses battements d'elles, and Arles en vers. These activities represent around 500 jobs in the region.[12]

A patron: Maja Hoffmann and the LUMA Foundation

Finally, the city of Arles is now greatly influenced by the arrival of the LUMA Foundation, created by Maja Hoffmann, a Swiss collector[13] who spent her childhood in Arles. Maja Hoffmann's initial support for the Arles art scene was devoted to photography, with the creation in 2002 of the Découverte photography prize and her contribution of €180,000 to the festival's funding. In 2008,[14] she announced her intention to establish an art center dedicated to photography in Arles, a future Villa Medici of the image.[15] She announced the construction of a tower by Frank Gehry on the site of the former SNCF workshops, which was to be inaugurated in 2021 (**Figure 2**). The project then evolved, shifting its focus from photography to contemporary art and design.[16] Since 2010, the artistic program has been developed under the supervision of Maja Hoffmann by leading figures from the international art world, including curator Hans Ulrich Obrist, director of the Serpentine Gallery in London. The LUMA Workshops, where designers and engineers collaborate, find new uses for local materials, invasive plants, algae, etc. In 2017, Maja Hoffman established LUMA Days, an art and ideas forum bringing together interna-

11. Meetings, readings, workshops, and exhibitions bringing together more than 80 authors each year in a dozen locations in the city center over three days.

12. "Arles se livre," festival website. http://www.arles-se-livre.fr/ [accessed on 05/05/2026].

13. Ranked by Bloomberg in 2023 as the 448th richest person in the world with a net worth of $5.82 billion.

14. The collector established her foundation in Switzerland four years earlier, in 2004.

15. *Journal des Arts,* January 6, 2008, and July 9, 2008.

16. The LUMA Foundation's takeover of the SNCF workshops caused tensions with François Hebel, director of the photography festival, who resigned in 2013 (*Journal des Arts,* November 7, 2013). Relations also became more complicated a little later with the directors of Actes Sud, who owned one of the buildings on the "Le magasin électrique" brownfield site. They had planned to open a cinema and concert hall with the patron, but eventually gave up in 2019 (*Le Figaro,* June 1, 2019, Guerre larvée aux rencontres de la photo (Latent war at the photography festival)).

tional experts with local creators and researchers to think about the future of the city. Contemporary art exhibitions are held in the tower and in the SNCF workshops. At the same time, a network called Arles Contemporain has been created, bringing together some fifteen galleries, most of which are seasonal.

Figure 2. View of the LUMA Tower under construction.

Source: Dominique Sagot-Duvauroux, 2019.

In addition to this gradual occupation of the SNCF workshops, Maja Hoffmann is extending her activities to the Arles region. She is president of the Van Gogh Foundation, created by her father, whose aim is to promote contemporary art by confronting it with the memory of Van Gogh. Finally, since 2009, she has purchased several charming buildings, which she has renovated with the help of renowned designers and artists (India Mahdavi, Jorge Prado) to create a collection of hotels, Les Maisons d'Arles. She has also opened several restaurants, including one with a Michelin star, La Chassagnette (2002), not to mention the acquisition of two large buildings in 2020, the former Paoli clinic and an annex of the town hall, to create residences for artists and project leaders.

Arles: an artistic metascene?

Arles offers a unique example of a city whose contemporary artistic image has been built at the intersection of three different private initiatives. The first two were initially modest ventures focused on a clearly defined specialty (photography for RIP and publishing for Actes Sud). They gradually spread throughout the city, investing in a growing number of venues and inspiring new projects. The third (the LUMA Foundation) reflects a desire to quickly

establish itself as a key player through massive investment and control over the city's production. The cultural project took shape in a second phase, focusing on contemporary art. The tower's flagship effect captured the attention of the media and enhanced the region's appeal, as evidenced by the recent arrival of new structures such as the Lee Ufan, Manuel Rivera-Ortiz, Fragonard, and Thalie foundations.

Today, these three initiatives intersect, making Arles what could be called an artistic metascene—understood as encompassing several scenes—those of contemporary art, photography, and publishing. The city is home to a dense network of small and major players at the crossroads of these disciplines. They occupy numerous locations in the historic center and around the former SNCF workshops and cooperate on many projects (lived scene). The experienced scene, as perceived by residents and visitors, presents contrasting aspects. In the historic city and on the site of the former SNCF workshops, the artistic presence produces an atmosphere that is consistent, pervasive, and persistent. The cultural dimension of the city is visible everywhere—posters, photos stuck in the street, bookstores and galleries, foundations, arty shops, etc. (**Figure 3**). This visibility is reinforced by the presence of the LUMA Tower. This scene attracts a new wealthy population, eager for culture and luxury shops.[17] Cafés and art openings, most of which spill out onto the streets, provide these newcomers with numerous opportunities to build social connections. Outside the city walls, however, the Arlesian art scene is not very visible and has little impact on poor populations, except through the jobs it generates.

While the RIPs helped to associate Arles with photography, and Actes Sud promoted the emergence of a cultural industry hub, it was the arrival of Maja Hoffman and the LUMA Foundation that triggered the emergence of this metascene, which has had significant spillover effects on tourism, real estate, and luxury goods, as exemplified by the Maisons d'Arles. Maja Hoffman's financial resources make her a key player in the city's development, which tends to replace a poor municipality, through a strategy that contrasts with the more bottom-up approaches of the RIPs or Actes Sud that prevailed previously. Her actions have not failed to attract criticism from the local newspaper *L'Arlésienne,* which seized on the subject to ironically propose a new game to its readers, Majapoly.[18]

17. You might bump into celebrities such as Agnès B., Vincent Pérez, Edouard Baer, Benjamin Millepied, Jean de Loisy, etc.

18. https://larlesienne.info/2017/06/30/le-majapoly-2017/ [accessed on 05/05/2026].

Figure 3. Poster and graffiti on the walls of Arles.

Source: Dominique Sagot-Duvauroux, 2022.

Finally, the arrival of Maja Hoffman has accelerated and diversified media coverage of Arles, particularly at the international level. The city's important historical heritage and the notoriety of the LUMA, RIP, and Actes Sud trio provide many different opportunities to talk about the city. Arles was thus one of the "52 places to go in 2018" in the world, according to the *New York Times,* while Louis Vuitton published a tourist guide to Arles in 2022, calling on the Tendance floue collective of photographers.

This development reveals an original model of cultural policy driven by private initiatives and financed by wealthy entrepreneurs combining cultural and real estate investments. However, this model generates significant negative externalities. The city's cultural development has made it a privileged place of residence and tourism for the wealthy classes, resulting in rising real estate prices and significant gentrification. Real estate has become a source of profit for lucky owners, and certain formerly popular neighborhoods within the city walls are undergoing renovation programs that are radically transforming their purpose, as exemplified by the actions of Louis Paul Desanges (entrepreneur and long-time shareholder of Zodiac) in the Voltaire and Roquette neighborhoods, combining the creation of cultural third places, hotels, and real estate investments—Atelier du Palais, Librairie du Palais, Bazar and Co, Simone et Paulette, Parades, Hôtel Voltaire, etc. (**Figure 4**).

Figure 4. The Palais bookshop in Arles.

Source: Dominique Sagot-Duvauroux, 2020.

This "new" Arles, combining art and luxury, seeks to resonate, with varying degrees of success, with traditional Arles, marked by bullfighting traditions and the defense of Provençal culture (santons, markets, Reines d'Arles, etc.). Is the city's destiny now to be a showcase for an intellectual and affluent class, at the risk of marginalizing the local populations?

CHAPTER 5

THE "ALTERNATIVE" HERITAGE PRESERVATION OF A MUSIC SCENE

THE CASE OF BLACK & NOIR IN ANGERS (1988-1994), FRANCE

GÉRÔME GUIBERT & SANDRINE EMIN

As part of the Scaena project, we felt it would be relevant to study a local music scene, particularly one based on a post-punk DIY dynamic, as we had already done in Montaigu a few years ago (Guibert, 2007; Emin & Guibert, 2017), in order to better understand the dynamics of cultural scenes and their representations. We chose to proceed through a case study approach (Passeron & Revel, 2005) and to focus on a limited and specific period. For the Angers study, we opted for the period 1988-1994, which corresponds to a moment of collective action by people involved in music, leading to the opening of a permanent music venue, Le Chabada.[1]

Context

Les Thugs, a band from Angers that existed from 1983 to 1999, left their mark on several generations. However, by the 2010s, the band's recordings had become almost impossible to find. And yet, the band had reached a wide audience, with their music videos airing on French television network M6, two

1. This period is documented in archives, in particular a regular quarterly fanzine, the *Yéti,* which reports on local musical activities and relations with the town hall. In addition to using this data, we conducted a dozen semi-structured interviews with people involved in this period (those close to the record store and label Black & Noir and the band Les Thugs, which we are studying as a specific scene). We conducted these interviews in a wandering manner, moving around the city (so that people could relate their comments to the physicality of the space, if necessary), following the method of walk-along interviews. More broadly, as we have both lived in Angers for over fifteen years, we monitor official and media documents and events relating to this period and how it is perceived.

prime-time appearances on another TV channel, Canal+ (live on *Nulle Part Ailleurs*), and two tours in the United States. They made a lasting impression when, after a concert in Berlin in late 1988, they signed with Sub Pop, the independent American label known for its integrity and charisma. This led them to play with the in-house bands behind the global grunge explosion (Mudhoney, TAD, Blood Circus and, of course, Nirvana), record with iconic grunge producers (Kurt Bloch, Steve Albini and Butch Vig) and be photographed by Charles Peterson (the legendary photographer of the Seattle Sub Pop scene). This journey would have a major impact on the Angers music scene in many ways, particularly because the Thugs' long-time manager (Christophe Davy from Angers) would become, through his production company Radical, the go-to producer for American alternative bands touring France and the French representative for international music figures interested in Angers. The Thugs' guitarist and singer, Éric Sourice, founded Black & Noir, a record store that opened in 1988, then an independent label in 1990, which released around forty albums over the decade (including Dirty Hands, Casbah Club, Hint, The Drift, and others from Angers). However, the city did not capitalize on this in terms of its cultural policy or image, neither in its communication nor in the narrative of its identity, nor even from a heritage or tourism perspective. This scene seems to have remained underground.

This Chapter will be divided into two parts. First, it will explain why we consider the rock scene around Black & Noir at the turn of the 1990s to be a cultural scene. Then, in a second step, we will highlight a particular feature of this scene, namely the fact that after its decline, public policy did not seize upon its remarkable period to promote it. But the story does not end there. We will then highlight how heritage preservation took shape via an alternative route, whose historical actors are the authors themselves.

The Angers music scene

We analyze the scene over the period 1988-1994 according to the four categories highlighted by the Scaena project to show what happened during this period (see Chapter 5 in Volume 1). While the emergence of a scene was facilitated by a large number of actors (Wallach & Levine, 2012), it was the intensity of the connection and the coherence and aesthetic specificity between these actors that made the scene remarkable.

Lived scene: the "Black & Noir" scene in Angers at the turn of the 1990s

The first perspective, that of the lived scene, aims to highlight the growth of actors involved in rock music at the local level in the 1980s, in line with a

structural trend that can be observed at the national level (Guibert, 2006). Rock music developed structurally in France during this period, driven by technological and legal developments which, on the one hand, made music production more accessible (recordable audio cassettes, inexpensive electric musical instruments, etc.) and, on the other hand, promoted its distribution (legalization of independent radio stations, widespread use of photocopied fanzines, etc.). It was in this favorable national context that what we call the "Black & Noir scene" was born in Angers.

Black & Noir was first the name of a radio program (1982) on FM networks, then, in parallel, an association that organized concerts (*circa* 1986), then a record store in the form of a limited liability company (1988-2000)—the concert organizing association then changed its name to LoveFuzz—and finally a record production label (1990-1995), which involved a staff of about fifty people gathered around a core of about ten members. This collective benefited from the activity of the band Les Thugs, which released numerous albums and toured Europe and the United States, forging links with foreign bands, particularly English and then American ones. We refer to it as a "collective," even though certain individuals played a leading role and guided the others (Éric Sourice, the singer of Les Thugs and founder of Black & Noir, Doudou, the second manager of Les Thugs, Casbah, leader of the band Casbah Club, and Martinez, a salesman in a record store, all four of whom were members of Black & Noir during its early days, then of LoveFuzz). On the local scene, concerts at the Bar Belge, cafés (La Civette, Le Louisiane, Donald's), musical instrument stores (Jean-Paul Romann), and record stores (Décibels, then Black & Noir) were places for sharing in the city center, but the specific coherence of the scene was also illustrated in other ways. One example was studio work and music production: the same studios and sound recording specialists often worked to produce the scene's bands (Gilles Théolier, originally from the band Seconde Chambre, Christophe Sourice, drummer for Les Thugs, then Iain Burgess and Peter Deimel, from the Black Box studio).

Experienced scene: a quiet town that masks a remarkable scene

As we explored the city during the walk-along interviews with local figures from the period under study, we noticed that in the 1980s, when the scene was first emerging, it was concentrated in the lower part of the city, around Rue Saint-Laud. Beyond the concerts that took place on the outskirts of the city, this was where daily life was centered. As geographer Christian Pihet (Scaena conference, 2019) points out, historically, "the upper part of the city is bourgeois and conservative, while the lower part, particularly near the Maine River,

is working class." As Stéphane "Martinez" Martin told us, "we all lived in the neighborhood for one very simple reason: at the time, it wasn't very expensive to rent apartments here." The scene also had a generational dimension: in the 1980s, the scene was fueled by activists born in the 1960s, students, unemployed people, or young workers living off odd jobs and invested in rock music, single or recently in a relationship, who had recently left the family home. Rock music took up a huge part of their daily lives; it was a remedy for boredom. In his latest album, released in 1991 by Black & Noir, the singer of the band Seconde Chambre, Jean-Pierre Théolier, describes the atmosphere of the 1980s in *Une ville tranquille (A Quiet Town)*: "Always the same circuit, one girl kisses another, always the same cafés where gossip runs rampant, I've been all over this town… but where can I go?" In the song *Dimanche,* he describes the deserted Sunday streets (apart from a few elderly people) and observes: "Sundays… will be the death of us." Among the specific characteristics of what is locally known as "la douceur angevine" (Marais, 2022) is the influence of religion: a Catholic university, seminaries, a retirement home for priests, etc. (Lebrun, 1997; Biguet & Letellier, 2016). The city is marked by its old buildings and relative tranquility, with little graffiti and no illegal posters. So, in the 1980s and 1990s, there was nothing in the public space to suggest that Angers could be a rock city.

The rock atmosphere was experienced in places frequented by members of the scene. La Civette, a neighborhood café and newsagent, was the daytime meeting place. Before Donald's Pub in the mid-1990s, Le Louisiane established itself in the second half of the 1980s as the nighttime rock bar. In 1992, journalist Stéphane Deschamps of *Les Inrockuptibles* wrote, "When you walk through the door of Le Louisiane, you are struck by the number of young people wearing T-shirts with white lettering on a black background: Les Thugs."[2] For Casbah, "That place, near Le Louisiane, was our home!" (interview, 2019). Les Thugs rehearsed from 1983 onwards in the basement of a building on the same street. It was also in the lower part of the city that the Black & Noir record store opened in November 1988 and that its three successive addresses were located, with the label's stock and management taking place in the basement of the store. The record store was a place of spillover. Some came to drop off their new demo tapes, others left the keys to their rehearsal spaces if necessary, and many built their rock culture there through discussions with Martinez or Éric Sourice. But sometimes you had to dare to go in if you weren't a regular.

2. Stéphane Deschamps, The Drift, Never So Loud, *Les Inrockuptibles,* 1992, no. 33, p. 140.

Constructed scene: the institutionalization of rock by the municipality

In some places, such as the neighboring cities of Rennes and Nantes, public policies seized on the effervescence of musical practices to integrate them into their cultural policy at the turn of the 1990s. In others, such as Angers, the authorities entered into a period of more or less tense negotiations with the local rock scene (Guibert, 2011). As early as 1988, musicians and other activists mobilized through the new Adrama association (Association pour le développement du rock et des autres musiques à Angers, or Association for the development of rock and other music in Angers). After a few happenings and spectacular actions,[3] their movement led to the gradual recognition of rock music with the opening of the "Locos" rehearsal space on the northern outskirts of the city in 1990 (which became La Cerclère in 1994), and above all the Le Chabada concert hall, which opened in September 1994. Two elements stand out from the interviews we conducted. First, Adrama helped strengthen ties between local actors involved in music, notably through the quarterly fanzine the *Yéti* (starting in 1988) (**Figure 1**).

Then, from the outset, within Adrama, around a nebulous group of diverse actors, there were two main perspectives, partly in tension with each other. One was led by Éric Sourice and the "Black & Noir scene," and the other was led by members from the La Belle Excentrique distribution association. According to Casbah: "La Belle Excentrique tended to love stuff that we considered a bit intellectual, like REM […]. And they were more experienced than us, almost more 'institutional' from our perspective at the time."[4]

Between 1988 and 1994, the Thugs and the Black & Noir scene in Angers took a stand both for rock music alongside other members of Adrama, and against the prospect of institutionalization, adopting a politically rebellious and aesthetically radical stance. According to Philippe Teillet, president of Chabada: "Although we made the decision to institutionalize our venue project very early on (and thus rejected the idea of an alternative path […]), the direct or subtle questioning of this choice is a position that I still hear in the Adrama board of directors […], this anti-institutional mood is still present. It's like a parent whose whims we are familiar with and for whom we therefore have a certain affection."[5]

---

3. https://lechabada.com/actualite/ladrama-a-30-ans/ [accessed on 05/05/2026].

4. https://lechabada.com/actualite/ladrama-a-30-ans/ [accessed on 05/05/2026].

5. Philippe Teillet, L'embusqué à découvert (The Draft Dodger Revealed), *Volume!,* vol. 4, no. 1, 2005, p. 95-116.

Figure 1. This issue notes that 53 bands from Angers are mentioned in its pages and announces on the cover a major concert at Parc de la Cerclère (where the new rehearsal space is located) on July 5th with Les Thugs, Dirty Hands, J.-P. Vergneau, Casbah Club, Shaking Dolls, and Bepi Faliero.

Source: Fanzine *Yéti*, no. 12, summer 1992.

Publicized scene: Black & Noir marks Angers' musical identity

Angers is perceived nationally as a politically and culturally moderate city, and the local media were cautious about rock music in the early 1980s.[6] The situation began to change at the end of the decade. In 1989, an article in *Le Monde* reviewing Angers' cultural policy (fine arts, theater, cinema, dance, etc.) offered a combative and critical conclusion toward the city council, which was as surprising as it was unexpected for the rock world. However, the diversity of local rock activists was summed up by a leading figure, the Thugs:

> "The rockers—led by the Thugs, four feisty musicians who have played all over the world—are therefore popular and are negotiating with the city council, through an association they have just formed, Adrama, to obtain rehearsal spaces (which is almost a done deal) and a concert hall in the city center (which is far from certain). […] Angers is a fallow field."[7]

In the same vein, and with Adrama having achieved its first victory with the rehearsal spaces at La Cerclère in 1990, *Rock&Folk*, the leading French music magazine at the time (Guibert, 2018), published a feature on rock music in Angers. Despite a four-page description of the diversity of local musical initiatives, the magazine positioned Black & Noir and Les Thugs as leaders, and used them as a yardstick to measure the sound of the scene.[8]

Furthermore, the quasi-straight edge stance of Les Thugs and Black & Noir, which was both underground and confrontational and, in a way, conceptual, also appealed to *Les Inrockuptibles*, a newspaper focused on cultural news, which was impressed by Les Thugs' recognition on the international independent circuit:

> "The black, emaciated silhouettes of the four Thugs are the guardian figures of the most uncompromising French rock. Respected and admired, they have been fortunate never to have been fashionable. […] Éric [Sourice] also launched his label Black & Noir […]. It was outside France that they found recognition, celebrated alongside the most successful champions of international hardcore. […] The Thugs developed a sound that was both wild and precise, which impressed Nirvana and their peers."[9]

6. The Rock à l'Élysée festival on January 23, 1982, at the L'Élysée cinema, for example, provoked critical reviews in the local press and hostility from the town hall (which managed the venue at the time) towards rock concerts.

7. https://www.lemonde.fr/archives/article/1989/01/20/la-culture-en-mosaique-a-cote-des-institutions-nombreuses-tres-aidees-un-foisonnement-d-initiatives-individuelles_4123835_1819218.html [accessed on 05/05/2026].

8. Valérie Coroller, Angers, la ville en rock (Angers, the city of rock), *Rock&Folk,* June 1991, no. 286, p. 68-71.

9. Stéphane Deschamps, Les Thugs, *Les Inrockuptibles,* 1993, no. 50, p. 20.

It should also be noted that, in terms of alternative media, Les Thugs have enjoyed unwavering popularity since the mid-1980s. Following their first records released on Gougnaf and Closer, they were followed by the most influential French punk, alternative rock, and garage fanzines, many of which featured extensive coverage of Les Thugs (*Combo!, Wake Up, Le Légume du Jour*, etc.). This interest in Les Thugs provided a boost for Black & Noir bands (such as Dirty Hands, Shakin'Dolls, and Casbah Club), which subsequently benefited greatly from these publications.

Building an alternative heritage

In the early 1990s, beyond the collective mobilization of musicians within Adrama, the "Black & Noir scene" organized concerts, produced records, and built a local dynamic that was integrated into the mythical narrative of international independent rock.[10] The compilations released by the Black & Noir label (*On Another Planet* in 1991 and *Enragez-vous* in 1993) are textbook examples of translocal connections (Bennett & Peterson, 2004), bringing together musicians from Angers and the surrounding area, national bands met on tour, and foreign artists (**Figure 2**).

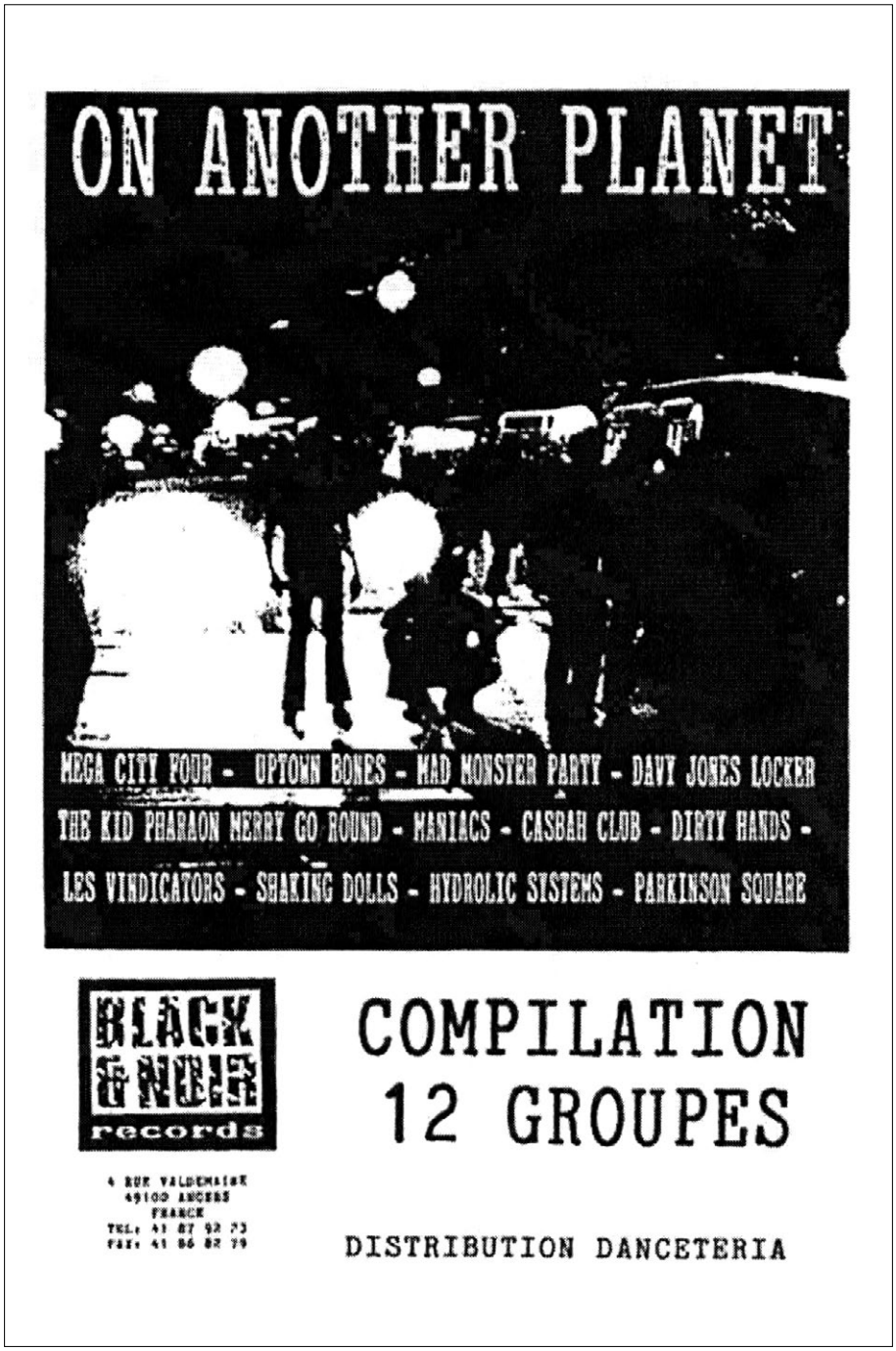
But whether it be local life or recordings, all these elements have remained confined to a small group of initiates and have not entered into the common history or heritage of the city of Angers, even though it is not uncommon for Americans figures such as those animating Alternative Tentacles, Sub Pop, or the famous fanzine *Maximum Rock'n'Roll*, or even French personalities associated with music (such as novelist Virginie Despentes[11]) to emphasize the importance of the Thugs and the Angevin dynamic of this period. Whereas the slightest fragment of a guitar smashed by the singer of the now defunct band Nirvana is considered a sacred relic in Seattle (Malfettes, 2012) and museums since the 2000s have focused on local alternative rock, this is absolutely not the case in Angers, where this historical value remains invisible. Thus, the city does not capitalize on its rock heritage, or rather does not perceive and evaluate its value in terms of collective identity.

---

10. During the same period, the Black & Noir label released more than forty tracks nationally, via Danceteria and then Musidisc. http://www.kingautomatic.com/fourdu/blackn.html [accessed on 05/05/2026].

11. For example, in his book *Vernon Subutex 3,* p. 119, she writes: "Olivier, a boy she had met twenty years earlier in Angers, when she was still a student and never missed a concert by Les Thugs, Casbah Club, or Cut the Navel String… He hung out with the people from the Black & Noir label."

Figure 2. Flyer for the release of the compilation CD On Another Planet, BNCD04, 1991.



This may seem surprising. In the age of the creative economy, cities know how to recycle underground practices as innovations and construct narratives that integrate unique elements of local heritage (as in Nantes, Poitiers, and Bordeaux). This is not the case in Angers, where the impact of Black & Noir is nevertheless significant and meaningful. For example, in 2015, the avant-garde digital cultural media outlet *Vice* considered that, "along with Cointreau, the Apocalypse tapestry, and quernons d'ardoise, Les Thugs are one of the few treasures that the city of Angers can be proud of."[12] The city is aware that music can be promoted, as evidenced by the attempt to create a "cultural cluster" at 9 Rue Claveau around 2015. But this interest is limited to the contemporary period. Recognizing the history of rock in the construction of Angers' identity, particularly through the "Black & Noir scene," remains an unmet need.

To fill this gap, in the absence of public policy, the heritage preservation of the Black & Noir scene has been taken up by its very initiators, completing the heritage preservation process from a DIY perspective (Bennett & Rogers, 2016; Straw, 2020). In 2015, Éric Sourice, following the model of the late Black & Noir, co-founded a new label with independent journalist Frank Freijnik, Nineteen Something, subtitled "so that the heroes of the people remain immortal,"[13] which aims to make bands from that period (the late 1980s and early 1990s) accessible on digital platforms and through reissues, starting with Les Thugs, followed by the Angers-based bands of Black & Noir (**Figures 3 & 4**). Then, starting in 2017, Nineteen Something was joined by a sub-division, Twenty Something, to release a new generation of bands.[14] This initiative thus gives pride of place to the "Black & Noir scene" and its roots in Angers:

> "There are a lot of bands from Angers in the catalog… Initially, the idea wasn't necessarily to reissue the entire Black & Noir label catalog. Although we'll end up doing that if we continue like this, it's true (laughs). […] There were a lot of really interesting bands in Angers during those years, so it's only natural that we want to reissue them." (Interview with É. Sourice in the *Yéti*)[15]

12. https://www.vice.com/fr/article/tour-de-france-angers/ [accessed on 05/05/2026].

13. Les héros du peuple sont immortels (The heroes of the people are immortal) is the name of a compilation of French punk and alternative bands released in 1985 by the Gougnaf Mouvement label, the first label of Les Thugs.

14. The first of these was Lane, a band comprising two Sourice brothers (ex-Thugs), as well as the Belin brothers from the Angers band Daria, ten years their junior, and Félix Sourice, the son of the Thugs' bassist.

15. Jérôme "Kalcha" Simonneau, Nineteen Something: entretien Éric Sourice, *Yéti*, September-December 2016, p. 8.

Figure 3. Promotional flyer for the Nineteen Something reissues mentioning the Angers bands Les Thugs, Dirty Hands, Casbah Club, Hydrolic Systems, and The Noodles.

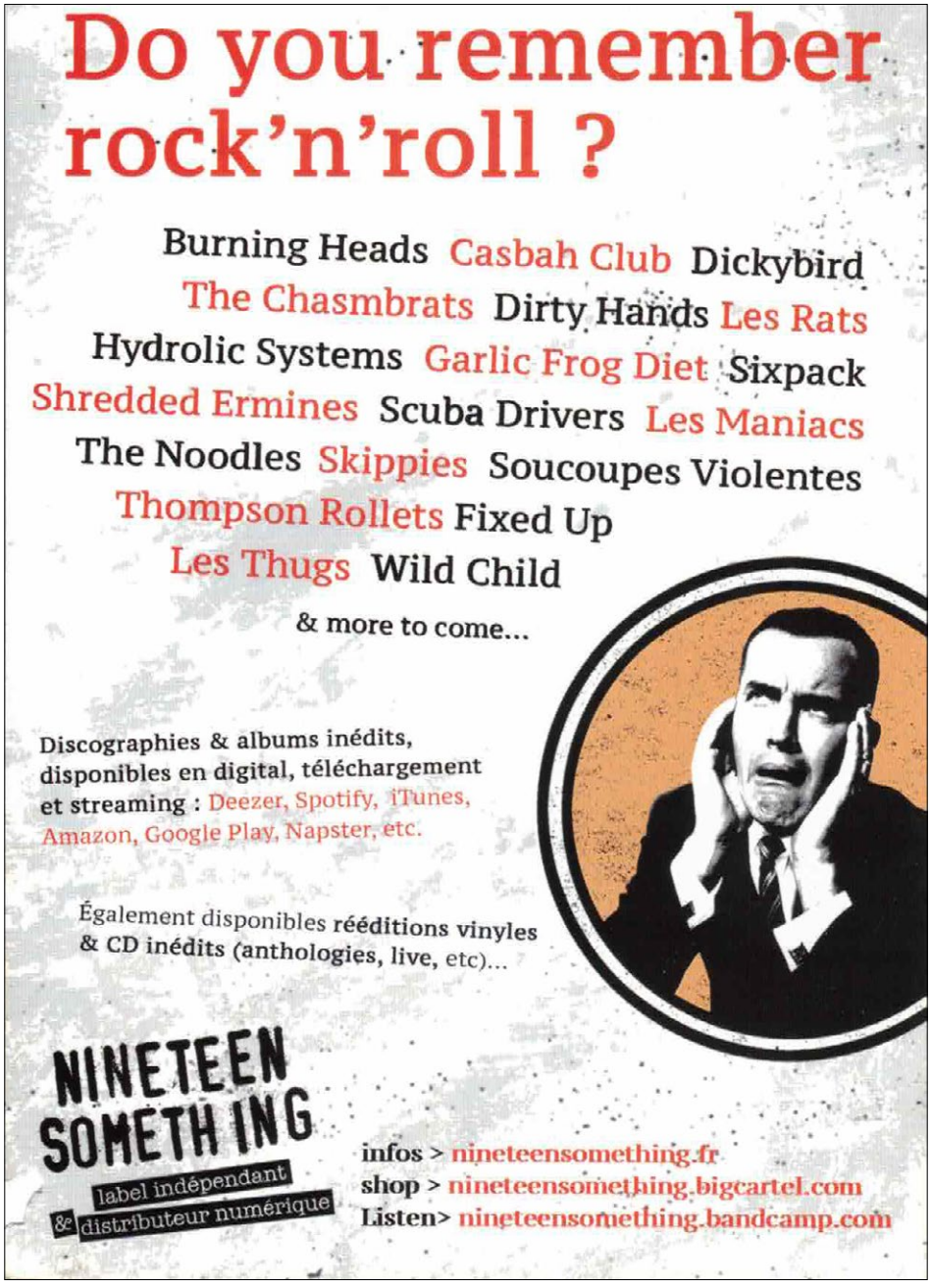


Figure 4. Nineteen Something flyer mentioning the digital accessibility of the bands in the catalog (2018).

Conclusion

Nineteen Something's approach is typical of what is known as "DIY archives" (Guibert & Parent, 2015) or "DIY preservationism" (Baker, 2017), which is developing in the United States, Australia, Great Britain, and Germany. In the United States in particular, this involves the gradual recognition of bands and scenes that are then featured in major public museums (such as the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame) or private museums (such as the Hard Rock Cafe) or large thematic exhibitions. Does this mean that, in twenty years' time, everyone will be able to appreciate the cultural role of Black & Noir in a venue in Angers? Only time will tell.

CONCLUSION

CHARLES AMBROSINO, BASILE MICHEL & DOMINIQUE SAGOT-DUVAUROUX

The cross-referencing of the five case studies reveals the diversity of characteristics and developments of artistic scenes, as well as the many related cultural, urban, and social issues (cultural participation, gentrification, commodification, etc.). These various case studies demonstrate that an artistic scene is evanescent and ephemeral by nature, a moment suspended in its host territory, nourished by its multiple connections with it, but also open to the urban world and thus a factor of inclusion and innovation as well as, ambivalently, of marginalization and socio-spatial fragmentation in the cities.

These case studies also show the methodological difficulties encountered in describing them in their four dimensions (lived, experienced, constructed, and publicized scenes). They open up a vast program of work consisting of better identifying the phases of the life cycles of scenes, verifying their recurrence from one example to another, and drawing lessons for public policy.

If we understand a scene to be a moment of resonance between an artistic activity and a territory that benefits the various stakeholders, and if we accept that this resonance cannot be decreed or instrumentalized, what might be the objectives of public authorities with regard to these scenes? Should they create the conditions for a scene to emerge by, for example, supporting the installation of artists in territories with an urban configuration that favors their capacity for spillover? Should they attempt to prolong the moment when the territory becomes a scene by anticipating the risks of dissonance between stakeholders, in particular through an appropriate housing policy? Or, on the contrary, given the temptation, encourage the promotion of the scene through tourism and real estate thanks to a strategy of attractiveness and heritage preservation, at the risk of threatening the emancipatory or innovative scope of the scene in favor of its economic and political profitability? If, as we have argued, the concept of the scene aims to go beyond the traditional vision of the "creative city" in the service of attractiveness and economic growth (see Volume 1), it in no way

prejudges future political (and civic?) choices regarding the roles assigned to artistic and cultural activities in the production, planning, governance, and life of the city.

REFERENCES

Bianchini, F., & Parkinson, M. (Eds.) (1993). Cultural policy and urban regeneration: the West-European experience. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Baker, S. (2017). The Do-It-Yourself Approach to Heritage: An Introduction. In *Community Custodians of Popular Music's Past: A DIY Approach to Heritage*. Abington, New York: Routlege.

Bahia. (s.d.). *Esboço sócio histórico do Santo Antônio*. Foundation for Artistic and Cultural Heritage. Office of Planning and Social Research Salvador: FPACB.

Bennett, A. & Peterson, R. A. (Eds.) (2004). *Music Scenes. Local, Translocal and Virtual*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press.

Bennett, A. & Rogers, I. (Eds.) (2016). *Popular Music Scenes and Cultural Memory*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Biguet, O. & Letellier, D. (2016). *Angers. Formation de la ville, évolution de l'habitat*. Nantes: 303 Éditions.

Cabestan, J.-P. (2014). *Le système politique chinois. Un nouvel équilibre autoritaire*. Paris: Presses de Sciences Po.

Capron, E. & Morteau, H. (2024). Accompagner les scènes culturelles en pensant leur cycle de vie. *L'Observatoire des politiques culturelles*, dossier Scènes culturelles, ambiances et transformation urbaines, 16 novembre. https://www.observatoire-culture.net/accompagner-scenes-culturelles-selon-cycle-vie/ [accessed on 05/05/2026].

Cohendet, P., Grandadam, D., Simon, L. & Capdevila, I. (2014). Epistemic communities, localization and the dynamics of knowledge creation. *Journal of Economic Geography*, 14, 5, 929-954.

Debroux, T. (2017). The visible part: Of art galleries, artistic activity and urban dynamics. *Articulo*, 15. http://journals.openedition.org/articulo/3409 [accessed on 05/05/2026].

Emin, S. & Guibert, G. (2017). Complexité et auto-organisation en entrepreneuriat collectif : analyse d'une scène musicale locale. *Revue Internationale PME*, 30, 2, 87-113.

Florida, R. (2002). *The Rise of the Creative Class and How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life*. New York: Basic Books.

Glinoer, A. (2018). *La bohème, une figure de l'imaginaire social*. Montréal: Les Presses Universitaires de Montréal.

Granovetter, M. (1973). The Strength of Weak Ties. *American Journal of Sociology*, 78, 6, 1360-1380.

Gravereau, S. (2013). Les artistes de Belleville : valeur et faire-valoir d'un quartier de Paris à leurs dépens ? *Territoire en mouvement*, 17-18, 38-51.

Guibert, G. (2006). *La production de la culture. Le cas des musiques amplifiées en France*. Paris: Éditions Mélanie Seteun & IRMA.

Guibert, G. (2007). Les musiques amplifiées en France. Phénomènes de surfaces et dynamiques invisibles. *Réseaux*, 141-142, 297-324.

Guibert, G. (2011). Local Music Scenes in France: Definitions, Stakes, Particularities. In Dauncey, H. & Le Guern, P. (Eds.), *Stereo: Comparative Perspectives on the Sociological Study of Popular Music in France and Britain*. Burlington: Ashgate.

Guibert, G. (2018). La presse magazine musicale : production d'un univers culturel. In Blandin, C. (Ed.), *Manuel d'analyse de la presse magazine*. Paris: Armand Colin.

Guibert, G. & Parent, E. (2015). "When Folk Meets Pop": DIY Archives in the Making of a Punk Rock DIY Community in Western France. In Baker, S. (Ed.), *Preserving Popular Music Heritage. Do-it-Yourself, Do-it-Together*. New York: Routledge.

Hamrick, L. C. (1997). Artists, Poets and Urban Space in Nineteenth-Century Paris (Mercier, Béranger, Gautier, Baudelaire). *French Literature Series*, 14, 53-82.

Hernandez Munõz, A. & Olmos, S. A. (2001). *Santo Antônio: um passo no Carmo além do Boqueirão*. Master's thesis, Federal University of Bahia.

Hollands, R. G. (2023). *Beyond the Neoliberal Creative City. Critique and Alternatives in the Urban Cultural Economy*. Bristol: Bristol University Press

Joyeux-Prunel, B. (2018). *Les avant-gardes artistiques 1848-1918*. Paris: Folio.

Keane, M. (2009). Great adaptations: China's creative clusters and the new social contract. *Continuum*, 23, 2, 221-230.

Keane, M. (2013). *Creative Industries in China. Art, Design and Media*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Lebrun, F. (Ed.) (1997). *Angers. Histoire des diocèses de France*. Paris: Beauchesne.

Le Thomas, C. (2016). *Racines populaires du cubisme. Art savant et pratiques ordinaires de création*. Monts: Les presses du réel.

Le Thomas, C. (2018). Cubisme et Art populaire. In Léal, B. (Ed.), *Dictionnaire du cubisme*. Paris: Robert Laffont/Bouquin.

Lipovetsky, G. & Serroy, J. (2013). *L'esthétisation du monde. Vivre à l'âge du capitalisme artiste*. Paris: Gallimard.

Lloyd, R. D. (2002). Neo-Bohemia: Art and Neighborhood Redevelopment in Chicago. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 24, 517-532.

Lloyd, R. D. (2004). The Neighborhood in Cultural Production: Material and Symbolic Resources in the New Bohemia. *City and Community*, 3, 4, 343-372.

Lloyd, R. D. (2006). *Neo-Bohemia. Art and Commerce in the Postindustrial City*. New York: Routledge.

Malfettes, S. (2012). *American Rock Trip*. Molenbeek-Saint-Jean: Zones Sensibles.

Marais, J.-L. (2022). *Angevine, la douceur ? Du poème de Joachim du Bellay à un outil touristique*. Brissac: Éditions du Petit Pavé.

Martin-Fugier, A. (2007). *La vie d'artiste au XIXe siècle*. Paris: Audibert.

Mazzurana, T. & Schultheis, F. (2016). Regards sur la mondialisation. Le champ artistique en Chine et à Hong Kong sous l'égide du marché mondial de l'art. *Géographie et cultures*, 97, 165-185.

Michel, B. (2020). L'envers des clusters créatifs en Chine. Mise en tourisme, gentrification commerciale, surveillance et autres enjeux de la labellisation des quartiers d'artistes. *Revue Marketing Territorial*, 5. http://publis-shs.univ-rouen.fr/rmt/index.php?id=570 [accessed on 05/05/2026].

Michel, B. (2021a). Art, creativity, and tourism in creative quarters: trajectory and tensions of the cultural scene of the M50 art district in Shanghai. *Cybergeo: European Journal of Geography*, 997. https://doi.org/10.4000/cybergeo.37685 [accessed on 05/05/2026].

Michel, B. (2021b). Les territoires créatifs au prisme de la scène. Analyse de l'encastrement territorial d'une communauté artistique dans le quartier M50 à Shanghai. *Géographie, Économie, Société*, 23, 2, 113-137.

Miles, M. (2013). A Post-Creative City? *RCCS Annual Review*, 5. https://journals.openedition.org/rccsar/506 [accessed on 05/05/2026].

Mira, M. C. (2009). Sociabilidade juvenil e práticas culturais tradicionais na cidade de São Paulo. *Sociedade e Estado*, 24, 2, 563-597.

Montgomery, J. (2003). Cultural quarters as mechanisms for urban regeneration. Part 1: Conceptualising cultural quarters. *Planning Practice & Research*, 18, 4, 293-306.

Mould, O. (2015). *Urban Subversion and the Creative City*. Abingdon: Routledge.

O'Connor, J. & Gu, X. (2006). A new modernity? The arrival of 'creative industries' in China. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 9, 3, 271-283.

Passeron, J.-C. & Revel, J. (2005). Penser par cas. Raisonner à partir de singularités. *Enquête,* 4, 9-45.

Pawlotsky, I. (1995). *Montmartre, Monographie d'un quartier artistique (1871-1910)*. PhD thesis in history, University of Paris 10.

Richards, G. & Wilson, J. (Eds.) (2007). *Tourism, Creativity and Development*. London: Routledge.

Straw, W. (1991). Systems of articulation, logics of change: Communities and scenes in popular music. *Cultural Studies*, 5, 3, 368-388.

Sgourev, S. V. (2013). How Paris Gave Rise to Cubism (and Picasso). Ambiguity and Fragmentation in Radical Innovation. *Organization Science*, 24, 6, 1-17.

Silver, D. & Clark, T. N. (2015). The Power of Scenes. *Cultural Studies*, 29, 3, 425-449.

Straw, W. (2015). Above and below ground. In Guerra, P. & Moreira, T. (Eds.), *Keep it Simple, Make it Fast! An approach to underground music scenes*. Porto: Universidade do Porto.

Straw, W. (2020). Figures de la saturation urbaine. In Antonioli, M., Drevon, G., Gwiazdzinski, L., Kaufmann, V. & Pattaroni, L. (Eds.), *Saturations : Individus, collectifs, organisations et territoires à l'épreuve*. Grenoble: Éditions Elya.

Vivant, E. (2006). *Le rôle des pratiques culturelles off dans les dynamiques urbaines*. PhD thesis in geography, University of Paris 8 Vincennes-Saint-Denis.

Wallach, J. & Levine, A. (2012). 'I want you to support local metal': A theory of metal scene formation. *Popular Music History*, 6, 1-2, 116-134.

Zheng, J. & Chan, R. (2014). The impact of 'creative industry clusters' on cultural and creative industry development in Shanghai. *City, Culture and Society*, 5, 9-22.

Zhong, S. (2011). By Nature or by Nurture: the Formation of New Economy Spaces in Shanghai. *Asian Geographer*, 28, 33-49.

Zhong, S. (2012). New economy space, new social relations. M50 and Shanghai's new art world in the making. In Daniels, P. W., Ho, K. C. & Hutton, T. A. (Eds.), *New Economic Spaces in Asian Cities. From Industrial Restructuring to the Cultural Turn*. New York: Routledge.

Zukin, S. (1982). *Loft Living. Culture and Capital in Urban Change*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Charles Ambrosino is a professor of urban planning at the Institute of Urban Planning and Alpine Geography (University of Grenoble Alpes). A researcher at UMR PACTE, he is a member of the City and Territory team and co-directs (with N. Tixier) the Graduate School@UGA Metrofablab. His research focuses on the evolution of forms of urban collective action, with a particular focus on the links between artistic practices, cultural economics, and the transformation of metropolitan spaces. He has published numerous scientific articles on this topic. Together with Dominique Sagot-Duvauroux, he coordinated the Scaena (Scènes Culturelles, Ambiances Et traNsformations urbAines) research project funded by the French National Research Agency, which is the subject of this book.

Sandrine Emin, a former student of the École Normale Supérieure and holder of a doctorate in management sciences, is a lecturer at the University of Angers. A researcher at Granem, she is also an administrator at the Academy of Entrepreneurship and Innovation. Her research focuses on collective entrepreneurship in the cultural and creative sector, and cultural entrepreneurship with a focus on supporting artists. She has co-published on these topics *Scènes locales, clusters culturels et quartiers créatifs* (PUR, 2019) and Accompagner l'entreprenance (artistique) : une nouvelle quête ? (*Management international,* 2024).

Gérôme Guibert is a professor of sociology at the Sorbonne Nouvelle, where he heads the Institute of Communication and Media. He is a researcher at IRMÉCCEN (EA 7546) and a member of the steering committee of LabEx ICCA. His work focuses primarily on popular music, its subcultures, local scenes, and production logic. He has published or co-published numerous articles and books, including *Musical Scenes and Social Class: Debating Punk and Metal* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2024), *Penser les musiques populaires* (Éditions de la Philharmonie, 2022), and *Made In France. Studies in Popular Music* (Routledge, 2018).

Basile Michel holds a PhD in geography and is a professor at the University of Cergy Paris, a member of the PLACES laboratory, an associate researcher at

the Espaces et Sociétés laboratory (UMR CNRS ESO), and co-director of the Master's program in Cultural Development and Heritage Promotion (DCVP). His research focuses on the links between the arts and the city, from a territorial perspective that is sensitive to cultural, urban, social, and ecological issues. He is the author of numerous scientific articles on the subject and of the book *Les quartiers culturels et créatifs. Ambivalences de l'art et de la culture dans la ville post-industrielle* (*Cultural and creative quarters: Ambivalences of art and culture in the post-industrial city*) (2022, Éditions Le Manuscrit, coll. Devenirs urbains).

Nathalie Moureau is a professor of economics at Paul Valery Montpellier 3 University and a researcher at RiRRA21. Specializing in cultural economics, she has carried out expert work for the Department of Prospective Studies and Statistics of the Ministry of Culture and for the Professional Committee of Art Galleries (CPGA). She has published several books and numerous articles, particularly on the contemporary art market. These include *Le marché de l'art contemporain (The Contemporary Art Market),* published by Éditions La Découverte, in collaboration with Dominique Sagot-Duvauroux.

Mariella Pitombo holds a PhD in social sciences and is a professor at the Federal University of Recôncavo da Bahia-UFRB (Brazil). She is a researcher attached to the Culture, Memory and Development Research Group (UnB) and the Creative Economy Observatory (OBEC). Her research focuses on cultural policies and their role in the organization and governance of the arts and popular culture in Brazil. She is the author of numerous articles and co-editor of the book *Os trabalhadores da cultura no Brasil: criação, práticas e reconhecimento (Culture Workers in Brazil: Creation, Practices, and Recognition)* (EDUFBA, 2017).

Dominique Sagot-Duvauroux is professor emeritus at the University of Angers and a member of the Angers Research Group in Economics and Management (Granem). He headed the Confluences Federative Research Structure in Angers and was also deputy director of the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme Ange Guépin (Nantes). A specialist in cultural economics, he has published numerous articles and books on this subject. In recent years, he has taken an interest in the role of cultural and artistic activities in urban dynamics. Together with Charles Ambrosino, he coordinated the Scaena (Scènes Culturelles, Ambiances Et traNsformations urbAines) research project funded by the French National Research Agency, which is the subject of this book.